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ABSTRACT

        Intended as a working document for communications professionals and as reference material for planning administrators, the study compared comic books and fotonovelas, and analyzed their use in health and nutrition, family planning, agriculture, and literacy programs in developing nations. Most of the somewhat limited efforts to use comics and fotonovelas dealt with family planning. Generally, the efforts were not entirely successful and the quality of productions was irregular, because producers misunderstood the media forms and did not appreciate their traditional conventions and generic structures. According to the study, fotonovelas, with their visual and highly emotive quality, were more effective in reaching illiterate, semi-literate, and large audiences; had more potential for multimedia campaigns and participatory education; and were better suited for certain distinct educational messages, especially family planning. In contrast, comic books, with their less emotive themes and more abstract presentation, were more flexible, could reach more diverse audiences, and were ideal for children and adolescents. However, comics were more expensive to produce and presented more production problems than fotonovelas. Both faced distribution problems resulting from limited institutional channels and limited commercial marketing systems in less developed countries. The study contains a review of successful and unsuccessful examples of both media forms. (SB)

FOTONOVELAS AND COMIC BOOKS

The Use of Popular Graphic Media in Development

Office of Education and Human Resources
Development Support Bureau
Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C. 20523

FOTONOVELAS AND COMIC BOOKS
The Use of Popular Graphic Media In Development

, By
Ronald Parlato
Margaret Burns Parlato
Bonnie J. Cain

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Washington, D.C.

Requests for further information
should be addressed to:

Dr. Anthony Meyer or Mr. James Hoxeng
Communications and Educational Technology Division
Office of Education and Human Resources.
Development Support Bureau
A.I.D.   20523

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ABSTRACT

     The Use of Popular Graphic Media in Development Support
Communications: A Survey of Fotonovelas and Comic Books is
a study to determine the extent to which these two media have
been programmed as part of programs of health, nutrition, pop-
ulation, agriculture, and literacy in Less Developed Countries;
to assess the quality of that programming; and to offer sug-
gestions and recommendations as to its improvement.

     The report contains both practical and theoretical consid-
erations - the former concerning actual case histories of comic
book and fotonovela use and critical appraisals thereof; the
latter concerning the various generic and conventional differ-
ences between the two media and a discussion of their implica-
tions for future planning. Furthermore, the report contains a
discussion of existing worldwide distribution of commercially
produced comic books and fotonovelas in an attempt to identify
those regions where educational development of the media seems
most appropriate.

     The general findings of the report are as follows:

     1. There has been relatively (compared to other print
media) little use of comic books or fotonovelas in development
projects in the Third World, although the comic book has been
used to a greater extent than the fotonovela.

     2. The quality of the productions reviewed was irregular,
with few of either medium fully utilizing their communications
potential.

     3. The irregularity was felt to be due to a lack of com-
plete understanding of this media potential: under what cir-
cumstances, for what audiences, and for what messages could each
medium be used most effectively.

     4. The media problems of both fotonovelas and comic books
were compounded by distribution constraints -- little infra-
structure exists in most LDCs within which to distribute any
form of print material.

     5. Despite actual design, production, and implementation
problems, both media have been shown in evaluation studies to
be effective in presenting new concepts and basic information
to a wide variety of audiences.

     6. The fotonovela was found to be particularly successful
in reaching a prime target audience -- semi-literate, rural
populations living in media-scarce environments. The fotonovela's
realistic graphic technique makes it ideal for communicating
with 'pictorially naive' audiences.

7. The comic book, because of its flexibility and adaptability, was found to be suitable for reaching more literate audiences with a certain amount of media sophistication. The comic book's ability to convey humor, satire, caricature, and abstraction makes it popular and attractive for modernizing audiences.

8. The comic book remains the most attractive graphic medium for reaching children. Its portrayal of fantasy and adventure make it a highly popular vehicle for both entertainment and education.

9. Most fotonovelas and comic books were produced in conjunction with family planning programs. Few dealt with other development subjects.

10. In general, comic books were found to be more expensive, largely due to the production cost of color printing. Traditionally, comic books are produced in full-color, whereas fotonovelas are produced in black-and-white. In addition, comic books require a more lengthy and complex development process.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The fotonovela and the comic book have long been popular
forms of print entertainment in many parts of the world. The
fotonovela is widely read in all countries of Latin America and
to see fifteen different titles on any given newsstand is not
unusual. The comic book has been less widely appreciated, yet
humorous, satirical, and quite imaginative productions can be
found in Mexico, parts of Asia, and Africa and have found a
limited but devoted audience amongst certain more literate seg-
ments of the population.

The idea of using popular graphic media as communications
tools for social action programs is not new. During the last
twenty-five years, comic books have been used in the United
States to reach children and adolescents on important problems
concerning their communities and their own life. Their flexi-
bility, potential for portraying caricature and fantasy, and
what can be called a dynamic style all make comic books appeal-
ing and potentially effective communications tools for reaching
out with social messages to a particularly vulnerable and de-
manding younger audience.

Fotonovelas have a somewhat more recent history regarding
their use for development programs. Only within the last few
years have population planners, for example, discovered that
their romantic, melodramatic themes and highly effective visual
treatment are perfectly matched for dealing with the emotional and
often explosive situations arising when families confront prob-

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lems of too many children, sexual attitudes and behavior,
social roles, and social demands. And only very recently
have other communications professionals realized the potential
of fotonovelas for participatory education - that process
which actively involves learners in both what they learn and
how they learn it. The fotonovela, consequently, has been
used not only as a communications device, but a development
tool, able to organize and engage people as well as teaching
them.

Both the comic book and the fotonovela have been consid-
ered by development communications planners as important media
to be used in the information process. They are popular, ef-
fective, timely, and with a flexibility which allows a variety
of thematic and message adaptations. It was felt by the authors
of this report and the sponsoring Office of Education and Human
Resources that the potential of these two media warranted a
comprehensive and detailed look into both their commercial
distribution and development uses in order to understand the
extent and degree of their worldwide popularity and to deter-
mine the relative success of their incorporation into important
programs of population, nutrition, health, and other social
interventions.

The purpose of this research, then, was to inventory active
and past development projects in which either comic books or
fotonovelas were applied as communications tools; to provide a
critical analysis of how well these media have been used in con-
veying social messages; to catalogue those countries in which

fotonovelas and comic books are presently being sold as
entertainment media; and to offer certain recommendations
about the future design and distribution of fotonovelas and
comic books as development support communications materials.

Generally it was found that most efforts to use foto-
novelas and comic books as development media were not completely
successful. In the main, most fotonovelas reviewed lacked the
vitality and spirit of their commercial models. What had been
simple yet effective and entertaining melodrama became stilted
education; a romantic and adventurous medium had become a
forum. The nature of the fotonovela had not been understood
in the same way that educational television in the United States
had been convential and pedantic until its programmers began to
get a feel for the medium with which they were dealing.

The comic book, too, was seen to be a misunderstood medium.
Most productions were neither fantasy nor drama; neither ab-
stract nor perceptually keyed to audience needs; neither declar-
atory nor fiction.

In short, the present problem with both the fotonovela and
the comic book is one of lack of media understanding -- an in-
complete appreciation of the traditional conventions and generic
structure which give the fotonovela and the comic book their
inherent appeal. With few exceptions, these media have been
underused. Their lack of social program success has implied a
lack of synchronization between educators and entertainers; be-
tween the people who know their subject and those who understand
their medium.

This report, therefore, will go into substantial detail regarding the use of fotonovelas and comic books, and will point to specific examples--both commercial and educational-- in which they have been used badly and well in an attempt to explore the potential for further development.

The report will also discuss distribution and production-- factors which are key dependent variables affecting the dev- elopment of any medium, but particularly important with regards supportive print material such as comic books and fotonovelas. Far too few of the communications surveyed seemed to acknow- ledge that the way in which a comic book was distributed, for example, could affect its overall design; or the ability and experience of the fotonovela photographer could be a determining factor in selecting a story-line or thematic treatment.

It is hoped, therefore, that this report can serve as a working document for communications professionals as well as reference material for planning administrators. It has been written to emphasize research and planning methodology in an attempt to provide people working in the field with a compre- hensive approach to media development and implementation and to provide independent investigators with the practical execu- tion framework within which to provide needed technical data.

One caveat must be stated: due to the strict limitations of the contract, in terms of both time and financial resources, the authors may have overlooked valuable commercial and non- commercial publications in various countries. It will be

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clearly seen, however, from the list of people contacted in the course of the research, that every attempt has been made to select those institutions with the broadest possible involvement in development communications. Furthermore, the authors feel that although there may have been certain oversights, the emphasis on research and development methodology will more than compensate for them.

CHAPTER 2

COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS:

A COMPARISON

Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Comparison

Although fotonovelas and comic books are distinct media, similar only in general style and presentation, they are often perceived as one --- interchangeable communications tools which can be applied equally to various informational situations. Yet, they are clearly different. A fotonovela, for example, because of its photographic technique, is a more emotive, intimate medium. One gets the 'feel' of scenes in a real, familiar way. There is an immediate identification not only with situations but with emotions. As such, fotonovelas are ideal motivational media, able to present ideas and concepts dramatically, forcefully, and often poignantly.

A comic book, on the other hand, because of the perceptual limitations of its graphic technique -- line-drawings -- is less representative and more abstract -- more limited than a fotonovela in its ability to portray familiar circumstances and emotions. Yet, because of this ability to abstract, a comic book is more flexible and adaptable; less confined by spatial and temporal constraints, and more able to present diverse information or information diversely.

Given these perceptual differences, the fotonovela and the comic book are each suited to different audiences -- the former to illiterate and semi-literate populations who find its pictorial conventions easier to understand; the latter to a more sophisticated, literate audience which enjoys its humor, fantasy, and caricature.

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As well as differing in their ability to reach different audiences and to develop distinct thematic and stylistic treatments, comic books and fotonovelas also differ in terms of message -- the actual information to be presented. Although by no means a hard and fast rule, fotonovelas appear to be more effective in dealing with clearly identifiable social and personal situations, such as those related to family, marriage and children; love, sex, and romance. These situations produce the melodramas popular in commercial foto- radio- and tele-novelas. Family planning, as an educational message, is close to this traditional melodramatic portrayal. It deals with familiar personal relationships within an informational context. When the fotonovela moves to other development issues: nutrition, health, or agriculture - the familiarity and immediacy are lacking. It is more difficult to be credible. In these in- stances, a comic book can often provide the media neutrality necessary for the exposition of new relationships and new ideas.

Surprisingly, many professionals contacted in the course of this investigation did not distinguish between comic books and fotonovelas. The above-mentioned considerations were not apparent. It became increasingly clear that the task of this Report would not only be to catalogue and criticize, but to theorize as well. A discussion of media difference, it was felt, would both highlight the particular characteristics of each individual medium and give a broader perspective within which communications planners could begin to program more ef- fectively.

It must be mentioned that few educational comic books
and fotonovelas have been evaluated, and there is consequently
little information as to the relative effectiveness of the
media in actual field situations, and less on difficult-to-
control variables such as comparative thematic treatments,
format design, and textual variation. In addition, little re-
search has been done on audience preference and perception. Al-
though where appropriate research has been done, it is mentioned,
many of the authors' observations and conclusions are based on
their own communications experience and background. It was
felt that even in the absence of hard data, some kind of inter-
pretive appraisal and critical evaluation would be relevant
and useful by helping to structure the problem and to offer pos-
sible explanations.

Following, then, are a number of important considerations
concerning the differences between fotonovelas and comic books
with regards message, theme, and audience:

1. Fotonovelas appear to be more effective in reaching il-
literate audiences.

A significant amount of research has been done to determine
the perceptual patterns of illiterates with relationship to two-
dimensional space, and there are many studies (see Appendix III)
which offer certain insights concerning depth perception, object
recognition, unconventional graphics, picture sequence, symbols,
color, and distortion (e.g., enlargement). The conclusion of
most researchers is that non-literates have not acquired the
practice with illustrations, maps, and other pictorials that

literates obtain during the course of their education. Furthermore, in environments where two-dimensional representations are uncommon (most of rural Africa, South Asia, and parts of Latin America and Southeast Asia), the illiterate is rarely exposed to them in his or her daily life. There are few, if any, billboards, posters, or other graphics, and most traditional art is three-dimensional.

It has also been suggested that in addition to environmental factors, the objective, linear, rational, and organizational process of reading--literacy itself--structures the perceptual set of reading people. Hypothetically, a literate reader, never having been exposed to pictorial representations, would understand them--regardless of their design--better than a non-literate. This has not been proved, however, and is less relevant to practical, programming issues than media availability and pictorial convention.[1]

Little research, however, has been carried out regarding the relative effectiveness of different pictorial treatments. Most of the research mentioned above was done with drawings and made no attempt to see if test results would vary with different techniques, and few other investigators have developed a satisfactory technique for dealing with the problem.

From those studies, however, one fact becomes clear: it is not so much the type of pictorial technique (photograph, line-drawing, block-out, three-tone, etc.) that matters so much as the degree of realism achieved. Illiterate audiences need ab-

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[1]For more information, see Parlato and Parlato, Visual Communication with Illiterates, AED, New York, 1974 (unpublished report).

solute detail and near-perfect representation of an object to
recognize it, and will respond when that perceptual demand has
been met. More often than not, a photograph is the easiest and
least variable way of depicting 'reality' and therefore tends
to be the most effective visual technique for reaching illiterates.
In fact, the authors of one study, which found three-tone draw-
ings to be more effective than any kind of photograph, con-
cluded that their findings reflected more the relative caliber
of individual artist and photographer than they did any real
difference in visual technique.[1]

It must be re-emphasized that none of the above-mentioned
studies attempted to deal with the incorporation of graphic
images into a contextual framework -- such as in simple foto-
novelas or comic books. It is not clear, therefore, whether il-
literates with no prior familiarity with either comic books or
fotonovelas would be able to understand a simple message pre-
sented in the context of a familiar story. This is an important
consideration to communications planners, however, for if it
can be shown that an illiterate, 'reading' without assistance,
can learn from fotonovelas, rural audience reach can be vastly
expanded.

Only one of the studies[2] reviewed attempts to deal with this
problem by programming identical comic books and fotonovelas
(the comic book was a line-drawing tracing of the fotonovela)
amongst populations of subsistence farmers in Guatemala. The
results--although not conclusive--suggested that the fotonovela

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[1]Fussell and Haaland in Nepal. See Appendix III.

[2]Oscar Vignano _et al_ in Guatemala. See Appendix III.

was more successful in reaching both illiterate and semi-literate audiences.

One fact that has been made abundantly clear is that the ability to learn from two-dimensional graphic images is more related to prior familiarity with either specific media or media in general than it is to considerations of literacy. It is commonly accepted that once a person has learned to deal with graphic images and has learned the convention of object-recognition and/or sequential progress, he or she--regardless of literacy status--will understand better than a person who has not. In other words, an illiterate with a strong media familiarity can receive graphic information more efficiently than a literate without it.

Thus the question of illiterate perceptions is often moot: a communications planner can program fotonovelas, for example, in media-rich areas, knowing that illiterates will potentially be able to learn something from them without being too concerned with the perceptual process by which this is done. Furthermore, illiterates are often read printed material by literates (this was the basis on which many illiterates in the Guatemala study made their responses), thus enhancing potential illiterate understanding.

One thing concerning illiterate audiences, however, is not clear: whether or not they have a mental set against reading any form of print media. The authors' experience in India indicated that many illiterate villagers refused to even consider that they could possibly learn from simple graphic representations. Information presented two-dimensionally or graphically

was, in their opinion, meant for literates, and they had no reason to even consider it. Fotonovelas (or comic books) produced without words -- i.e., produced for and distributed specifically to illiterates --might have little success since the very concept of graphic learning may not be present.

2. The fotonovela appears to be more effective in reaching semi-literate audiences.

As has been noted in Point 1, above, the literates in the Guatemala study learned much more effectively from fotonovelas than they did from comic books, and it is felt, despite the absence of corroborating research data, that this is a representative finding for semi-literates. As also mentioned above, the respondents in the study--both literate and illiterate--were subsistence farmers from poor and relatively isolated areas. The 'literates' were undoubtedly[1] only marginally literate-- predominantly men who had had a few years of lower schooling and then had lost contact with most print information. At the most, they had only occasional contact with newspapers, and at their stage of literacy, would probably have found them hard to read. Their main source of information was, it can be assumed, the radio and, to a much smaller degree, the cinema. There were probably few posters in the village with the exception of special government campaigns, most often politically related. For all intents and purposes, therefore, these 'literates' were in fact not so, and moreover had only a marginal familiarity with print information.

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[1]'Undoubtedly' because of no relevant information in the report - a common methodological deficiency.

It can hence be concluded that semi-literates and illiterates living in poorer economic and media-scarce environments can, to certain degrees and for certain purposes, be placed in the same perceptual category: both would have much the same difficulty in receiving information from two-dimensional space. Both would lack the conventions of so doing -- the technique; both would have the same need for absolute representativeness and objective clarity, simplicity of presentation, uncomplicated progression and continuity, and visual directness. For semi-literates and illiterates in this category, therefore, the fotonovela seems ideal. It must only be remembered that comparative studies done for specialized media such as comic books and fotonovelas are very few, and those that have been done-- such as the Guatemala research--have not been designed with the rigorous methodological discipline needed to control such factors as media scarcity, levels of literacy, prior media contact, etc. One can use these studies, therefore, as indicators of likely trends rather than definitive statements. Based on that assumption, it can be said for semi-literates, as it has been said for illiterates, that the fotonovela, because of its ability to portray 'things as they are' better than other print media, is more effective.

3. The fotonovela has a visual, highly emotive quality appealing to large audiences that the comic book does not.

In addition to a perceptual clarity and ability to present familiar objects distinctly and recognizably, fotonovelas have a certain emotive, effective quality achieved through the photo technique that comic books have never achieved and, due to the nature of the medium, will seemingly never have.

It has been suggested that highly-literate people, in
media-rich environments, lose not only their aural ability,
but also their ability to receive certain visual cues from
other people and their environment. Whether the argument is
stated within the now-familiar 'left-brain, right-brain' con-
text or McLuhan-esque Gutenberg Bible Revolution terms, it
does appear that the volume of diverse information available
in developed countries and the social necessity for consuming
it has been a factor in the change in perceptual organization.
An American learns less from subtle, emotive cues in human
relationships, the argument goes, than a less-literate Third
World counterpart.

This argument is strengthened, in a strange way, by a
similar perceptual revolution going on in the schools: accord-
ing to some American educators, learning amongst the younger
generation is taking place more and more from the same visual,
emotive cues supposedly lost to an older generation in the
United States but still present in the rural Third World.
Textbooks, for example, have more very graphic, emotive photo-
graphs that 'present' information about culture, situation, and
environment without words. In a very real sense, there appears
to be a move towards 'quasi-literacy' which has implications
not only for learning but for attitude as well.

The point, however, is that the fotonovela appeals to just
these 'quasi-literate' or pre-literate perceptual sets. Once
a person learns the convention of reading fotonovelas, and
adjusts to an imitative reality, there is an identification
with the characters and an empathy with the emotions they are

feeling. Although this can be attributed largely to the story-line and contextual involvement of the reader, it is still clearly due to the visual treatment of that study. A photograph can show emotional subtleties that a commercial drawing rarely can.

4. The fotonovela, therefore, is more suited to certain emotive thematic treatments than the comic book.

It is no accident that the majority of fotonovelas in the world are romantic, melodramatic productions. There have been suggestions--not entirely without merit--concerning the cultural preference for romance and melodrama amongst the largely Latin populations who are the primary consumers of the medium; but the fact also remains that romantic themes are most easily treated in a photographic format.

Illustration 1 is taken from a fotonovela entitled El Gigolo, produced in Miami for distribution through Latin America. It is a typical scene from any one of a hundred popular titles. Even without words, there is no mistaking the scene. Although by no means subtle in a creative sense, it would be hard to imagine the same desire, reluctance, and fear portrayed in a comic book.

Most commonly, fotonovelas are described as 'real.' 'That is the way real people are supposed to look' because those are real people portrayed. No matter how well-done the comic book, and no matter how understandable the message (researchers Fussell and Haaland, referred to in Point 1, above, indicated that well-done drawings--particularly three-tones--could be as understandable as photographs to illiterates), the fotonovela will

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Illustration 1

always have that degree of emotive potential and visual empathy crucial to graphic representations of melodrama.

Fotonovelas, also, by the nature of the medium, will always be more sensually suggestive than comic books, and this element of explicitness adds to their popularity. Illustration 2, also taken from El Gigolo, is an example. It is interesting to note, by way of explanation, the case of the production of population fotonovelas in Ecuador: Government officials refused to allow the photographic representation of a condom but permitted a traced line-drawing of the photograph itself. Both graphic illustrations were equally clear and recognizable, but the photograph offended the officials' sense of propriety where the drawing did not.

Fotonovelas, however, while at their best with romantic, 'human' themes, are much less successful with other, less emotive ones. Adventure stories, for example, have seldom been done well because they rely less on facial expression and more on external action, and because the cost of producing high-quality adventure sequences is prohibitive. Illustration 3 is taken from a popular African adventure fotonovela entitled Film. Here seven photographic frames--an entire page--are used to show the progression of a small boy to his cave rendezvous. The photographs are visually simple and uninteresting, and each one conveys very little. The success of the romantic fotonovelas is that they are able to portray--in each frame--different emotions and, consequently, a progressive internal dramatic action. Illustration 4, for example, taken from Los Adolescentes, pub-

Illustration 2

CASOS de la VIDA!

PRESENTA UNA HISTORIA DE
JOAQUIN BAUCHE ALCALCE!

¡EL GIGOLO!

Con la presentación de
RANDY
La bella actriz
ARLETTE PACHECO
La estrella
ATALA URANGA
Con
**CARLOTA MOLNAR
BONNIE TRIANO
FRANCISCO SANCHEZ**
Y
JOSE GOMEZ PARCERO

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Illustration 3

LEMMY HURRIES TO THE CAVE ENTRANCE.

I wonder if Spear succeeded in finding Dr. Devil?

HE RUNS ALONG A PASSAGEWAY.

I hope the Spear won't mind me following him in here.

BUT AS LEMMY ROUNDS A CORNER HE HEARS DEVIL'S MANIAC LAUGH.

Yay!...That sounds like Devil laughing like a hyena!

HE SEES A SMALL OPENING IN THE SIDE OF A WALL.

The laughter is coming from this gap.

Sounds like Devil is on the other side of this wall. I'll take a look.

HE SQUEEZES HIS LITTLE BODY THROUGH.

I wonder where Spear is?

BUT A SURPRISE GREETS HIS EYE.

Yay!...Devil...and... and...!

Illustration 4

20.

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lished in Mexico for a wide Latin American audience, contains
only three frames, but each one conveys a distinct feeling:
the first, the eagerness of the novio; the second, the happiness
and expectation of the young woman; and the third, a sense of
her reluctance to see him go and his concern and apprehension
about what is about to happen.

5. Conversely, the comic book is more suited to less
emotive themes, and more to those involving external action.

Illustration 5 is taken from a comic book in the Spider-
Man series, one of the most popular in the United States. Clear-
ly, there is no physical situation that cannot be portrayed in
comic format. As such, comics can suggest a variety of differ-
ent locales and settings for action.

At the same time, the very graphic flexibility that gives
the comic its appeal and popularity for some audiences, makes it
unsuitable for others. The more fantastic and unreal the comic
becomes, the less understandable it is to illiterates and semi-
literates, to audiences in media-scarce environments where
graphic, print conventions have not been acquired to any degree
of sophistication, and even to nearly fully-literate readers
unfamiliar with its abstract techniques.

6. Humor can be treated more easily in comic books than
in fotonovelas.

Comics have always been a source of humor. Their carica-
ture, parody, satire, and exaggeration of people, places, and
situations have made them popular with a range of audiences.
Fotonovelas, on the other hand, have never, as far as it can
be determined, been used to be funny; nor have they ever been
at all humorous in their melodrama.\ There appear to be three

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Illustration 5

reasons for this, all of which relate to the nature of the medium. Firstly, most fotonovelas are shot with actors and actresses who have little, if any, professional experience in films. Many, in fact, are aspiring artists, who feel that exposure in fotonovelas will give them much-needed publicity. As a result, these often unpracticed actors and actresses do not have the skill required for the subtleties of humor. They can manage in romantic melodramas -- the situations have become stock enough for stock responses -- and the textual dialogue acts as a dramatic support. Humor, however, although tradition-al, is rarely stock. A good comic actor needs spontaneity, innovativeness, and real expressiveness. Since there are few good actors in fotonovelas (particularly in Latin America; Italy has produced a generally better supply, largely because of the predominance of its film industry), humor is simply not attempted.

Secondly, the fotonovela is still a developing medium. Existing somewhere between the photograph and the film, it is still a medium in search of itself. Even a good actor fami-liar with the technique and language of film can appear stilted and expressionless in a fotonovela. The action is different. The definition and concept of continuity is not the same. A fotonovela cannot be played like a film.

Similarly, an actor or actress familiar with the techniques of still photography would have to learn the very different methods required by the fotonovela:. the story-line changes the medium from a sequence of photographs to a static film.

Thirdly, the fotonovela has acquired a media-reputation.
In areas, such as Latin America, where for years it has existed
as a romantic, melodramatic production, any attempt to change
that image would have great difficulty. Again, the case of
early American educational television can be cited: for years
educational programming was out of synch with the medium -- it
was pedantic and the medium was entertaining. It could only
succeed by changing its format to suit that required by the
tradition of the medium.

7. Because of the nature of the medium and the tradition
of its use, the fotonovela is better suited for certain, dis-
tinct educational messages than others.

One can hardly imagine a better match than fotonovelas
and family planning. The very real family turmoil and disrup-
tion caused by sexual, religious, and personal disharmonies--
to say nothing of unwanted children and embarrassing pregnancies--
is perfect stuff for romantic melodrama. Yet, few fotonovelas
have used this dramatic potential effectively in presenting
informative population messages. Moreover, most have avoided
these crucial, emotional issues entirely, focussing instead on
the old family planning stand-bys: too many children, not
enough money, hope for a better life.

One country in particular--Italy--has produced first-rate
population fotonovelas. They are so far superior to anything
else reviewed that they should be given wide circulation to
educational media planners. One, called Il Segreto (The Secret),
(See Illustration 6) discusses a man and a woman who are having

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Illustration 6

PAOLA PITAGORA...
IL SEGRETO
Foto-racconto lampo

Altri interpreti: Francesco Chiureti
Anna Maria Chio
Giorgio Trestinari

© Editoriale Demos

QUELLA SERA IN CASA DI FRANCO E LIA...
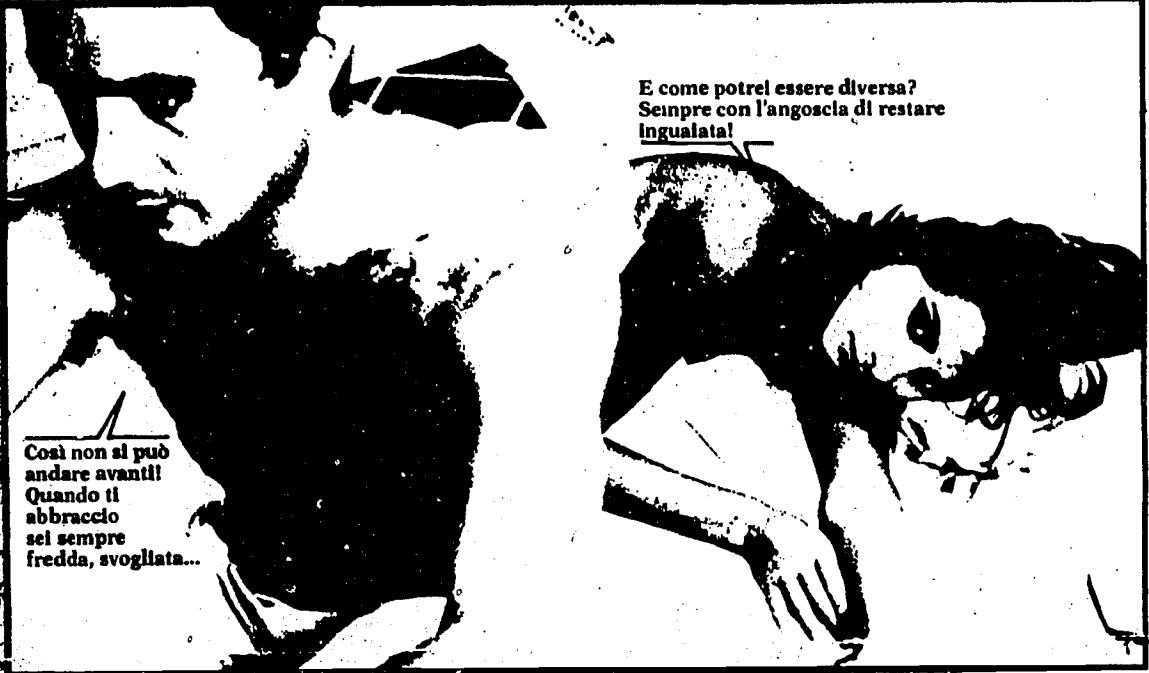
E come potrei essere diversa? Sempre con l'angoscia di restare inguaiata!

Così non si può andare avanti! Quando ti abbraccio sei sempre fredda, svogliata...

L'INDOMANI... E NERVOSA, LIA HA STRANI P...

Forse con Franco s'è davvero spezzato qualcosa. Forse un altro uomo potrebbe darmi un po' di felicità...

E cos'altro dovrei fare? Non hai detto tu stessa, proprio ora, che hai il terrore di restare incinta?

...E poi, tu t'interrompi sempre sul più bello...

E ANCHE FRANCO NON E' DA MENO...

Già, perchè no? Quella, almeno, non fa tante storie e non ha mille paure...

sexual problems: he is dissatisfied because she is cold, with-drawn; she is unhappy because he does not appreciate her fears about becoming pregnant. He turns to prostitutes; she thinks about taking up with another man. Later, the scene changes and the picture is one of harmony and satisfaction: she has begun using contraceptives . She says: "Our problems are over. I'm taking the pill: that is the secret of our new happiness. Finally I have been able to give myself completely to you with-out being afraid and to enjoy for the first time 'il piacere supremo.'"

Obviously, this fotonovela was produced for a sophisticated audience, one familiar with liberal social mores and sexual habits. Yet, it discusses an issue of interest to married, more traditional people as well. KAP studies done in Ecuador,[1] for example, indicate clearly that most women--both rural and urban--want fewer children than they presently have. Although little is known about cross-cultural sexual behavior (in fact, this is one area of significant deficiency in population liter-ature), one can inferentially conclude that Ecuadorian women are confronted with the same problem as the Italians represented in the fotonovela, and might deal with it in the same way. The point is not that fotonovelas similar in treatment and tone can be produced for Ecuadorian audiences; simply that such poten-tially dramatic, emotional issues can be presented in graphic media and presented well.

_____

[1]See Government of Ecuador, Division de Estadistica y Censos, KAP Studies for 1965, '67, '74, and '76.

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A secondary issue raised in the fotonovela is suggested by what the woman says to her lover after she has begun taking the pill: 'Do you want to know something else? Now other men no longer interest me, because you give me everything.' She is talking about machismo, sexual stability, faithfulness -- all subjects of interest, if not personal relevance to most men and women, regardless of culture. Again, the point is not that such explicit sexual references can or should be made in population fotonovelas made for other audiences; only that the subjects treated should be provided in more culturally acceptable ways. (See Illustration 7.)

A tertiary issue--but one still treated dramatically--is that concerning the possible side effects of taking the pill. Rather than treating the question outside the framework of the study, the writer-director has included the quasi-technical aspects of cont...ception within a dramatic context. As the woman is telling her lover how she has decided to take the pill and what it will mean for their relationship, he asks, apparently concerned for her, whether or not the pill can be harmful. She replies that no, on the contrary, she has been reassured by the doctor that--and here the next frame is a flashback to a professional office--no, there is no danger; simply a matter of re-adjustment.

In short, the problem of side-effects has been treated dramatically (will she be able to take the pill? Will the promised stability of the relationship be threatened?), and even the one-framed scene with the doctor has more than matter-of-fact interest. 'No dia retta alla stampa scandalistica,' he says auth-

Illustration 7

oritatively, but slightly contentiously. There is a certain

involvement suggested by the doctor as well.

What makes this fotonovela work so well, in addition to
the well thought-out story and presentation, is the quality
of the actors and the technical perfection of the production.
The emotions necessary for visual, emotive impact have been
accurately portrayed and professionally reproduced. Yet, even
without such attention to detail, such a fotonovela--because
of its basic understanding of the medium and appropriate de-
sign and use of textual material--would be successful for
wider audiences. The medium is best when it is: (1) dramatic;
(2) highly visual, showing facial expressions and intimate
scenes; (3) realistic -- when educational subject and real-life
situation are indistinct. This fotonovela respects all three
criteria in developing its family planning subject within an ac-
cepted and realistic situation, explaining the dramatic situa-
tion quickly and in detail, and saying as much through visual
expression as in printed words.

Although the fotonovela has used romantic themes almost
exclusively in its commercial productions and in certain family
planning efforts as well (see No Podemos Casarnos, Amor Mio,
to be discussed later in Chapter III), the dramatic, emotional,
and realistic format can be used for other themes as well. In
another first-rate example of educational fotonovelas, La
Trappola, family planning is treated in a different, perhaps
even more compelling way: the story concerns a worker in an
Italian factory who has just had a child. The padrone of the

factory hears of the news and asks a <u>comandante del campo</u>
and a military chaplain, both on duty on the industrial grounds,
to join him and the worker in a toast to the newborn child. At
the <u>brindisi</u>, all wish the worker prosperity, but the next day,
reflecting on the toasts he received, the worker realizes that
he has no prosperity and, worse, few prospects of a better life.
Moreover, the <u>padrone</u> has never paid him for the overtime he
has put in. Growing angrier, he goes to the <u>padrone</u> and demands
his due, but is turned away. Finally, in the last frame, the
worker sees the <u>padrone</u>, the military <u>comandante</u>, and the
priest talking together, and says, pointing to them, 'I'm not
going to fall into their trap! I won't have more than one child
or two! Priests and <u>padroni</u> want lots of children--like ants--
so that they can better dominate and exploit them.' (See
Illustration 8.)

Again, educational subject matter and real-life situations
have been melded to produce an effective and dramatic fotonovela;
and the technique of 'photo-verité' has given the right media-
matrix for credibility and identification. Most of the shooting
was done on location, and the actors are characteristic and rep-
resentative. The fotonovela has created a 'feel' for the situa-
tion, the people involved, and the physical environment in which
the action takes place, and in so doing has emphasized the worker's
anger, hostility, and resentment.

If family planning has been the subject most suited to foto-
novela treatment, there have been others--although notably few--
which have also succeeded because of an understanding of the
medium and its dramatic potential. Most significant, perhaps,

Illustration 8

Non cadere anche tu
nella trappola!
Non fare più
d'un figlio o due!
Preti e padroni
ci vogliono pieni di figli
e fitti come formiche
per meglio dominarci
e sfruttarci.

FINE

is the Manuel Santi series, produced for the Government of Ecuador by an Ecuadorian team working with the University of Massachusetts under a U.S.A.I.D. grant. This series, involving an adventure-hero, Manuel Santi, deals with conscientization, or rural development, and portrays a variety of social issues which affect the orderly progress of socioeconomic development in village Ecuador. One, De Quien Es Nuestra Tierra, deals with land tenure and peasant rights. Another, En El Caso de la Mancha de Aji, talks about alcoholism. A third, Agua que no has de beber, is about irrigation and agricultural improvement. The first two are clearly the best, in terms of drama and personal interest. De Quien Es Nuestra Tierra (To Whom Does Our Land Belong), dealing with Indians' threatened land, is no less powerful a social theme than romantic stories of disrupted marriages and threatened family harmony. In some ways, the story of a people's right to territory and land is even more compelling, for it deals with life and survival. Dramatically, such territorial themes offer variety and diversified action. Firstly, many more characters can come into play: landlords, government officials, the religious hierarchy, on one side; peasants, land reformers, revolutionaries, local heroes (like Manuel Santi), on the other; and lawyers, go-betweens, and informers in the middle. Exploitation, dishonesty, fear, mistrust, family and cultural loyalty -- all are real concerns for the rural Indian pressured to give up his native lands, and all can be treated well within the visual context of the fotonovela because they imply internal action. Although a certain amount of external, physical action (fights, chases, etc.) can be staged, it is

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physical action (fights, chases, etc.) can be staged, it is

the psychological and moral tension which can be shown through expression and relationships between two or three people. (See Illustration 8A.)

La Mancha de Aji deals with the moral dissolution of a good man who becomes an alcholic and, consequently, a murderer. The story does not ignore the environmental conditions which often produce the despair and hopelessness of the heavy drinker, and by so doing creates an additional dramatic tension between the Indian village and the white society outside it. The adventure is provided by Manuel Santi who, as a de facto detective, tracks down the killer, but the entire story is set within this social-environmental framework, and hence needs few external supports. (See Illustration 8B.)

There are a number of other development problems which have only been infrequently attempted (as far as the authors could determine) in fotonovelas: health and nutrition among them.[1] Nothing in the research suggested the reasons for this lack of media development, but it appeared that the following could be possible reasons: (1) Convention. As has been mentioned previously, most fotonovelas have treated romantic themes and their most natural educational extention-- family planning; and (2) Unfamiliarity with a rural, often tribal or Indian, audience. One of the major problems facing most media development for non-urban audiences has been lack of understanding, empathy, and hence ability to accurately portray life and environmental conditions in agricultural communities.

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[1]See Appendix I for a complete breakdown by subject area and geographical distribution.

Illustration 8A

Manuel Santi ha comenzado a investigar por su cuenta. Después de ir a la picantería para conseguir los primeros datos, visita también a los que estuvieron allí por la noche.

Por qué bebo, dices? Qué más se puede hacer en este pueblo, donde no hay otra distracción?
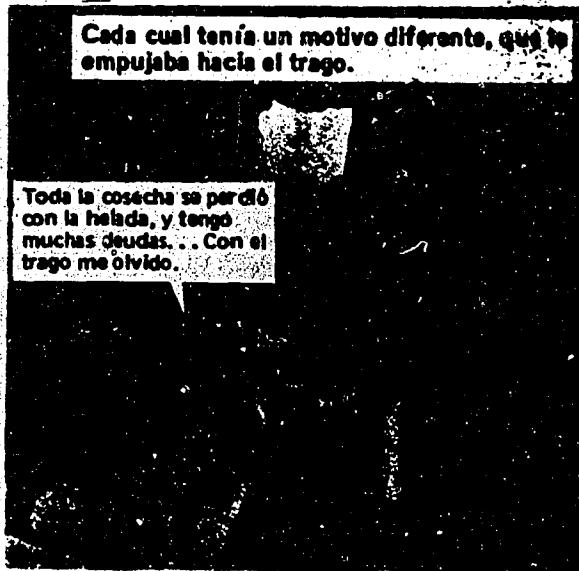
Cada cual tenía un motivo diferente, que lo empujaba hacia el trago.

Toda la cosecha se perdió con la helada, y tengo muchas deudas. . . Con el trago me olvido.
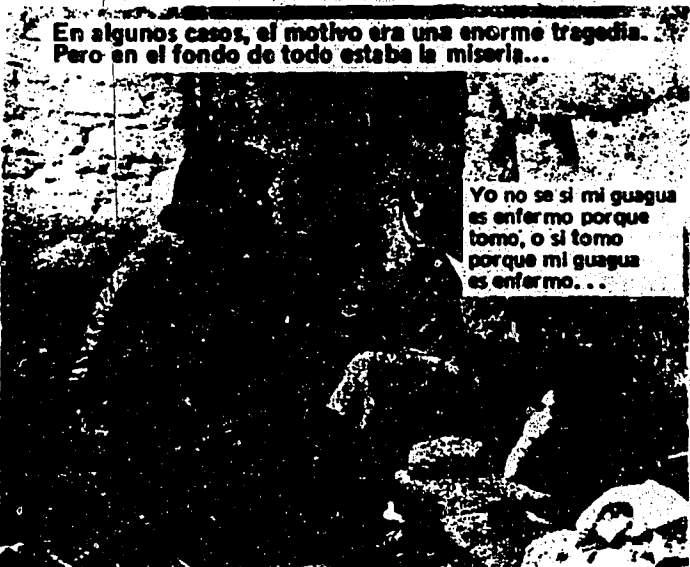
En algunos casos, el motivo era una enorme tragedia. Pero en el fondo de todo estaba la miseria...

Yo no se si mi guagua es enfermo porque tomo, o si tomo porque mi guagua es enfermo. . .
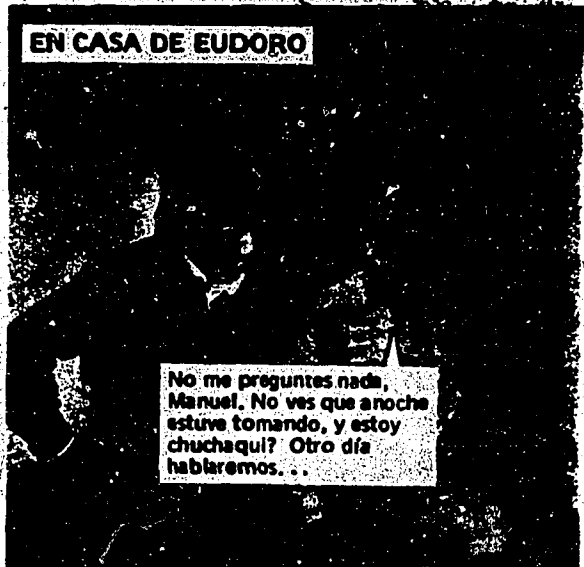
EN CASA DE EUDORO

No me preguntes nada, Manuel. No ves que anoche estuve tomando, y estoy chuchaqui? Otro día hablaremos. . .

Manuel Santi ve la angustia reflejada en el rostro de Eudoro, y descubre en sus lágrimas el drama que está viviendo ese hombre.
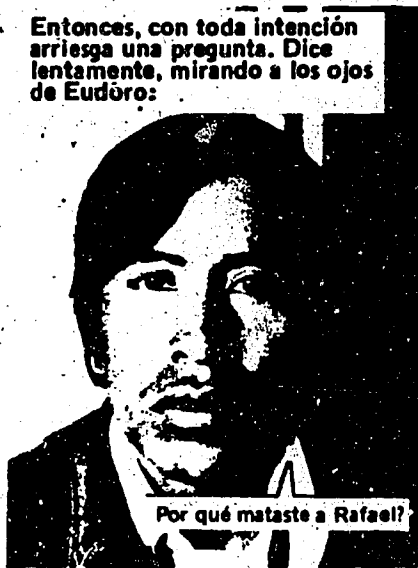
Entonces, con toda intención arriesga una pregunta. Dice lentamente, mirando a los ojos de Eudoro:

Por qué mataste a Rafael?

La respuesta es un ahogado sollozo.

Ohhh!

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A third possibility might be considered: certain problems, although innately serious and directly responsible for the deterioration of family welfare, may not be perceived as such by the target audience. Malnutrition, for example, has been correlated or associated with physical and mental retardation, performance in learning and work, and a whole range of psycho-physical phenomena. Yet, in most remote areas, there is no way for those relationships to be perceived. The time span between event and result is often too great for accurate perception of cause and effect. For another thing, malnutrition is often a chronic problem, existing for decades if not longer in a given area. In one study done in rural India,[1] it was found that despite a high incidence of Vitamin A blindness in many villages, the problem itself was not recognized. To the people of the community, blindness had become so commonplace that it was not perceived as a problem, let alone a nutrition-related one.

The point is, simply, that nutrition, although important, has no direct, perceived relationship to the life of a villager. To him, food is simply fuel -- it plays no part in the real dynamics of family life (except, of course, when it runs out). Furthermore, when there are perceived relationships between food and welfare, they are often based on non-nutritional fact-- or at least non-Western nutritional fact--hot and cold foods, the Evil Eye, etc. Food taboos are part of nearly all cultural cosmologies, but they are not functionally related to the

_____

[1]CARE-India, Food Attitudes in Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, New Delhi, 1973.

nutritional realities international development progr mmers
are attempting to promote.

Food is not the stuff of drama, the way sex, marital
problems, romance, and children are. This is, of course, not
to preclude the possibility of good, imaginative nutrition
dramas; only that it is hard to be creative because of exist-
ing psycho-social constraints.

All this is relevant to fotonovela production: if a foto-
novela were developed around a theme of insidious child mal-
nutrition, for example, and if it were well done--expressive
faces, realistic environments, etc.--it still might have prob-
lems of credibility because of the above-mentioned lack of
perceived relationships, felt need, and media convention. A
poorly-made family planning crisis story has a greater chance
of success than a poor nutrition one.

Health subjects are more explicitly perceived by most
rural audiences. One can conceive of dramas concerning infant
mortality as a result of disease because diarrhea, for example,
is a perceived problem. Infectious diseases like measles, T.B.,
etc. are clear threats to family and home.

Another factor affecting the ability of the fotonovela
to successfully convey non-population development themes is
the perception of most audiences familiar with the medium of
it as strictly entertainment. Certain sectors of the population
do not want and resent receiving information from 'non-serious'
sources. If agriculture is to be discussed, it can only be
treated within an accepted dramatic context -- the Santi-esque

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territorial adventures. What the farmer will not accept are 'dramatic' stories about new seeds, fertilizers, or pesticides, and any attempt to integrate such subjects into a quasi-dramatic theme will be suspect. Dramatic presentations, furthermore, are useful when conveying a new idea -- not the specifics of its implementation. A successful fotonovela on cattle-dips, for example, was developed in Kenya, and the story involved a fight between villages because of the danger of infection and the reluctance of one community to adopt the practice. What is difficult to produce is a quasi-dramatic story of how to build cattle-dips: once villagers were convinced of the idea, they needed no superfluous plot to give them the information.

In summary, fotonovelas are best-suited to dramatic treatments of educational messages; certain messages are more adaptable than others to the fotonovela; and only certain levels of information can best be presented in the dramatic fotonovela form.

It must be emphasized, however, that the above discussion deals with the maximum utilization of the medium. It should by no means imply that the fotonovela should not be used, categorically, in certain circumstances. In fact, the following conditions should be made clear:

1. Fotonovelas without dramatic treatments--simple, expository productions--can be used in areas where there has been no dramatic convention established. This, apparently, is the case in parts of Africa and Asia.

2. Fotonovelas using external action (adventure, pursuit, etc.) can be produced in similar areas in which no specified dramatic conventions have been established.

In Chapter IV, detailed examples of both successful and unsuccessful fotonovelas will be given and discussed to elaborate on the design, development, and distribution of the fotonovela.

8. The comic book, as a literate, abstract medium, is highly culture-sensitive, and can present the same information in a variety of different ways.

The comic book in its world-wide history has had one principal audience--children--and has developed in pace with that audience's growing sophistication, media-savvy, and familiarity with large amounts of diverse information. In the United States, for example, comic books have become abstract, urbane, and increasingly relevant to both the young child's and adolescent's world and perceptions of it. Whereas comic books of the Forties and Fifties were either serious or funny (Superman or Donald Duck), the material produced for today's youth is as matured as popular culture itself. Just as films of the Forties are more often than not looked at now as camp delights--examples of an unsophisticated patriotism, dedication to justice, or romantic ideal--so, too, can comic books of that era be looked at as naive, simplistic, and unsophisticated.

Today's American comic book hero is a blend of cynicism and adventure; wry observer and introspective, sensitive human being. Recently, in the Washington Post, a Spider-Man comic-strip was seen with the title character on a perch on the Empire State Building, reflecting on his past lift of crime-fighting. 'If I had it to do over again, what would I do?,' he muses, questioning the absoluteness of his convictions. 'On

the one hand, I have fought crime, but on the other I have neglected many things.' The exact quotes may have been different, but the gist is the same: Spider-Man is a grown-up, 1970's hero.

The point is that comic books are a flexible, adaptable medium with a high sensitivity to change. They reflect changing attitudes and record the subtleties of a more sophisticated humor -- the space creatures of most comics are no more serious than the characters of Star Wars' bar scene. Kids are laughing; fantasy adventure is more tongue-in-cheek.

As successful as the fotonovela is amongst certain audiences, a television-bred, media-wise audience will often find it corny-- regardless of its treatment and theme. There is something inherently stilted and unreal about its immobility and static action; its sequential frames that frustrate rather than suggest. Fotonovelas have never been popular for American audiences because of television; yet, children read more comic books than ever. That medium is in tune with other media phenomena in their environment.

The comic book has always been read by American adults-- although it has never been considered particularly well-bred to do so--but is only relatively recently that comic books, or some variation of them, have been developed especially for adult audiences. Mad Magazine, for example, is an adult comic, being as wry, satirical, and parodying of a grown-up environment as children's comics are of theirs. Yet, the number of comic titles for adults is relatively few, largely, it appears, because of the stiff media competition from other quarters.

Television alone, it is reported, takes up to five hours
of adult entertainment time per day.

In Mexico, however, where literacy rates are approaching
those of the United States and Western Europe, and where tele-
vision has increased media-awareness and sophistication without
stifling print competition, comic books are growing in popular-
iry. A recent article in the September 5th edition of the New
York Times, entitled "Mexico's Passionate Affair with the Comics,"
gives estimates which put the number of comic books sold each
week in Mexico City alone at 5 million, with readership at least
twice that. The comics are mainly for an adult audience and
deal with themes.of love, adventure, humor, and more recently
politics. Two editions entitled Los Supermachos and Los Aga-
chados (literally, the Stooped Ones; figuratively, The Humble,
The Dispirited) are popular and controversial. The former is
a humorous review of a variety of social topics from family
planning to militarism. It can be sardonic, satirical, slap-
stick, and irreverent. The cover on one issue (see Illustration
9) shows a religious nun kneeling before a statue of the Virgin
Mary, praying: 'Holy Mother Virgin: you who have conceived
without sin, help me to sin without conceiving.' How not to
have children, signals the large print.

Los Supermachos, obviously, reaches a sophisticated urban
audience. Its format and presentation is much like Monty
Python's Flying Circus of British television --a mixture of
cartoon drawing, old prints, photographs, photomontages, and
text (see Illustration 10) --and has as much movement as the
static format will allow. This is the advantage of the comic

Illustration 10

EL COMPLEJO DE "MACHO" DE LOS MEXICANOS, ES CAUSA BASTANTE FRECUENTE DEL NÚMERO EXCESIVO DE HIJOS, CUANDO DEBERÍA SER AL REVÉS: EL HOMBRE QUE EMBARAZA A UNA MUJER DEJA DE POSEERLA DURANTE VARIOS MESES.

YO DONDE PONGO EL OJO PONGO EL SABLE.

OTRO SISTEMA CONSISTE EN LIGAR LAS TROMPAS A LA MUJER, OPERACIÓN SENCILLÍSIMA QUE NO DURA MÁS DE TREINTA MINUTOS Y QUE EN MODO ALGUNO ES PELIGROSA.

SI, VERDA'... ¡Y QUE MI MUJER ME HAGA "TORIBIO"!

DE CUALQUIER MODO ESTA OPERACIÓN ES COSTOSA Y REQUIERE UN DESARROLLO CULTURAL E INTELECTUAL DE LOS CÓNYUGES, Y UNA PREPARACIÓN MORAL QUE AÚN NO ALCANZAMOS EN MÉXICO.

¡NUESTROS MARIDOS ESTÁN RETE SUBDESARRO-LLADOS!

MÁS INFORMACIÓN SOBRE ESTE TEMA: HAMBRE, LA LUCHA DEL HOMBRE POR SU ALIMENTO $20°°
PATERNIDAD RESPONSABLE $20°°
EDITORES ASOCIADOS, S. DE R.L.
ANGEL URRAZA 1322,
14 MEXICO 12, D.F.

book for literate, print-familiar audiences: its abstraction;
spot, eclectic humor; color; and toning flexibility all pro-
duce movement. The comic book is as close to film or television
as a print medium can become.

Mexico presents a unique media picture: on the one hand,
it is one of the three biggest producers of fotonovelas in the
world (along with Miami and Santiago de Chile) and one of the
biggest consumers; on the other, as the _Times_ article suggests,
it has an unusually large and burgeoning comic book market. In
most other Latin countries where one finds fotonovelas, there
are few comic books read. In fact, few countries outside the
United States have the comic book consumption of Mexico.

The following facts are relevant to this situation: (1)
Mexico's literacy rates are high: a large percentage of both
urban and semi-urban populations are able to deal successfully
with textual and graphic material, thus permitting the comic
book a wide, national audience; (2) television has not yet
developed the visual techniques of Western European or American
programming, and is still, therefore, somewhat traditional in
its approach (largely due to the economic limitations constrain-
ing new productions), and relies to a great degree on tele-
novela. (soap operas - the video equivalent of fotonovelas) and
United States imports. As a result, television has not devel-
oped visual perceptions and appreciation to a point beyond the
traditionalistic fotonovela; (3) television, in fact, has comple-
mented fotonovela-reading. Because there are so many tele-
novelas on the air, and because there is such a great similar-
ity between plot, characters, and thematic treatment of both,

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there is a mutual reinforcement; (4) television, although widespread, is not so extensive and all-demanding, that it pre-empts reading time. It only begins broadcasting, for example, at 2:00 p.m. (as of 1974) and has not yet become the compulsion that it is in the United States. There is simply more time, therefore, for both comic books and fotonovelas; (5) literacy, as is pointed out in the Times article is high, but not perfect. Mexican readers still prefer graphic print material to solid textual literature.

The Philippines, it appears (none of the authors have first-hand experience there), is in much the same position, although it is reported that comic books--largely due to World War II GI presence--are relatively more popular than fotonovelas. Similarly, the Philippines also has high rates of literacy.

Although there are few 'quasi-developing' countries in the world, similar to Mexico and the Philippines, there soon will be. Oil alone will soon, it is hoped, put Ecuador and Nigeria into that category. Other countries, like Korea, are already nearly industrialized, with a well-balanced and developed agricultural sector. Even Brazil's more remote areas are being incorporated in national development schemes.

All these countries still need important, relevant development information on population, nutrition, agriculture, and public health. Because of their literacy, modernization, increasing media familiarity, and print sophistication, they can utilize the comic book efficiently. The comic book can present new information and, perhaps more importantly, present old information in a different way.

5.3

One of the most significant successes of the family plan-
ning edition of Los Supermachos was the fact that it dealt
humorously with a subject too long treated seriously. Just as
the Italian fotonovelas, discussed above, were progressive in
their correct determination of some of the real, personal issues
involved with contraception, so does Los Supermachos realize
the importance of breaking through traditional and not alto-
gether successful thematic treatments of family planning. Humor,
after all, is often serious, and given the wide success of this
particular comic book edition, relevant and on target. The
comic book can and should be humorous when dealing with social
issues, and this may be its most important contribution to de-
velopment literature.

9. The fotonovela has more potential for multi-media cam-
paigns than the comic book.

As was discussed in Point 8, above, the fotonovela and tele-
novela reinforce each other in Mexico. To a lesser degree and
for smaller and more select audiences, they do the same in other
Latin countries. In Guatemala and Eduador, for example, where
television is not uncommon, although confined largely to urban
areas, a large portion of daily programming is devoted to
Mexican, Argentinian, and Chilean soap operas; and often the
same people who watch them also read fotonovelas. A multi-
media social campaign could use this existing media relationship
and build on it. If, for example, the Government of Ecuador
could contract--probably on a no-fee basis--with the stars of
a popular tele-novela to act for a population fotonovela dis-
tributed in Quito, the impact and credibility of the message

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would increase. Thinking more broadly, if these same tele-novela actors were to act in a population tele-novela in addition to their participation in the fotonovela, the media links would be strengthened.

Perhaps more effective would be a campaign using well-known fotonovela actors in a social fotonovela, creating a radio-novela using their characterizations (radio-novelas are perhaps the most popular form of radio entertainment in Latin America), and producing posters linking the two. This type of campaign would be well-designed for the illiterate or semi-literate audience which has familiarity with but only infrequent use of fotonovelas: Suppose, for example, a _chola_ (urban Indian woman) from La Paz is a daily listener to a popular radio-novela. One day, at the end of the program, she hears one of the actors say that he can be seen on any one of a series of posters around the city. She can, in other words, see some of the people and scenes she has heard about. The posters are up for a given period of time, at the end of which a new fotonovela is distributed widely throughout the city, either commercially or institutionally. On the cover of this fotonovela are the same actors the _chola_ has seen on the posters, and the story inside is a variation of the same ones she has been hearing on the radio and it contains a population message. Since she is familiar with the plots, themes, and character-izations from the radio-novela, she, although semi-literate, can follow what is going on easily. If she is illiterate, she can get someone to read it to her and perhaps, because of this new media involvement, begin the process of literacy.

The fotonovela can be a part of this media-matrix, where the commic book cannot, because the former is realistically visual--it can provide, in the case suggested above, a flesh and body reality to abstract voices or ideas. A comic book, theoretically, could provide the same kind of synergistic reinforcement for a more sophisticated audience. Yet is would be secondary reinforcement, of less proportionate impact than a new media relationship intervening in the process of the development of a new function (literacy).

10. Both the fotonovela and the comic book have certain social stigma attached to them and therefore cannot always be used to their maximum potential.

The fotonovela, because of its romance and melodrama and popularity with largely uneducated audiences, is often disparaged by better-educated people and thought to be 'cheap' and 'trashy.' In the case suggested above, for example, indicating a possible coordination between tele-novelas and foto-novelas, a woman who watches the former may not, in fact, read the latter simply because of class distinctions -- the treatment and subject matter of both are identical. Having a television set in areas where it is commercially new is frequently more important than watching it. The snobbism of ownership has nothing to do with interest.

Secondly, government officials have, in some instances, voiced their displeasure with the use of the fotonovela to convey educational messages. In Ecuador, for example, during the production of El Conflicto de Una Mujer, a fotonovela about family planning, officials of the Ministry of Health,

despite their commitment to the project, kept insisting that
the producer make the treatment less fotonovela-like!

Comic books also have their problems with acceptance.
First of all, in many countries they are considered for chil-
dren, and any adult who reads them is suspect (the image of
the 'dumb' GI reading Mickey Mouse comes quickly to mind). As
such, the media programmer has two problems: firstly, adults
will not read comic books distributed to them even if the
theme and message are mature and appropriate. Secondly, gov-
ernment officials will not agree to using them for their own
reasons of elitism.

Yet, whereas the problem as it pertains to fotonovelas is
a continuing one, it is somewhat mooted by comic books' adap-
tability and appeal to certain adult audiences. Comic books
in a very short time have become an adult medium -- they have
kept up with general media trends and audience sophistication.
In areas where literacy and media familiarity are high enough
to justify the programming of comic books, one can expect levels
of acceptability higher than the previous stigma would suggest.

11. The comic book still is an ideal medium for commun-
icating social messages to children and adolescents.

The controversy still exists over the question of intro-
ducing comic books into the classroom -- both in the United
States and in the Third World. Education and entertainment
are often held as inviolably separate as church and state, and
only recently has this attitude been changing in American schools.
In fact, there have been some rather avant garde experiments
not only using comic books but programming them with other

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educational media as well. Mulligan Stew is the name of both a nutrition comic book and television program designed for use in the classroom and at home. A controlled experiment, testing the effectiveness of each medium and various use-combinations was executed in selected high schools in the country.[1] One group saw the television program and received the comics at home; and one group each saw only television in the school and at home. The results showed conclusively that those students who had been exposed to both television and comic books in the school did better than those home-only respondents and those students who saw just television in the classroom.

Another comic book, entitled Gulp, and also about nutrition was distributed in selected high schools within an experimental area. It was found that learning about nutrition was significantly improved through contact with the comic book. Moreover, this comic book was produced in a highly abstract format, utilizing the medium to the fullest extent, and, despite initial concerns about its understandability, was found to be not only clear but very well-liked.

Two Third World examples indicate a lessening resistance to the use of comic books for students. CARE produced nutrition comic books (Lakshman Kills a Tiger, The Adventures of Raju, and Shabash, Balwan in India; The Invincible Hong Kil Tong in Korea) for elementary schools in both rural and urban areas, and found that they were highly successful in delivering a

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[1]See Appendix II: Evaluations, A Summary, for further information.

nutrition message and were well-received by teachers and school administrators.[1] Perhaps as importantly, it was found that in all cases the comic books were read by an adult audience which would not have read comic publications intended specifically for them (due to social stigma).[2]

Comic books are ideally suited for children and adolescents, regardless of their educational level or socioeconomic situation. Because of their proven successes in fantasy, humor, and adventure and adaptability to a variety of given situations, comic books should be considered a prime instructional resource for young people.

12. The fotonovela has a greater potential role in participatory education than the comic book.

There have been a number of experimentally successful projects using the fotonovela as a tool for social change. The principle--derived in part from the educational philosophy of Paolo Freire--is that people of a community have the right to participate in the process of their education; that only they have the fundamental knowledge on which a formalized educational structure can be built. Such knowledge is rarely neutral, and more often than not relates to socioeconomic and political situations affecting the total development system. Educators, therefore, have a responsibility not to teach, but to develop learning; to promote education and social change.

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[1]See Appendix II for a discussion of the evaluations of these comic books.

[2]A commercial Mexican comic book, Papelillo, published for children, has a special section entitled: 'For Parents.'

An example of a social-action project using
the fotonovela is ALFIN, the Peruvian Government-sponsored
attempt to incorporate community involvement in a nationwide
literacy program. This project and the New England Farm Workers'
Council adult English (as a second language) literacy program
in Massachusetts--an important U.S.-based effort--both use the
fotonovela as a participatory learning tool. Educators in both
projects encourage learners to choose their own subjects for
study, and help them to do this through the use of the camera.
Just as a variety of video-tape projects involving both com-
unity organizations and encounter groups have helped partici-
pants see themselves and begin to understand about their atti-
tudes and subtlely-projected feelings, so these fotonovela
projects intend to do the same thing. They elicit responses,
convictions, and points of view often obscured by more tradi-
tional modes of teaching. By having learning participants take
photographs (or act out personally-relevant and important scenes
which are photographed), a certain intimacy and accuracy is
derived. When words are placed on the photographs, and frames
are put in sequence, stories develop rather than proceed from
a fixed and pre-decided point. Participatory literacy, then,
involving the use of visual, photographic images, is part
education, part group psychology, and part social-political sen-
sitivity training, and as such has an important potential role
in development 'communications.'

The comic book, it appears, has less of a role in such
dynamic, interpersonal situations, lacking the accuracy and
subtlety needed for this type of interactive learning.

13. The comic--or cartoon--technique is more flexible than the photograph, and hence can reach more diversified audiences in more varied ways.

One of the most popular forms of adult graphic entertainment is the comic strip. Seen in most newspapers throughout the world, the comic strip has become, in recent years, a tool for social and political communication as well as humor. Whereas fifteen years ago, American newspapers carried the adventures of Steve Canyon, the m..odrama of Rex Morgan, M.D., the family errors of Blondie, or the street sense of Brenda Starr, now there is Doonesbury, Tank McNamara and dozens of other quasi-political or -social commentaries that blend traditional humor with apt and timely insights.

As interestingly, perhaps, has been the relatively recent (within the same fifteen years) influence of humorous political cartoons. Prior to Oliphant, most cartoons (typified by Herblock) were accurate, politically-sensitive abstractions of important situations, but in general they were serious and seldom funny. Now Wright, Mac Neely, Auth, and others have turned political cartooning into one-frame comic strips.

The conclusion is simply that the comic form has an in-build flexibility and adaptability. It has proven political power because of its humor and, perhaps more importantly, because of its caricature and cynicism. There is a flippancy about much of the comic work seen in American newspapers that is often less tolerable to establishment powers than even a sharply-worded serious criticism.

Comic strips are common in Third World newspapers as well. Although it was beyond the scope of this project to even begin cataloguing their incidence, it was felt that they should at least be referenced for their potential development communications value. Firstly, they represent a popular way of reaching literate, middle-class audiences with pertinent information on new ideas. A 'development' comic strip, for example, could be inserted in newspapers or popular magazines treating a variety of topics from land reform to nutrition in less than entirely serious ways. Illustration 11 is taken from Guinea-Bissau: Reinventing Education, a booklet on progressive education and meant for distribution both within Guinea-Bissau and for a wider, international audience. The illustration is one page from an extended comic strip dealing with colonial rule, its theoretic l base, actual, historical application, and the fight of Africans to remove it from the continent. As can be seen, the comic strip is dealing with serious themes: slavery, exploitation, inhumanity; but the caricaturizations are humorous. In its entirety, as well as in this excerpt, there is little pedantry and doctrinaire teaching. With some adaptation and re-arrangement, this comic strip could be serialized in local newspapers and reach wide audiences.

By extension, therefore, comic strips represent not only popular ways of disseminating important and timely messages, but means of fomenting social change. Although they are not the intimate, self-produced expressions of participatory education, comic strips can, if done well, be third-

ty expressions of commonly-held beliefs.

Illustration 11
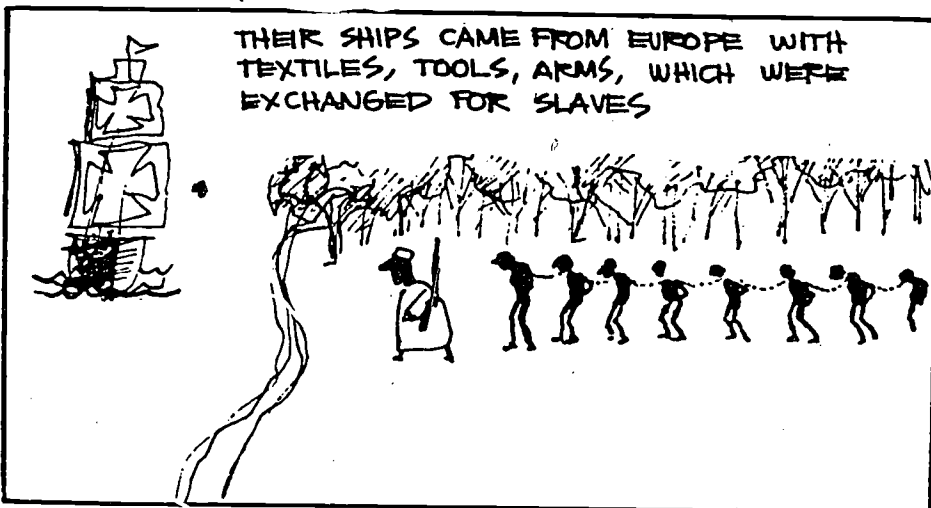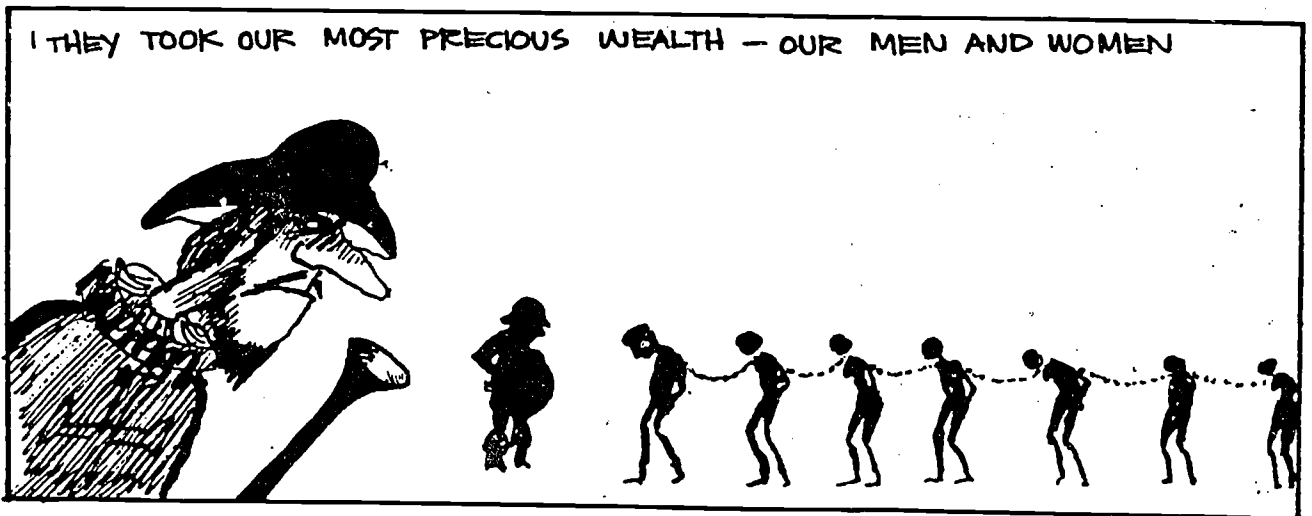
Comic strips can also appeal to a semi-literate audience that looks 'at' newspapers rather than reads them. A serialized comic strip might act as both a social communications tool and instrument of pre-literacy training.

As has been mentioned above, the comic book or comic strip can be as socially relevant and reflective of the most current trends in humor and cultural perception as any medium. It is a technique highly sensitive to small environmental changes and hence is adaptable for purposeful entertainment.

14. Both comic books and fotonovelas--in essence, the drawing and photo format--have their important extensions and applications.

Illustration 12 is a page from Mine Warfare, a People's Republic of China fotonovela concerning China's repulsion of Japanese agression during World War II. It is atypical for three reasons: (1) it has been produced from a film, and is a series of stills from that film with subtitles; (2) it has only implied dialogue, expressed through narrative captions; (3) it has only one frame per page. Nevertheless, it is a fotonovela, in its own way compelling, motivating, and entertaining. It is simply another way of developing a visual format that apparently has been found to be successful.

It raises a number of important questions: Assuming that most illiterates would have a fotonovela read to them, would this simplified, one-frame-per-page format be more understandable? Film still conveys a much greater sense of action and reality than the photo-stills of traditional fotonovelas: is

Illustration 12

57. While intercepting the enemy on the Chaochia Village front, Chao Hu hears mine explosions and shots from East Hill and reports the situation to Comrade Lei who surmises that the enemy has spotted Yu-lan and her comrades. Seeing the Japanese still making their way slowly through the mine field, he orders reinforcements for East Hill at once.

65   BEST COPY AVAILABLE

it possible, given financial constraints, to shoot a foto-novela in Super-8 and duplicate stills? Could dialogue be introduced into this format by simply presenting it textually? For example, in the illustration, the caption could read:

> While intercepting the enemy on the Chaochia Village
> front, Chao Hu hears mine explosions and shots from
> East Hill and says:
>
>> "Comrade Lei, those were mines I heard...and
>> enemy fire. What do you think is happening?"
>
>> "It must be that Yu-lan is under attach,"
>> Comrade Lei replies. "The enemy has spotted
>> her!"
>
> Lei quickly calls Base I.
>
> "Get me reinforcements for East Hill at once!"

Illustration 13 is excerpted from Dos Familias, a family planning comic book produced for PROFAMILIA by a New York publisher for use in Colombia. It is a comic treatment with the same format as the photographic Mine Warfare, but with fewer words, and intended for a less literate audience. It was evaluated and was found to be successful in raising levels of awareness and understanding about population control and family planning.[1] Although it is by no means a comic book, it may have wider applications amongst certain audiences.

Billows Ferry represents in certain respects the limits of the comic format (Illustration 14). In many ways, it is not a comic book at all but an 'illustrated book,' much like books for children in the United States. Yet, it is colorful, professionally produced, and potentially useful for semi-

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[1] See Appendix II for a discussion of findings.

Illustration 13

Todos sus sueños han fracasado.

Illustration 14

ILLUSTRATION 14

When the boat ap-
proached the landing the
girl in red called out,
"Where are you going,
comrade?" I shouted
back that I was headed
for Langkangyu Island.
The three looked me over
before bringing their
boat close. I showed
them my letter of intro-
duction, then jumped
onto their boat.

literate and particularly illiterate audiences to whom the story would be read.

It is important to emphasize that although none of the examples given here are traditional comic books or fotonovelas, they cannot be generically dismissed. Too little substantive information is available regarding the end-use of graphic materials, third-party intervening agents, and comparative understanding of different media given two-dimensional sophistication and media familiarity. In other words, if a Media Section of a government ministry had no photographic equipment, but a good artist; and if such illustrated story books such as <u>Billows Ferry</u> were found to be interesting and entertaining for literates; if the tradition of literates reading to illiterates were still prevalent; and if illiterates could follow the artistic conventions presented...then such a book might be considered preferable to a fotonovela.

<u>15. Comic books allow for more regional dipictions of characters. Fotonovelas tend to be area-specific.</u>

A photograph is unmistakeable and will always show more clearly than a drawing details of environment, dress, and expression. For that very reason, whenever it depicts a character, it depicts a specific character -- someone from a particular place. A comic book figure, however, can be subtlely disguised to look like someone from many different, although related places. Some credibility is lost through this technique, but much flexibility is gained.

CHAPTER 3

COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF COMIC BOOKS

AND FOTONOVELAS

Commercial Distribution of Comic Books and Fotonovelas

This chapter will discuss the geographical distribution
of comic books and fotonovelas, present information concerning
their thematic treatment and popularity, and indicate where
they are published. This information should help communica-
tions planners determine: (1) which countries have a tradi-
tion of a given medium and would therefore be receptive to
development communication efforts within it; (2) what format
and thematic context can be best used to present development
messages; and (3) which countries have an existing production
capacity to be used for the ultimate implementation of poten-
tial development communications projects; and (4) which coun-
tries' actors can be approached for possible participation in
development communications productions.

Following is a discussion by region of fotonovela distri-
bution:

Latin America

Fotonovelas are extremely popular in Latin America and
account for the large majority of the world's production and
consumption. The major production centers are Mexico City,
Santiago de Chile, and Miami, and distribution is uniform, with
fotonovelas found in every country. No figures were available
on per capita consumption of the medium, however, and it can
only be assumed that the more literate and developed countries
(Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, etc.) with more extensive dis-
tribution networks and channels reaching all areas--urban and
rural--have a higher average consumption. In less-developed

countries, such as Ecuador, rural penetration of the medium
may not exceed 10 or 15%.[1] No information is available at all
concerning Brazil.

As far as can be determined (it was beyond the scope of
this study to collect even a small percentage of all titles),
most fotonovelas are romantic melodramas. Few deal with adven-
ture, and few deviate at all from the stock story-lines of tra-
ditional emotional, popular drama.

English-speaking 'Latin' countries, such as Trinidad and
Tobago, also read romantic fotonovelas produced in Nigeria (no
information was available concerning the publication of English
fotonovelas for Caribbean consumption).

Only one source indicates any in-depth study of the reasons
for the continuing popularity of fotonovelas in Latin America.
Technical Note No. 13, published by the University of Massachu-
setts team involved with the Manuel Santi fotonovela series,
says: '...The consumption of the fotonovela in Ecuador is high.
No less than fifteen titles appear periodically at the news-
stands, and they are quickly bought. Thousands of copies are
devoured by a public which looks at them as entertainment or
for escape, but they also, curiously, look at them to learn
("They teach and inspire me in love;" "They teach me the behav-
ior of women in different places.").[2]

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[1] A draft report of the University of Massachusetts Non-
Formal Education Project indicates that, although their Manuel
Santi series was about campesinos, it could reach relatively
few of them, and the urban audience could not identify with
the Santi character.

[2] page 3. Respondent quotes taken from 'Encuesta, "Foto-
novelas" 1x1 No. 4-5, Quito.

Personal experience also indicates that fotonovelas are often rented from sidewalk libraries, where anyone can pay a few centavos and sit and read any one of a number of current and/or back issues.

Africa

There are relatively few fotonovelas in circulation in Africa,[1] and fewer still produced there. The following English-speaking countries have fotonovelas, both romance and adventure: Kenya, Namibia, Lesotho, South Africa, Nigeria, and Ghana. They are produced in Nigeria and South Africa. Although the exact number of titles produced each month is not available, it is assumed to be low and nothing in comparison to Latin America.

The following French-speaking countries have fotonovelas in circulation: Senegal, Benin, Togo, Tunisia, and Ivory Coast. All are produced in France with white characters.

Again, because of lack of materials, it is impossible to give a critical appraisal of the commercial fotonovelas read in Africa. The only one available--Film--is a series produced by blacks in Nigeria and distributed in the English-speaking countries mentioned above. An illustration excerpted from it has been given in Chapter II, indicating the difficulty of using a photographic technique for portraying external action. Yet, it must be mentioned here that Film is extremely popular in areas in which it is distributed, particularly the central character, Spear. In fact, there is a Spear Fan club (see Illustration 15), and more interestingly, advertisements in which

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[1]Information based on professional and semi-professional contacts. No country-by-country canvassing of commercial materials was possible.

Illustration 15

THE SPEAR FAN CLUB

Welcome to these new members!

Nigeria

L2999 Abraham Olayiwola Oguntoye, 22 Odo Street, Obalende, Lagos.

L3000 Gbenga Ogunberu, 4 Olaogun Street, Ebute Metta.

L3001 Tonny Scott, 7 Okoh Close, Surulere, Lagos.

L3002 Abudu Adeyeye, 66 Karimu Street, Surulere, Lagos.

L3003 Adebayo Tokan, 42 Abeokuta Road, Agege.

L3004 Samuel A. Olufemi, Plot 191B Gbadamosi Close, Surulere, Lagos.

L3005 Joseph Adegboyega Adeniyi, 2 John Street, Mushin.

L3006 Albert Olu. Smith, Lagos University Teaching Hospital, "Maintenance Section", Idi-Araba.

L3007 George 'Bayo Fagbile, Esq., Fagbile Comp., via Railway Station Mushin.

L3008 Adebayo Jasanya, 55 Ojuelegba Road, Surulere, Lagos.

L3009 Tajudeen A. Lawal, 11 Shosanya Street, Mushin.

L3010 Ben Ferguson Otaiyon, 102B Itire Road, Surulere.

L3011 Allan & Sheriff, 37 Evans Street, Lagos, Nigeria.

L3012 Adelumola Williams, 13 Shosanya Street, Mushin.

L3013 S. O. 'Banji Adegoke, Ministry of Mines & Power, P.M.B. 12574, Lagos.

L3014 Christopher Y. Alele, Iju Water Works, P.M.B. 1009, Agege.

L3015 Emmanuel Ade. Adejoro, 9 Gray Street, Yaba, Lagos.

L3016 K. Ade. Lawal, 28 Moloney Bridge Street, Lagos.

L3017 Isa Sulaimon, 10 Adewuolo Street, Lagos.

L3018 Una Brown, P.O. Box 1930, Lagos.

L3019 John I. Ndakwo, Q.M's Office, 20 Brigade Nigeria Army, Ikeja.

L3020 Lance Jas S. O. Nenuwa, 17 Makurdi Street, Ojo Oniyun, Ebute Metta.

L3021 Joseph Olufemi Qlomola, Armel's Transport Ltd., c/o Transport Manager, P.O. Box 228, Apapa.

L3022 B. B. Akpan, 81, Karimu Street, Surulere, Yaba.

SPEAR FAN CLUB

WESTERN STATE MEMBERS

W2060 Oluyemi Adeoye, 7/192 Surulere Street, Oke-Ado, Ibadan.

W2061 Tolu Oshinanlu, Isonyin, Grammar School, Isonyin via Ijebu-Ode.

W2062 Jossy Oyeyemi, S6/479 Egba's Compound, Oke-Olokun, Ibadan.

W2063 Olagboyega Okusanya, 12 Omo-Owo Street, Ijebu-Ode.

W2064 Jonathan Jacob, Ebenezer School, Kajola Owena, Ondo.

W2065 Oluwole Agunbiade, Niger Dams Authority, E.E.C., P.O. Box 103, Oshogbo.

W2066 Tajudeen Respect Ola, G.B.M.C., P.O. Box 123, Ilesha.

W2067 Richardson Elegant, N6/316 Oyo Road, Mokola, Ibadan.

W2068 J. O. Omojola, 40 Catholic Mission Road, Oshogbo.

W2069 Samuel Omosheyi Onota, Atlas Insurance Co. Ltd., P.O. Box 1890, Oke-bola, Ibadan.

W2070 Festus Olu Oyedele, Ibadan Boys' High School, P.O. Box 263, Ibadan.

W2071 James T. Adesanya, 50, Oke Street, Ododeyo—Ilugun, via Ijebu-Ode.

W2072 Michael Agunbiade "The Holy Micho", 44 Olusha Street, Ado-Ekiti.

W2073 Fadahunsi Fakoya, Oke Ono Grammar School, P.O. Box 241, Abeokuta.

W2074 Idowu Onadipe, Victory College, P.O. Box 4, Ikare-Akoko.

W2075 Raifu Lawal, 33 Itasin Street, Modakeke—Ife.

W2076 Olufunmilayo Adebayo, Government House, Ibadan.

W2077 Adewale Serrano, c/o Health Office, Onireke, Ibadan.

Lance Spearman--the Spear--a <u>fictitious character</u> sells commercial products! (See Illustration 16.)

Despite the fact that <u>Film</u> is a relatively amateurish production, still exploring both medium and presentation, it has a large audience, and it is felt that its increasing popularity is due to two major reasons: (1) it is a new print medium in an area where informational and entertainment materials are amongst the world's fewest; and (2) it features black characters and has been produced by black artists. It h often been observed that 'national' productions have far greater popularity than foreign imports, regardless of quality because of cultural identification and pride.[1]

Asia

Although once again a complete survey of commercial productions was impossible, it was found that the following countries had fotonovelas in circulation: Thailand, Philippines, and the People's Republic of China. It was also ascertained that India and Nepal do <u>not</u> have fotonovelas.

The fotonovelas in Thailand are produced there, and are reportedly quite similar to those in Latin America --romantic and melodramatic. Many of the ones available in the Philippines are produced in Italy and translated either into English or the national language. Reports indicate that fotonovelas are not at all as popular as comic books in the Philippines,

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[1]In Bolivia, a country without a real film industry, a film called <u>La Chaskanawi</u>, about local Indians and <u>mestizos</u> received raves from all sectors of the population - largely because it was Bolivian.

Illustration 16

Lance Spearman
THE SPEAR *says*

I'M TELLING YOU STRAIGHT – IT PAYS TO BE **STRONG!** THAT'S WHY I RECOMMEND DR.HOMMEL'S HAEMATOGEN

Dr.HOMMEL'S
Hæmatogen

With plenty of strong, healthy blood in your body you can really enjoy life. You feel ready for anything! Dr. Hommel's Haematogen contains real OX BLOOD, strong blood that makes you stronger, healthier, more powerful. Take the first step to successful living now. Get Dr. Hommel's Haematogen today!

contains real OX BLOOD to make you STRONGER, HEALTHIER, more POWERFUL

For STRONG HEALTHY BLOOD take
DR.HOMMEL'S HAEMATOGEN

largely due to prior American influence. No information is
available on the number of titles of fotonovelas available
in either the Philippines or Thailand.[1]

Less information is available on the use of fotonovelas
in the People's Republic of China, since the only copy avail-
able was purchased from a newsstand in Chinatown, New York
City.

Middle East

Turkey, Israel, Egypt, and Jordan are all reported to
have commercial fotonovelas in circulation. Italy provides
translated versions of their productions to Turkey and Israel,
and France distributes French language productions to Egypt.
All fotonovelas are reported to be similar to the Latin American
romantic-style thematic treatment.

Following is a discussion of comic books by region. Once
again, it must be emphasized that this is not a complete list-
ing; simply a cataloguing of those countries in which a positive
identification of comic book use has been made:

Latin America

Reliable sources indicate that Mexican-produced comic
books are available all over Latin America. Although positive
identification has not been made for each individual country
within the region, it can safely be assumed that wherever there
are literate, middle-class populations with enough disposable
income to be able to purchase frequent titles (all countries),

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[1]The subject of fotonovelas and comic books is of low
priority to most professional communications experts, and few
of them could estimate readership or relative popularity of
the media in countries they have visited or worked in.

the existing fotonovela distribution network can be used to reach them. It would be wrong to assume, however, that unlike Mexico, large non-urban groups of Latin populations have access to comic books. If Ecuadorian fotonovela rural penetration is only 10-15% (see earlier University of Massachusetts reference), comic circulation could barely reach 1%. This figure would, of course, be higher for more developed countries, but still would be relatively insignificant.

Comic strips, similarly, are commonly found in most urban Latin American newspapers, but decrease dramatically outside capitals and major cities.

Africa

The following countries are reported to have comic books: Tanzania, Malawi, Kenya, Nigeria, Tunisia, Libya, Senegal, and Cameroon, although little information is known about production, and little can be surmised from the existing foreign imports in circulation. Senegal, for example, distributes the Asterix series of French comic books, but it is impossible to determine whether or not its popularity is due to the comic itself and its treatment, or whether or not--as in the case of the French fotonovela imports in West Africa--media scarcity seems to determine demand.

In terms of degree of media popularity--how well the comic book is liked--too little information is available to make even tentative observations. It is known, however, that the Government of Cameroon has produced a booklet concerning its recent National Census which contained an extended comic strip, indicating an assumed popularity and familiarity with this graphic form amonst commercial publications.

Comic strips in newspapers are frequently found in Africa; however, because of low overall newspaper readership, it must be assumed that only a small proportion of the population is familiar with them. Peace Corps information indicates that in Tanzania, towns of under 1000 people receive no newspaper whatsoever, and that this situation is not uncommon throughout the rest of sub-Saharan Africa.[1]

Two African journals--one French and the other English-- deserve special notation. Famille et Developpement, published in Dakar, is a commercially successful development magazine dealing with a wide range of social and economic issues. Despite its clearly educational format, it is popular and in constant demand. Begun as a media support for development 'trainers,' the magazine soon became geared to a more general audience that simply wanted more understandable information about food, nutrition, health, and family planning. Official estimates put today's circulation of the magazine at 25,000 in twelve French-speaking African countries, although readership is reckoned at at least three times that, since scarce magazines are passed through families and friends. Furthermore, parts of the magazine are frequently read over the radio for the benefit of illiterate audiences.[2]

Although no information is available concerning the use of comic strips in Famille et Developpement, the point is only that they could easily be integrated into the overall format

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[1] Interviews and phone discussions with volunteers and staff members with prior familiarity with Africa.

[2] Estimates from Christian Science Monitor, June 29, 1977 article.

(and may already have been - only a few copies were available at the time of the writing of this report).

The second magazine of note is called Joe, a hip, up-beat African monthly published in Kenya with a MAD-type format (see Illustration 17). This magazine often deals with relevant social issues, but in caricature and parody (Illustrations 18 and 19). The publication is so popular, it is usually sold out.

Asia

The Philippines, India, Taiwan, and Thailand have been reported to have comic books in commercial circulation, although no exact figures on readership, titles, or production were readily available.

Middle East

No information.

It is recommended that the following information on commercial sale, distribution, and production of comic books and fotonovelas be obtained prior to any programming of development support materials:

1. A complete, country-wide list of comic and foto-novela publications, by region.

2. Information concerning their periodicity, cost, and diversification of titles (many companies have more than one title per month).

3. Information concerning subject matter, thematic treatment, and relative popularity of different treatments, by region (in Africa, it has been suggested, audiences prefer adventure rather than Latin-style romance).

4. Information concerning distribution and readership--urban sales, number of readers per copy, type of reader (literate, semi-literate), and penetration into rural market.

5. Local production facilities and their potential.

Illustration 17

So what is so new?

OUT NOW

Well, EVERYBODY is talking about Kenya's NEW, BESTSELLING LP RECORD, that's what! JUST LISTEN TO...

THE **BEST OF KAMARU**

A KAMUKUNJI RELEASE
KMJ LP 97
Available from ;

* **JOSEPH KAMARU** and his **KAMARU CELINA BAND**

CITY SOUNDS, River Road, P.O. Box 284... NAIROB...
KAMARU MUSIC STORE, Luthuli Avenue, P O Box 48625, Nairobi.   Tel ...

* **ALSO ON NEW RELEASE: MUKWENDA TUTHURE-UU? KMJ-32**

Illustration 18

AFRICA'S ENTERTAINMENT MONTHLY

WHOSE PROBLEM

Illustration 19

Planning a Family?

The first requisite in Planning a Family, from the woman's point of view, is to find and capture a man. The success of the whole project depends upon this. JOE's Health Department is pleased to offer a few suggestions on well known 'Planning a Family' preliminary techniques.

The Rhythm Method

One of the oldest methods known to man, (and woman). The woman dances exotically, rhythmically, in a public place, attracting all male eyes, until one of them finally picks up enough courage to ask her for a drink.

The Coil

A more sophisticated technique, where the woman having lured the man to his lair, or flat, then immediately wraps herself around him. Practised well, she need never go home again.

The Cap

A less well known method, that unfortunately lends itself to the whims of fashion. Dressing very smartly the woman 'sets her cap' at the man, i.e. wears her hat (which may be knitted) at an attractive and eye catching angle, and awaits results.

The Pill

The most modern, and some say, the most effective technique. It certainly offers much more scope for women's initiative. The Pill, a small capsule is dropped into the men's drink at a party, or any other social gathering. As soon as the man collapses with sleep the woman moves quickly to claim him, and carry him off home.

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CHAPTER 4

COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS:

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF MATERIALS

Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Critical Review of Materials

In Chapter 2, Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Comparison, a number of points were raised concerning the relative effectiveness of the two media in varying circumstances. It was emphasized that comic books and fotonovelas are two distinct communications tools, but that the distinction has not always been appreciated, resulting in inappropriately designed or misdirected publications. It was concluded in Chapter 2 that the problem relating to the production and programming of both comic books and fotonovelas was a media one, relating to structural elements inherent in both graphic and verbal technique. In addition to the not uncommon problems of lack of audience research, imaginative design and distribution experiments, etc., lack of a well-defined media concept appeared to be the most outstanding. Despite the fact that photographs and line-drawings have very different potentials and limits and do different things, they were often viewed as simple alternates of each other -- variants that could be used interchangeably. Despite the fact that fotonovelas, by their traditional conventions, are highly emotive, effective vehicles of communication, they were infrequently designed with this media potential in mind. Instead of becoming the development communications version of their romantic, melodramatic commercial counterparts, educational fotonovelas often were pedantic and lifeless. Educational comic books for literates, far from being super-animated, dynamic, and flexible, were frequently over-declaratory and uninteresting.

This lack of media understanding was curious, for there is no dearth of successful commercial examples. Yet, despite the availability of well-done, attractive, and popular publications, educational attempts to communicate seemed to stray from well-established media structures. There appear to be a number of reasons for this. First is simple unfamiliarity with using comic books and fotonovelas as development communications tools, particularly in the Third World. There simply has not been enough programming of these media to generate either the interest in more expansive use or a highly-developed media strategy. Secondly, as has been mentioned in chapter 2, too little coordination has been achieved between educational subject specialists and media professionals, resulting in publications whose media-potential is diminished by the demands of the message, and whose message is weakened by the reluctance to use the medium fully. Thirdly, there is often a reluctance on the part of many Third World government officials to program 'entertainment' with national resources. This is a reflection, in some cases, of a continuing elitism -- the 'people' should be taught in the prescribed ways of the educated,[1] traditionally and classically[1] -- and in others simply a lack of understanding of the information process. Too few decision-making officials are award of the subtle distinctions between

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[1]The Parlatos, working on a CARE-India nutrition mass communications project, one geographical region of which was the northern, traditional state of Uttar Pradesh, found that high-caste Indian officials insisted upon a shudh, or 'high' Hindi, heavily Sanskritized and literate but basically not understandable to the rural villager. The Brahminical tradition was such that education had to proceed within the established traditions of teaching; that modern subjects could be taught, but that teaching methodology had to remain the same.

'education' and 'communication.' Fourthly, politically-sensitive government officials, with a more objective approach to information dissemination, have at times criticized 'entertainment education' for being exploitive and manipulative. Third World countries with a growing appreciation for the complexities of the 'ends-justifies-the-means' controversy in communications have objected to the often facile techniques of advertising. One must not entice to better behavior, regardless of the goal, they argue. Education is exposition, and communications is presentation, not the frivolous attempts to 'win people over.'

With these possible explanations understood, it was felt that this chapter--and this report as a whole--concentrate on the specific media problems that affect the design and implementation of fotonovela and comic book production. The narrative that follows, therefore, will be detailed and explicit with regards the use of the two media, and will emphasize with specific examples what the discussion in Chapter 2 described somewhat theoretically. The narrative will be broken down into the following components:

(1) A review of some well-done comic books for adults.

(2) A review of a selection of comic books for adults which, because of one or a variety of important elements, were considered less successful than those in Category 1.

(3) A review of well-done fotonovelas.

(4) A review of less-successful fotonovelas.

(5) A selection of booklets in a comic book style: print material which, because of certain media conventions, qualifies not as comic books per se but as related graphic matter.

A selection of print materials, similar to those referred to in Category 3, above, which use the photo-format but do not qualify as distinct foto-novelas.

(7) Fotonovelas used in programs of participatory education.

A number of specific examples will be used in each cate-gory, in an attempt to illustrate the types of problems that are likely to arise in the programming of comic books and fotonovelas. Given the widespread confusion between the com-munication roles of comic books and fotonovelas, it was felt that explicit and numerous examples, indicating the types and variety of this confusion, would be informative and useful.

Well-done comic books

Los Supermachos: This comic book, mentioned in Chapter 2, is a highly successful visual presentation, utilizing the generic flexibility of the medium to its maximum. It is comic and caricature; a melange of styles and visual treatments pre-senting a variety of information about reproduction and contra-ception. It has integrated serious material into a loose, sophisticated format. Despite its visual mobility, it main-tains a good textual control of its material and develops a continuity either through subject matter or the use of comic characters. Los Supermachos is an example of a sound under-standing of the comic book medium, a respect for the integrity of the subject matter treated, and a feel for the visual and textual limits provided by each. Although the level of sophis-tication in this comic book could not be reproduced for all audiences, it--and others like it--should be used as exemplary models. Although similar productions in other countries will

change significantly to reflect culture, social mores, etc.,
nevertheless Los Supermachos can serve as a theoretical model,
if nothing else, for it represents technique, media awareness,
and stylistic diversity.[1]

Escape from Fear (Amor Sin Temor): This production, first
released in English, was later redistributed in Spanish with a
few graphic changes (the hero has a mustache and the heroine,
brown hair instead of blonde), but no substantive changes in
story and text. It is a classic comic book romance, and re-
spects all the right conventions: it is super reality -- the
one quality, perhaps above all others, which characterizes the
medium and so idealizes certain situations and characters; it
creates a fantasy credibility that in some ways appeals to
more innate aspirations. Illustration 20 indicates the comic
book's special fantasy appeal: a beautiful, sensual heroine,
the physicalness of their conflict, the dramatic dark shadows,
and scene-end despair in two shades of green.

The comic book loses in interest after that first, classic,
dramatic scene. The page following Illustration 20 is more
mundane -- the real purpose of the comic book begins to show
itself (see Illustration 21) -- but in general Escape from Fear
is a positive attempt to integrate family planning information
in a non-traditional format. Where it is most successful is
where it is most faithful to comic conventions. Illustration
20, for example, shows how each frame has its own internal ac-
tion. Because a comic book is so flexible and there are few

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[1]All publications referred to in the narrative are list-
ed on a Master Sheet in Appendix I, giving specific information
concerning sponsor, dates of publication, distribution, etc.

Illustration 20

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Illustration 21

restrictions as to what can be put in one or a series of frames, no one frame should be static and superfluous. Illustration 22, however, is a common example of how the medium is misused when trying to be serious: all six frames have more text than visuals; each frame is no more than a visual background for the verbal action. Furthermore, the character of a nurse--introduced for medical credibility--diminishes whatever dramatic action has been developed. This educational technique--seen frequently in population material--detracts from the over-all impact of the comic. It is not part of the comic's conventions. It is too objective and matter-of-fact, and it disappoints an audience whose expectations from a comic book are completely different.

Corazones en Conflicto (Hearts in Conflict): This publication, also concerning family planning, is another example of a good general use of the medium but with certain characteristic and common misuses. Illustration 23 represents a page early in the story--one of the ills that befall large families--and uses many classic comic conventions: there is a self-contained action to each frame, a variety of different graphic aspects and perspectives are used, and the plot-related activities are clear and well-understood. Not only are these important considerations in a media sense, they relate to audience as well: if comic books are to be used at all for semi-literate audiences, the graphics should always be as strong, if not stronger, than textual material. Frame 1, for   would be unmistakeable to a Latin reader: the man sea   table is the young woman's father; the children are .   ...others and sisters; and the man standing is her friend. He could not be her older bro-

Illustration 22

THE RECEPTIONIST TAKES JOAN TO THE NURSE. JOAN FINDS IT EASY TO TALK TO HER...

THE METHODS WE RECOMMEND HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, MRS. HARPER. AND THE COST IS ONLY WHAT YOU CAN AFFORD. AFTER YOU'VE TALKED WITH DR. CRANE, SHE'LL HELP YOU TO CHOOSE A SUITABLE METHOD.

JOAN LISTENS WITH GROWING HOPE TO DR. CRANE

THERE ARE MANY METHODS OF BIRTH CONTROL. TWO OF THE NEWEST ARE CONSIDERED MOST EFFECTIVE. ONE IS THE "PILL", THE OTHER IS THE INTRAUTERINE DEVICE (IUD), A LITTLE PLASTIC LOOP OR COIL WHICH IS EASILY PLACED IN THE WOMB BY THE DOCTOR. IT IS LEFT IN PLACE UNTIL YOU WANT ANOTHER BABY. THE DIAPHRAGM, THE CONDOM (RUBBER), CONTRACEPTIVE CREAMS, JELLIES, VAGINAL FOAMS OR RHYTHM ARE OTHER GOOD METHODS

AFTER DR. CRANE EXPLAINS HOW EACH METHOD WORKS, JOAN ASKS A FEW QUESTIONS...

THESE METHODS WON'T KEEP US FROM HAVING ANOTHER BABY WHEN WE ARE READY, WILL THEY?

ABSOLUTELY NOT, BUT YOU SHOULD HAVE ANOTHER CHILD ONLY WHEN YOU ARE STRONGER AND READY FOR IT. THEN YOU JUST STOP USING BIRTH CONTROL.

THERE'S SOMETHING ELSE, DR. CRANE. WILL IT MAKE THINGS -ER-UNPLEASANT?

NOT IN THE LEAST, MRS. HARPER. DON'T BELIEVE ANY BACK-FENCE GOSSIP. BY FREEING YOU FROM THE FEAR OF AN UNWANTED PREGNANCY, YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND SHOULD BE MUCH HAPPIER IN YOUR SEX RELATIONSHIP.

ONE QUESTION STILL WORRIES JOAN, THE QUESTION ON WHICH HER WHOLE MARRIAGE HINGES...

AND THESE METHODS WORK, DR. CRANE? THEY'LL REALLY WORK FOR KEN AND ME?

THEY WORK FOR MY OTHER PATIENTS - AND FOR ME AND MY HUSBAND. USE THE METHOD YOU CHOOSE REGULARLY ACCORDING TO INSTRUCTIONS AND YOU CAN HAVE YOUR NEXT CHILD WHEN YOU DECIDE TO.

JOAN CHOOSES A METHOD AND IS TAUGHT HOW TO USE IT. SHE ARRANGES TO RETURN TO THE CENTER IN A MONTH FOR A CHECK-UP...

THE CHECK-UP IS JUST TO MAKE SURE EVERYTHING'S SATISFACTORY TO YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND, MRS. HARPER. DON'T HESITATE TO STOP IN BEFORE THEN IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS AT ALL.

YOU AND DR. CRANE HAVE JUST BEEN WONDERFUL! THANK YOU!

Illustration 23

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ther or else he would be talking to the father. Something
has just happened to the mother ('pobre Mama' is clear enough),
and it obviously is going to affect all of them. Frames 2-5
indicate graphically that the young woman will have to take
over the responsibilities of the family, since the father is
grief-stricken and the other c: ldren are too young. Obvious-
ly, her _novio_ will have to wait.

Illustration 24 shows how the action is disrupted by the
doctor's talk. Although considered important by the authors
to present an authority figure and to introduce the 'serious'
material, his presence is a dramatic weakness. Furthermore, a
semi-literate, reaching this part of the story, would not be
able to figure out what was happening, and would either skip it
or stop reading entirely.

The Story of Stumpy, Jean, and Lena is an excellent comic
book on family planning, although it is very simply drawn in
black-and-white and is graphically ingenuous compared to the
more professional Escape from Fear or Corazones.... Yet its
visuals are clear, layout and perspectives interesting and
varied, and most importantly, it has a real, involved story,
many characters, and lots of action.

Illustration 25 shows a typical page. The Story of Stumpy...
is successful largely because of this hip realism and language
and involved, but undoubtedly true-to-life story situation.

Illustration 26 shows a later stage of the story -- more
babies, and the plot gets more tangled. Her plight is serious,
yet funny. 'Not here, PLEASE, Madam,' says the diffident and
very proper store manager. "Wa Wa!', says the balloon pointing
between Lena's legs.

Illustration 24

Illustration 25

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Illustration 26
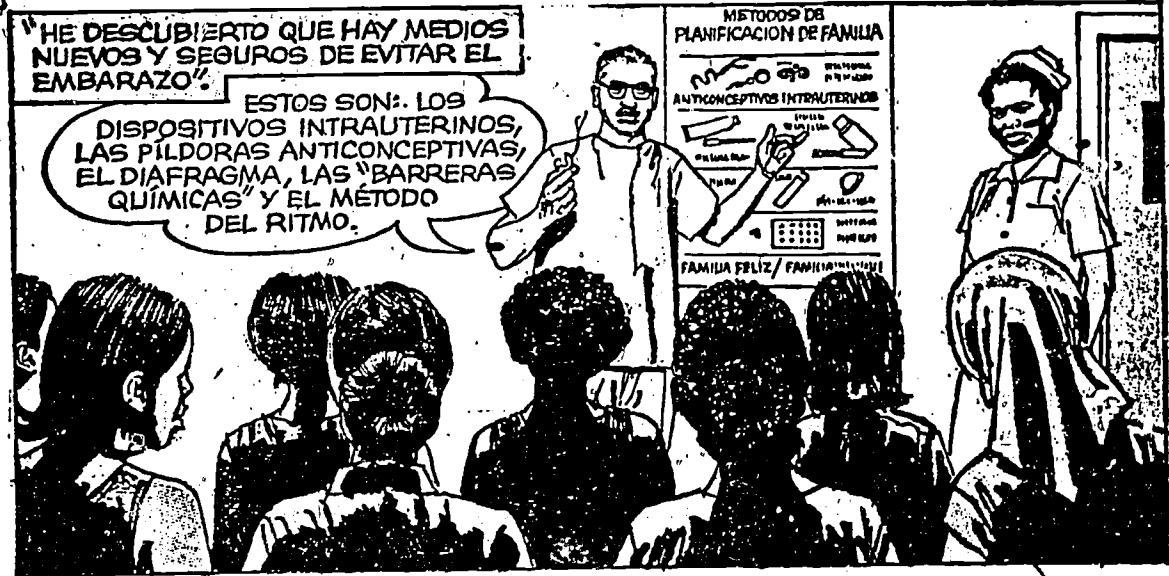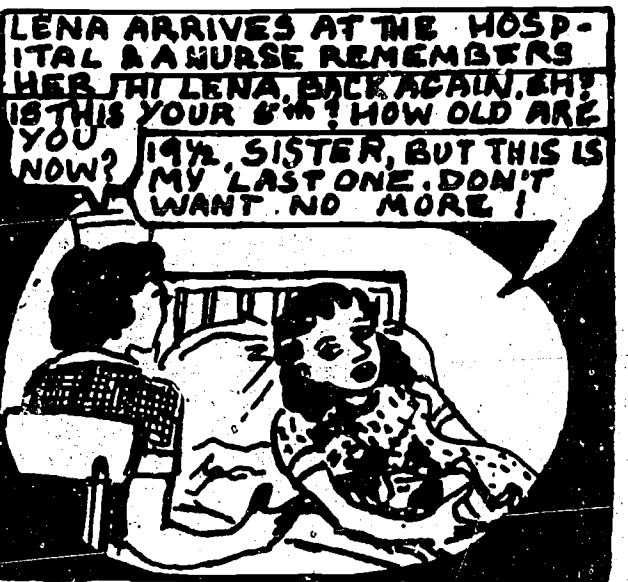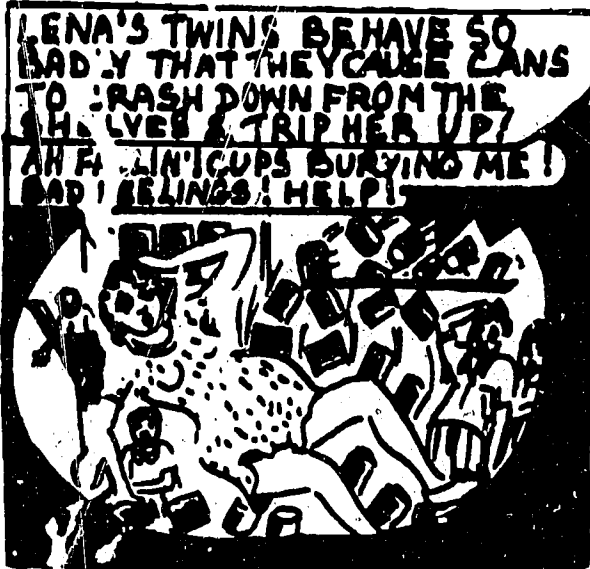
In one sense, this comic is in a class by itself. No other publication reviewed had such consistent interest, humor, and action; and, most importantly, no other comic book dealt so realistically with the specifics of family planning and contraception. In Escape... and Corazones..., the educational ideas were introduced artificially. The doctor or nurse had no roles within the story. They were symbolic figures representing credible, interpersonal sources of information but had no intrinsic relevance to the dramatic issues being developed. In Stumpy..., however, the basics of family planning are introduced directly and unmistakeably by the characters who get themselves involved because they do not use family planning. Illustration 27 shows Lena and one of her boyfriends making love. "She real sweet but I don't trust her,' he thinks. 'I know this is wrong and I can't remember to get the family planning pill,' she reflects. Two months later she finds out that she is pregnant, and her boyfriend claims that because of her 'carryin' on,' there is no way for him to know if he is the father. She hits him. 'Stop that,' he says. 'Why the hell you not on the family planning? You done get twins nobody wants!'[1]

Stumpy... presents family planning in different ways. Primarily, of course, it is through the central action of Lena, her family, and friends. But there are peripheral characters as well, and they talk about the relationship of family planning

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[1] Frame 1 shows a nurse, but she is not teaching. She is a real character who officers advice but knows her limits in doing so. Hence, she is not so much a figure as a person.
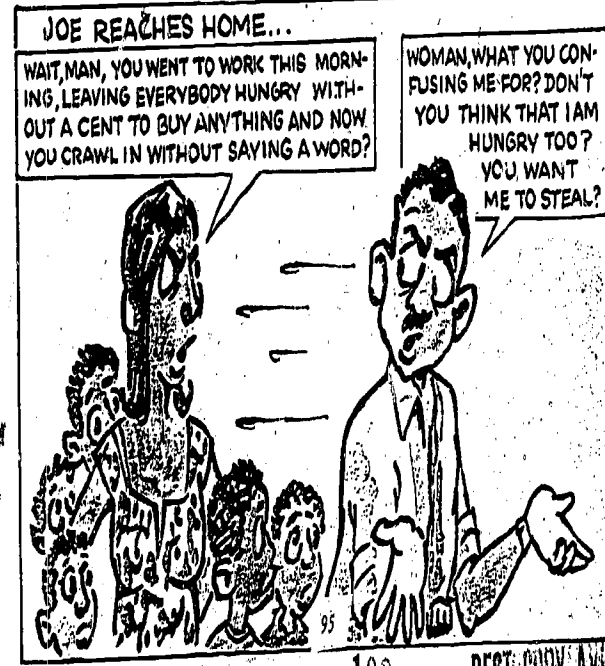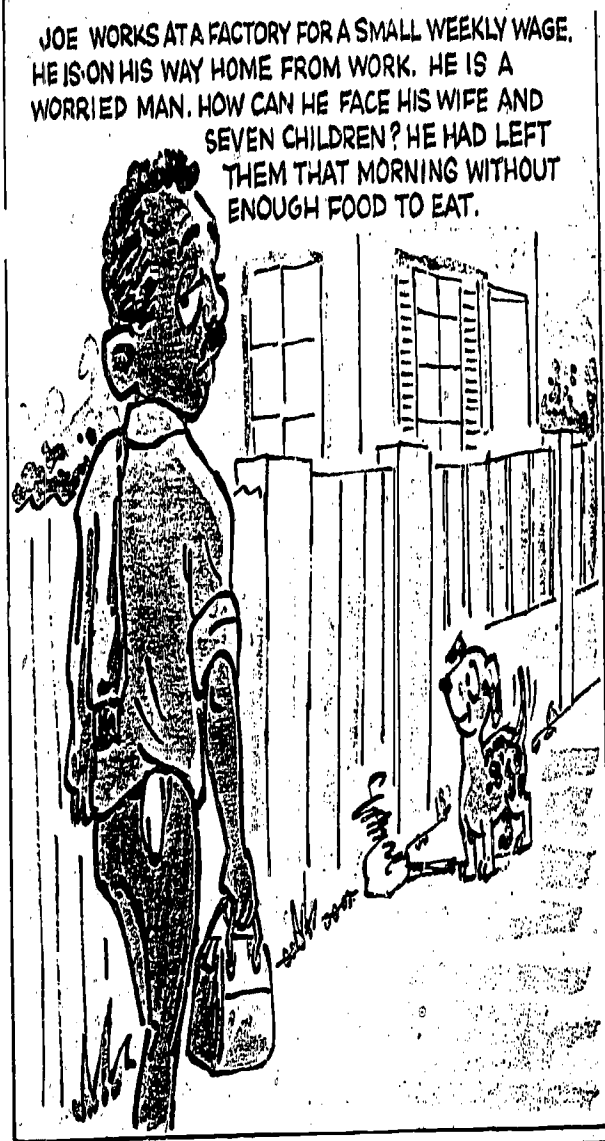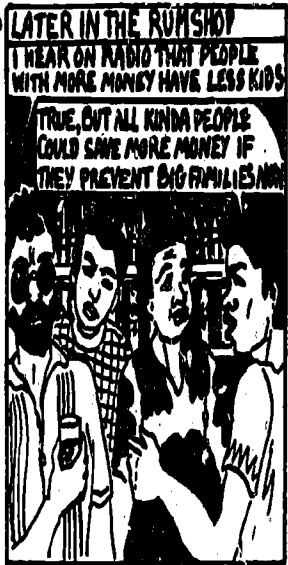
Illustration 27

to other, less personal concerns as well. Illustration 27A

introduces a more socioeconomic perspective with young men

talking about national birthrates and social change.

Stumpy..., then, is a model comic. It is humorous, subtle,

realistic, and intriguing. Although it has less potential for

semi-literates than do Escape... and Corazones..., because of

its lack of visual clarity, it seems perfectly-suited to the

audience to which it is directed -- young, middle-class Jamai-

cans who have the ability to effect changes in their lives.[1]

However, like Los Supermachos, Stumpy... represents a signif-

icant addition to population media and should be used as a

model for its relevance and cultural realism.

Hard-up Joe is a comic book from Trinidad-Tobago also

dealing with family planning, but it is in caricature (see Illus-

tration 28). It is well-done largely because the drawings and

layout are clear and understandable, and the character of Joe

is likeably conveyed in the graphic style chosen to represent

him. The comic has its traditional conventions as well. Frame

2 of Illustration 29 uses a simple but easily recognizable

technique to show the history of Joe's marriage; Illustration

30 shows action. Although there is no evaluation data on this

comic (few comics or fotonovelas have been evaluated), it can

be assumed that this comic would be interesting and diverting--

perfect for a handout to be read while waiting at a Health

Center or Clinic.

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[1]The graphic style of the comic book is much like 'primi-
tive' painting of the Caribbean. If this is so, semi-literate
perception of the material and understanding of it might be
higher than expected.

Illustration 28

JOE WORKS AT A FACTORY FOR A SMALL WEEKLY WAGE. HE IS ON HIS WAY HOME FROM WORK. HE IS A WORRIED MAN. HOW CAN HE FACE HIS WIFE AND SEVEN CHILDREN? HE HAD LEFT THEM THAT MORNING WITHOUT ENOUGH FOOD TO EAT.

JOE REACHES HOME...

WAIT, MAN, YOU WENT TO WORK THIS MORNING, LEAVING EVERYBODY HUNGRY WITHOUT A CENT TO BUY ANYTHING AND NOW YOU CRAWL IN WITHOUT SAYING A WORD?

WOMAN, WHAT YOU CONFUSING ME FOR? DON'T YOU THINK THAT I AM HUNGRY TOO? YOU WANT ME TO STEAL?

Illustration 29

JOE....I DON'T WANT YOU TO STEAL...I..
JUST WANT YOU TO BE NICE TO ME...I..
DESERVE EVEN THAT FROM OUR MARRIAGE

JOE IS MOVED..HE REMEMBERS...HIS FIRST LOVE,HIS MARRIAGE,THE
FIRST BORN,A BOY, HE REMEMBERS HOW HE SAW HIMSELF TOTALLY
HAPPY-A HAPPY HOME-A HAPPY WIFE- HAPPY SON...BUT NOW WITH
SEVEN CHILDREN TO FEED,HE CANNOT MAKE ENDS MEET.

FIRST LOVE

MARRIAGE

FIRST
BORN

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Illustration 30

NOW I'M IN TROUBLE...

BANG!
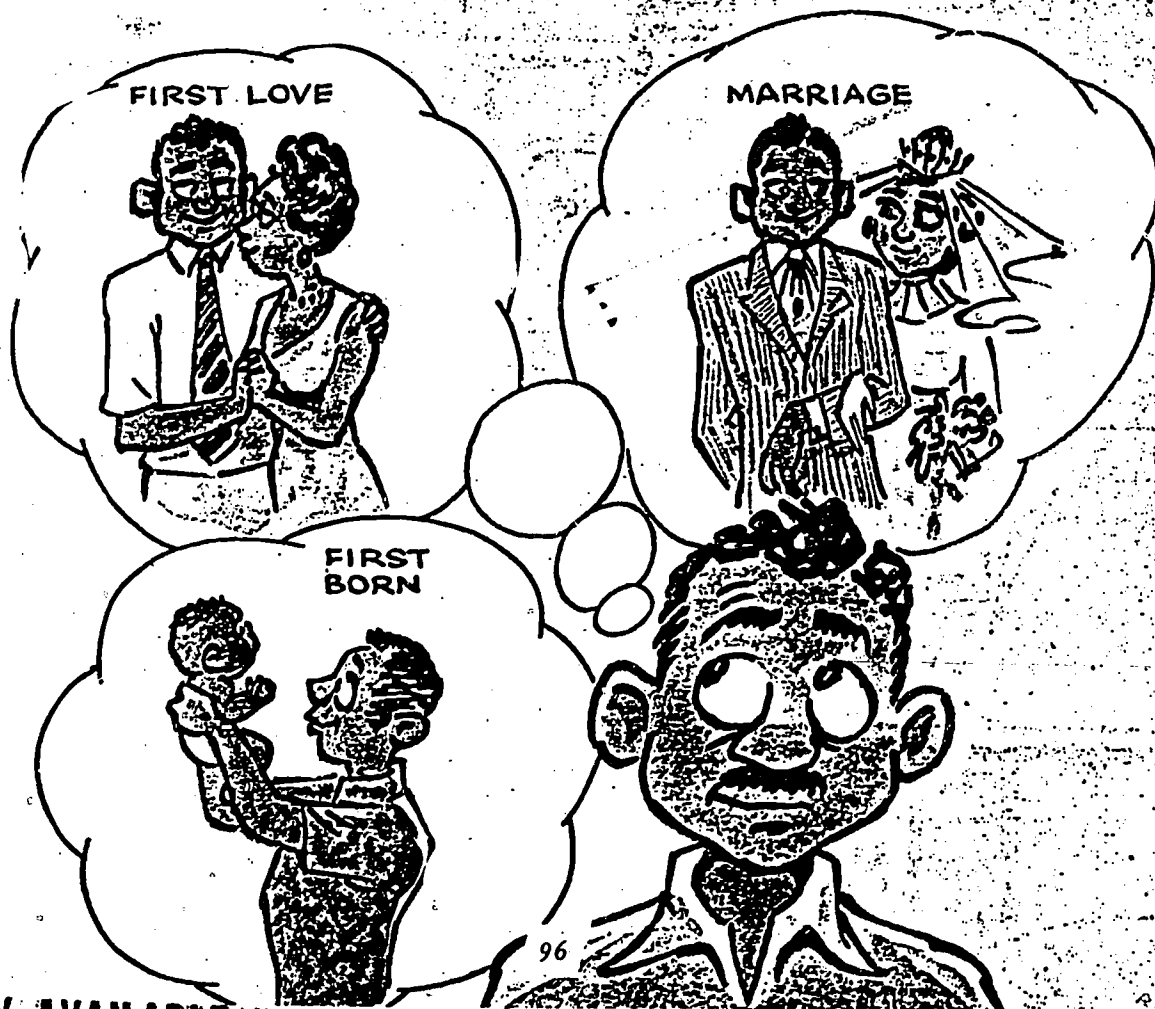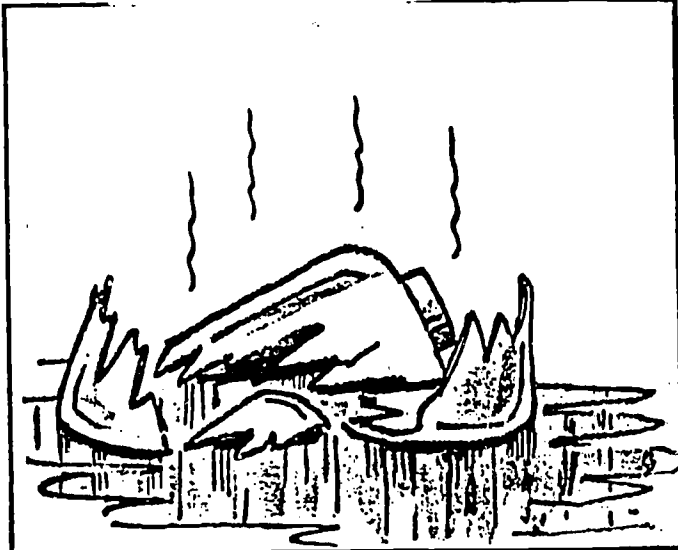
YOU CLUMSY FOOL!! LOOK AT WHAT YOU HAVE DONE, NOW.

CLUMSY FOOL!?! WHY YOU XY%/Ø!!...

YOU MAY BE MY SUPERVISOR, BUT YOU'RE NOT GOING TO CALL ME THAT AND GET AWAY...

Yet, <u>Hard-up Joe</u> is not a really good production. The story-line is flimsy and uninteresting. The situation of a family with too many children and living in increasing trouble and misery is: (1) not what people want to read about; (2) not what they expect from a comic book; and (3) apparently not effective in motivating family planning acceptance.[1] <u>Planificacion Familiar</u>, a comic book to be discussed in the next section of this chapter, is a production that has been partially evaluated. It deals with the misery and abject poverty of a family that has grown too large, and the reaction of the sample audience was overwhelmingly negative. They did not like the comic because it was grisly and not at all entertaining. Not only have such 'negative' approaches to family planning failed because of their frequent righteousness and condescension, they have neglected the dictates of the medium: at the very least a comic book has to be entertaining. There is clearly more scope for 'negative' treatments in a fotonovela--melodrama can be tragic in its own way--but even the fotonovela must be entertaining <u>within convention</u>. As much as can be ascertained from the little data available and inferred from a variety of informal, professional references, audiences simply cannot be preached to, and the depiction of abjection and misery must be avoided.

<u>Hard-up Joe</u> has potential. It could be a light, topical publication basing its popularity on the likeability of its character and the caricature of its art. At the present, however,

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[1]Atucha and Ruiz discuss some of the limitations and problems of credibility of using economic-misery thematic treatments in family planning educational materials.

it is caught between the old tenets of family planning com-
munication and the potential of a new media form.

The comic book 3,000,000,000 was produced for Grade 7
to adult audiences, and it deals with demographics and the
relationships among population growth, consumption, and em-
ployment. It was designed to accompany a cartoon film, but
has achieved a wide distribution independently. It was devel-
oped by the International Labor Organization (ILO) in an ef-
fort to promote a wider concept of labor welfare which would
put family planning services in a context along with job secur-
ity, occupational health, etc. It is a Walt Disney-Al Capp-
type of comic book with animalesque, Shmoo-ey characters living,
working, and eating their way through the rural landscape
(Illustration 31). It is a high-quality production, with full
color, good printing and reproduction, and with a good sense of
the expressiveness, humor, and caricature of its non-human
characters. The story is straightforward and simple: the
comic book makes no attempt to develop plot where none is nec-
essary. The characters are the vehicles for telling a serious
narrative; they are part of an actual situation, simulated
though it may be in this 'fantasy' medium. There are no 'main
characters,' and the artist is objective observer-cum-narrator
(Illustration 32).

Pak Panut lan Si Gunung (The Farmer and the Buffalo) is
the first in a self-styled 'Everyman' series produced by the
Government of Indonesia. Panut, the central character, was
designed to be a universal character who could be used through-

Illustration 31

Pour eux, la vie devient un combat perdu d'avance.
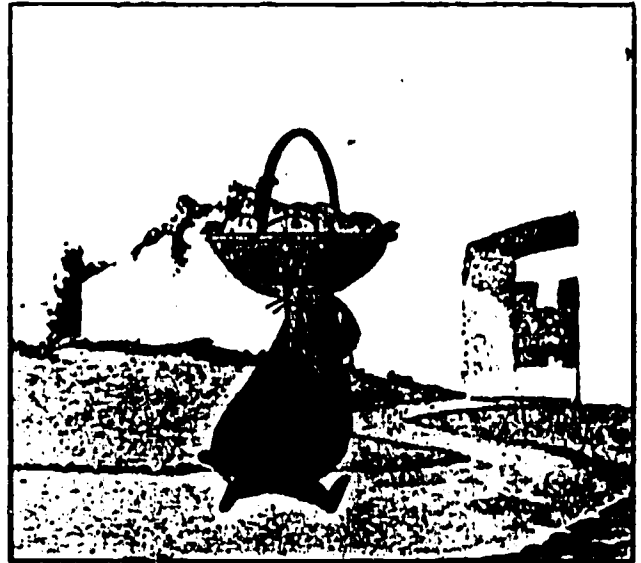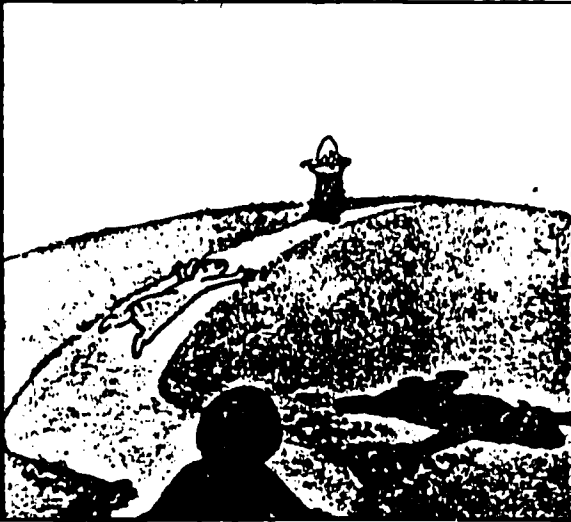
Notre monde serait certainement meilleur s'il y avait suffisamment de travail utile pour chacun de nous...

Illustration 32

Pourquoi? Parce que dans la plupart des pays en voie de développement il n'y a pas assez de travail dans les villes...

... et les conditions de vie peuvent même y être pires qu'à la campagne.

C'est un cercle vicieux.
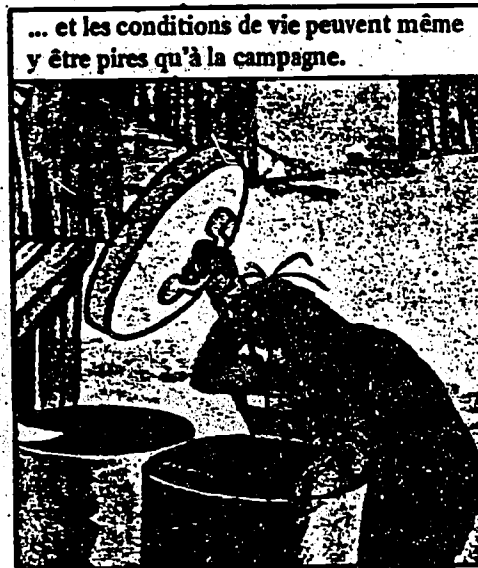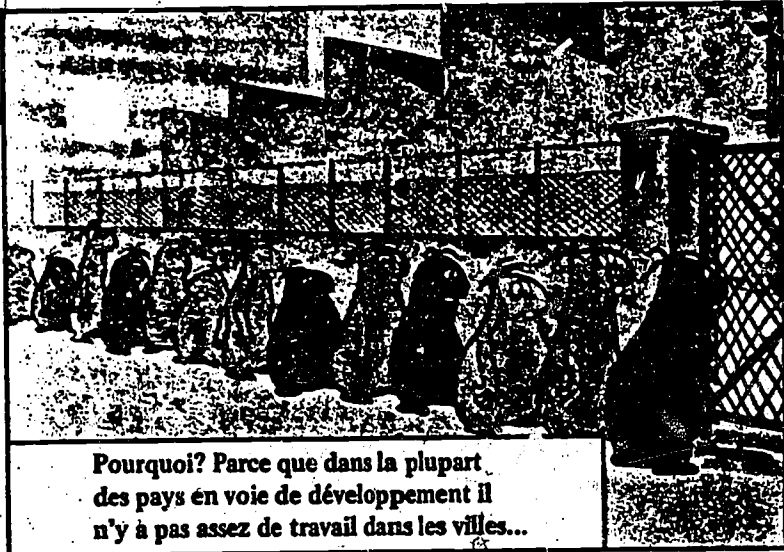
out the main island of Java and hopefully through the other

hundreds of islands in the archipelago as well. The cartoon

style was felt to be the ideal technique for this objective,

since the reality and specificity of photographs tend to make

them regionally fixed. In addition, the Division of Health and

Responsible Parenthood of the Government wanted to be entertain-

ing: 'The key to effective family planning...is entertainment.

Informational content is the second consideration. Audiences

will be receptive to the inherent message of family planning

if the approach to it is entertaining and simple.'[1]

The Pak Panut series was conceived first in slides and

slide-tapes, and then applied to booklets, posters, radio, and

informational pamphlets. The slide-tapes were evaluated with

the following results: 'Four findings are: (1) people did

understand the planning message, particularly family planning;

(2) people were able to identify with the cartoon characters;

(3) the use of area language (sound tracks are available in

three languages) enhanced the understanding of the story and

made it more entertaining; and (4) the cartoon can be used with

effect and understanding in many of the islands of Indonesia.'[2]

The story of the slide-tapes and the comic books was

planning, and Panut is a man who can neither plan his life

nor his family. This is another traditional theme used in

family planning (Put Off Joe is a comic book with the same

basic theme to be discussed in the next section of this chap-

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[1]Quoted from IEC Newsletter, Nos. 13 & 14, July-September,
1973.

[2]Ibid.

ter) and assumes that planning is a relatively easily learned technique which can be taught through educational media. Although this may not, in fact, be the case--that rational planning is both culturally- and socio-economically-tied and cannot occur without certain social, economic, and political exigencies--nevertheless it must be accepted as a way of getting to the subject of population control.

Illustration 32A is a page from Pak Panut lan Si Gunung. The drawings are in black-and-white, are accurate and well-reproduced, and the entire comic book presents a light and funny look into the life of this hapless farmer. The English translation of the slide-tape for which this comic book was developed as supplementary material seems overly simple, if not childish. Although it is impossible to determine whether this is due to the translation or is actually the case, and access to the actual evaluation data was beyond the scope of this report, it appears that in attempting 'simplicity,' the producers have achieved oversimplification and have run the risk of condescension.

Chakubanga is a Tanzanian comic strip, serialized in newspapers and recently collected for publication as a booklet. Illustration 33 is a typical frame from a daily strip, showing a scene from the life of the main character, Chakubanga, villager and farmer. Chakubanga and a woman are walking to a farm, carrying their tools. She says, 'But the farm is too far to walk.' He replies, 'You're right. Farms are usually far away from cities...But I'll bet if we were going to Bahari Beach (popular tourist resort) you wouldn't find it far.'

Illustration 33.
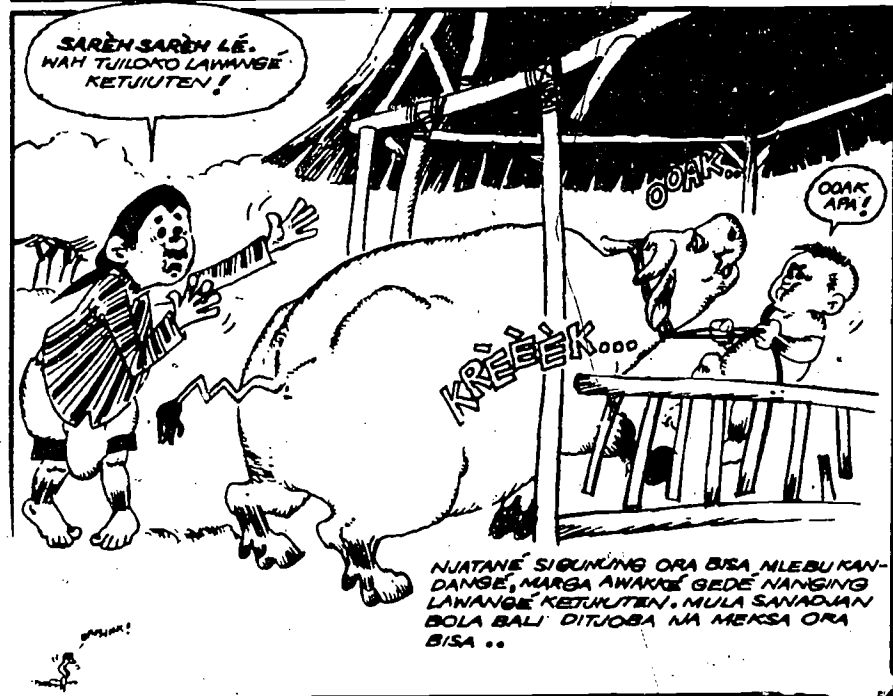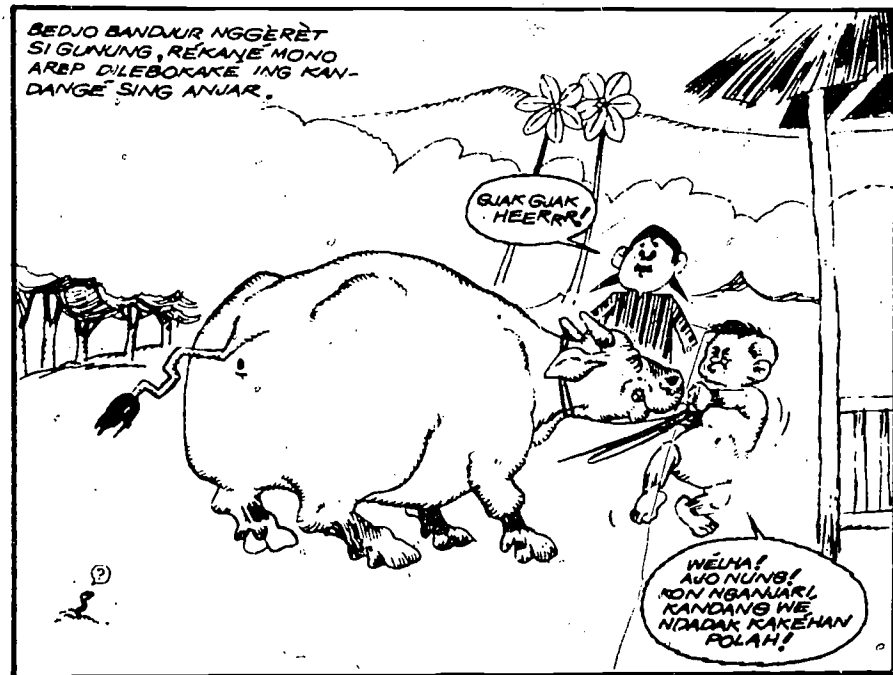
The comic strip relies on humor, mild satire, and parody--
a japping at foibles and institutions much like familiar
American comic strips (Blondie, Peanuts, Wizard of Id).
The subject matter of Chakubanga is society and politics
and reflects both government and apparent local interest in
building a more just and equitable society.

Although it is difficult to judge the overall impact
and acceptability of Chakubanga, there are certain useful in-
dicators available. The first is that once this comic strip
was introduced into the two Swahili papers in Tanzania (UHURU
and MZALENDO), their circulation went up significantly.[1]
Secondly, once the popularity of the serialized comic strip
had been clearly established, a collection of daily strips was
published at reader demand.

Papa Top...Et Le Recensement was a one-time comic strip
included in a special edition of the Cameroon Tribune dealing
with the National Census (See Illustration 34). It presents
the commonly-held concerns and misconceptions about the census,
and in a humorous way, tries to make the government's goals
and objectives clear and acceptable. It is included here for
discussion because it indicates the use of the comic-strip
technique in another way, and suggests its continuing use for
other development subject areas.

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[1]Information from Hilda Kohuhirwa, Associate, Center for
International Education at Amherst. She was formerly affili-
ated with the Tanzanian Ministry of Ecucation.

Illustration 34

PAPA TOP... ET LE RECENSEMENT...

Texte: BELINGA J.-B. — OLOMO-B. S.   SCÉNARIO & DESSINS

"NOTRE BUT EST DE COMPTER TOUTE LA POPULATION DU CAMEROUN"...

HA FOOLISH MAN THAT!

QUELQUE PART DANS UN DE NOS ARRONDISSEMENTS, UN MATIN...

BONJOUR Mr, JE SUIS UN AGENT DE RECENSEMENT, ET JE VOUDRAIS QUELQUES RENSEIGNEMENTS

• PAPA TOP • DOCTEUR EN CHOSURES •

OU-OU-OUILLE! LE SOUS-PREFET ENCORE ENSEMBLE AVEC SON L'IMPÔT
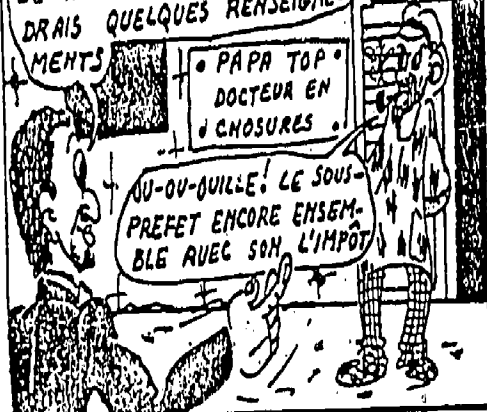
NON, NON! RIEN A VOIR, TOUT EST SECRET

BOF! C'EST VOUS QUI LE DITES. M'ENFIN, VOILA UNE CHAISE. VOTRE L'ENCENSEMENT C'EST QUE QUOI?

MAIS ALORS... RÉUNISSEZ LES GENS ET COMPTEZ-LES.

NON CHACUN SON TOUR...

TOC TOC TOC

C'EST DE L'ARGENT PERDU. HOO, ON VEUT LA ROUTE POUR YEWONDO

"JUSTEMENT, APRES LE RECENSEMENT ON SAURA OU LES ROUTES SONT LE PLUS UTILES.

D'OÙ NÉCESSITÉ DE NOUS COMPTER TOUS!

DOUE!.. PARDON, PELI

HUN!

NSIKINAVINW DA... (7 X 2 IOUS)

107

MEBINA-ME-ZE-LOUIS-BURCHARD DIT "PAPA TOP", NÉ QUAND LE MAJOR DOMINIGI ATTRAPE ABEGA-BITOUNOU. MON TRAVAIL EST DOCTEUR EN CHAUSSURES.
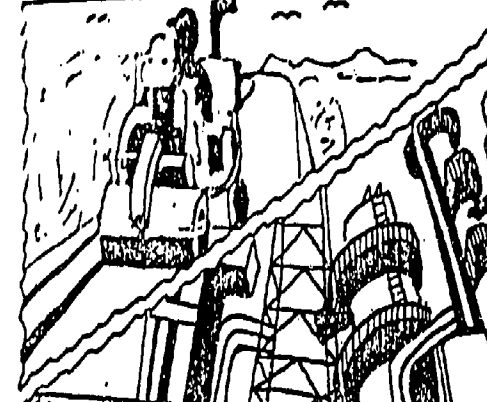
"LE RECENSEMENT AIDERA AUSSI A ÉLABORER UNE POLITIQUE ÉCONOMIQUE EFFICACE"...

STAR

AH! I DI SEE

COMBIEN DE FEMMES AVEZ-VOUS, ET D'ENFANTS A CHARGE?

RIEN QUE 4 FEMMES: MAKRITA, KALAR, PHILMINA ET MATHA. J'EN VOUDRAIS UNE 5e

KIRAVI

QUANT AUX ENFANTS...

EUH!.. ATTENDEZ!

AA MAKRI MAKRITA O!

OO?

VIENS VITE O!

COMBIEN D'ENFANTS QUE J'AI ENCORE DEJA LA?

116

SIDONIE, TU VEUX NOUS EN FAIRE FAIRE UN AUTRE?

RECENSEMENT.

MA 1ère FEMME NE DIT. 22!

SES HOM. AGE!

115

Less-successful·comic books

Following is a selection of less-successful comic books--
publications which, because of one or a number of reasons, have
less acceptability, impact, and overall effectiveness:

Planificacion Familiar, mentioned above, is an example of
the 'misery approach' to family planning. The story of a family
ruined by having too many children, it shows scenes of poverty
and wretchedness that no one enjoyed seeing (Illustration 35).[1]
Throughout the booklet, there was no lightness, humor, suspense,
or diversion. It was one depressing and tragic event after
another. Furthermore, it was produced in a one-frame-per-page
style, atypical for comic books. It, therefore, had limited
movement and action, and dwelled on the economic deprivation
and social misery of the family even more so. One frame per
page focusses the attention -- it is more like a series of tab-
leaux rather than progressive action.

Therefore, in addition to the heavy, moralistic tone of
the story, the visual format adds to the overall impact of the
production -- a good example of how the medium can affect the
message.

Put Off Joe is another example of the 'misery approach.'
This is a particularly poorly-done comic, which has the barest
of story-lines and implausible reactions and emotions. Illus-
tration 36, for example, shows a husband and wife leaving a
hospital with their newborn infant. The woman says, 'Joe! A
poor woman nearly died in childbirth yesterday!' He replies,

_____

[1]Health personnel in Ecuador and Bolivia, for example, where
this comic was widely distributed, repeatedly expressed a need
for less grisly and more realistic print materials.

TUVO QUE IR A VIVIR EN UN CINTURÓN DE MISERIA.

MAMÁ, TENGO HAMBRE...
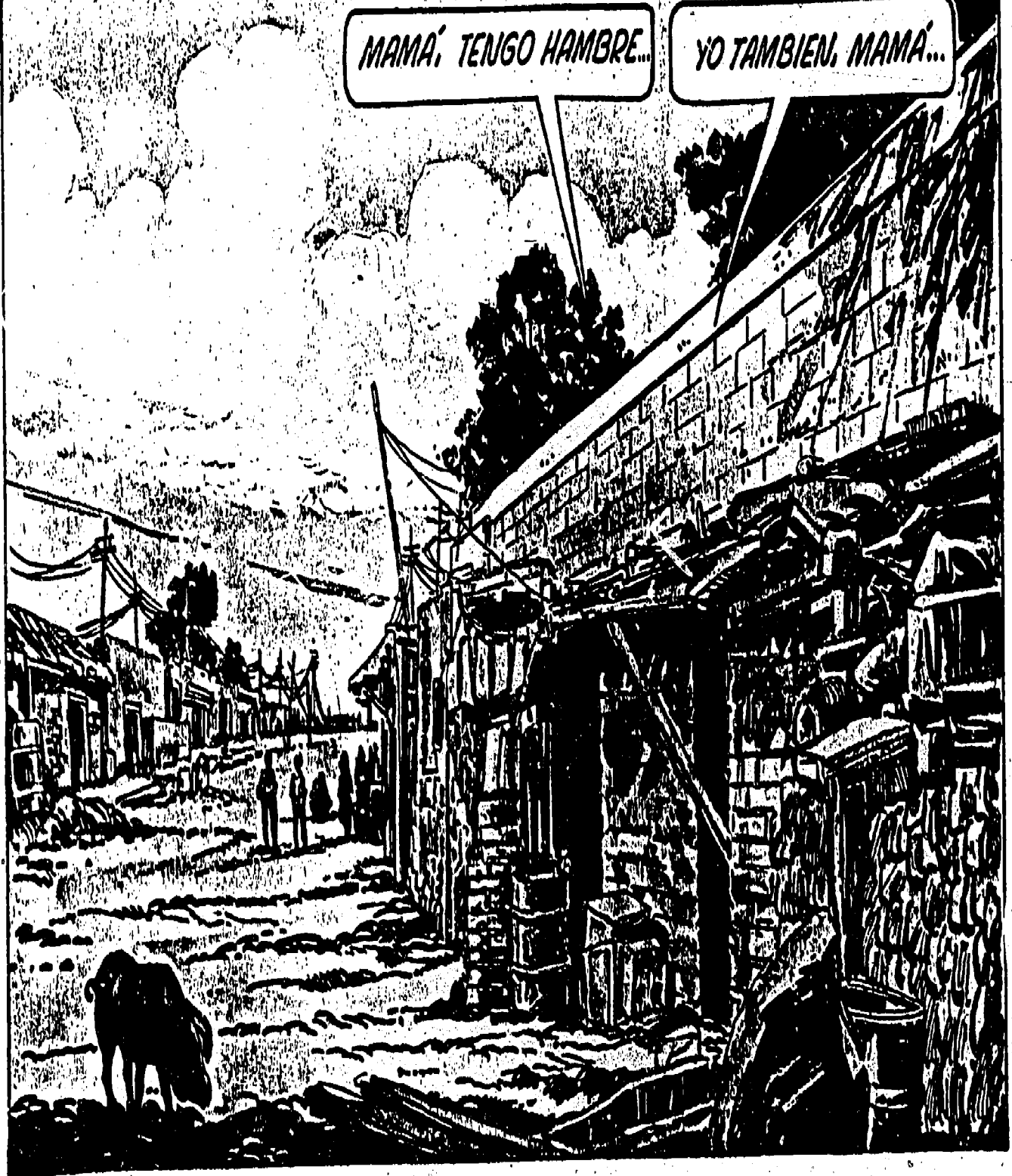
YO TAMBIEN, MAMÁ...

Illustration 35

Illustration 36

JOE! A POOR WOMAN NEARLY DIED IN CHILDBIRTH YESTERDAY!

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH HER?

SHE HAD TEN CHILDREN FAST AND DOCTOR SAY SHE LOS' PLENTY STRENGT'... HER BODY WEAK AND TIRED.

120
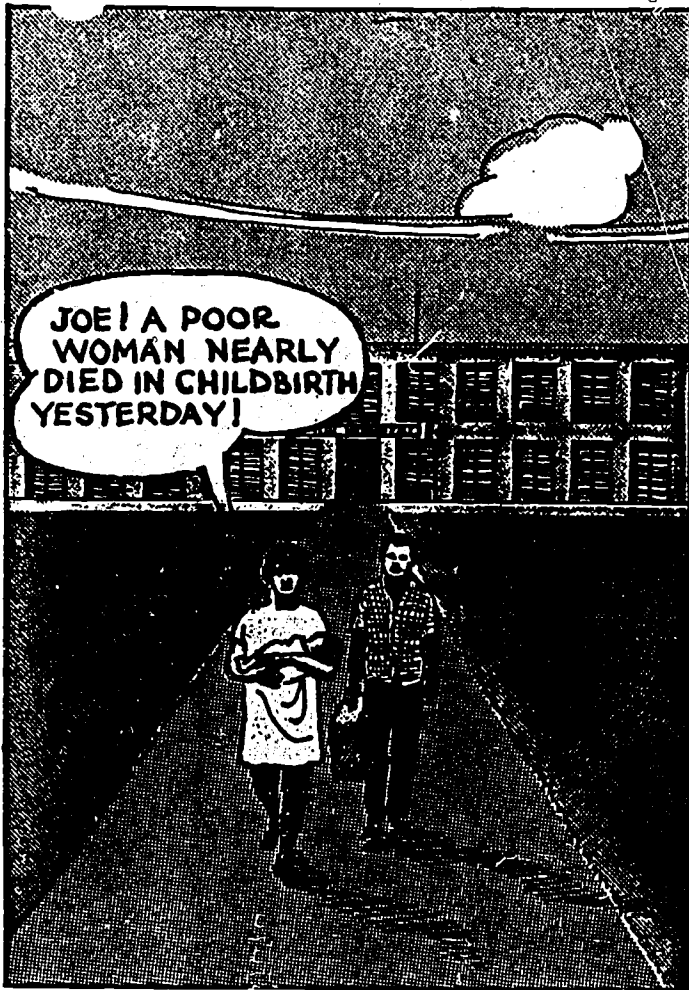
'What went wrong with her?' The wife concludes, 'She had ten
children fast and the doctor say she los' plenty strengt'...
her body weak and tired.' There is no attempt at a realistic
story development; no intimacy between husband and wife or involve-
ment with their child. Instead, they talk of third-party
things -- a matter-of-fact discussion of the principles of fam-
ily planning and good health. Although an attempt has been
made at local realism (the couple speaks a dialect of English),
the situation and characters are simply props for presenting
the family planning message.

Poverty Was My Shadow is yet another 'misery' comic - this
time from Ghana. It is included in this discussion not to be-
labor the point, but to indicate some graphic techniques which
further detract from the already weak story. Illustration 37
shows six visually wasted frames. In all six frames, it is the
verbal content which is important--not the graphic--a circum-
stance which both detracts from whatever entertainment value the
comic has and makes it doubly hard for semi-literates to under-
stand the story. The six-frame presence of the car is excused
by the following dialogue between friends: '...Well, Kwame,
your car is fixed...,' says one. 'I wish everything in my life
could be fixed that easily. You know...etc.' If the friend
can order his life and manage his personal relations as simply
as one can attend to cars, he will be better off. This approach,
similar to the Pak Panut 'learn to plan; learn to family plan'
guideline and not unrelated to the agricultural analogy approach
frequently encountered, has inherent problems: analogies are
pedagogical tools, not dramatic devices, and as such tend to
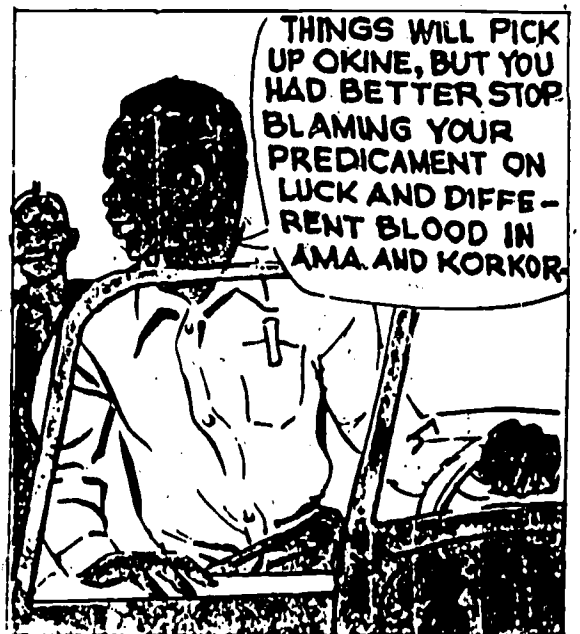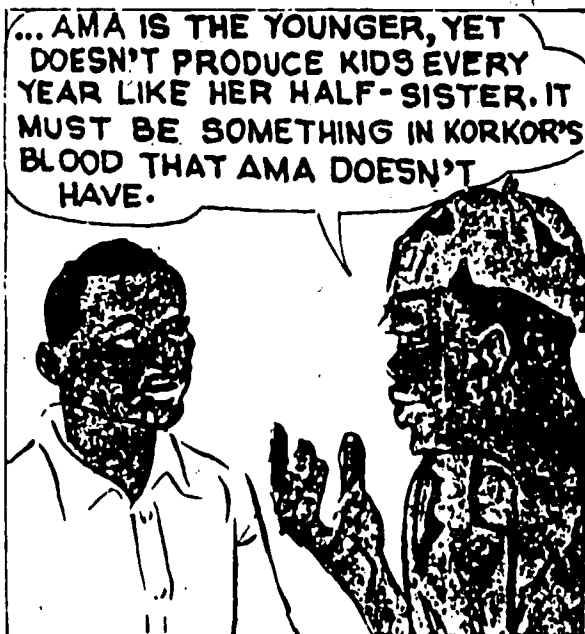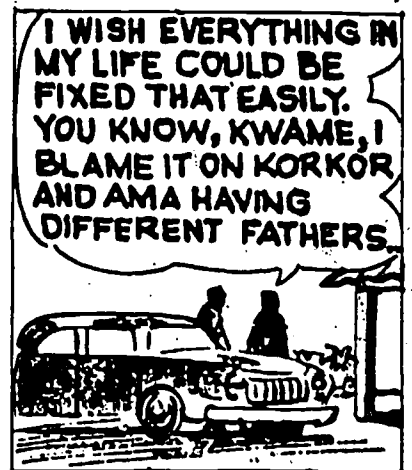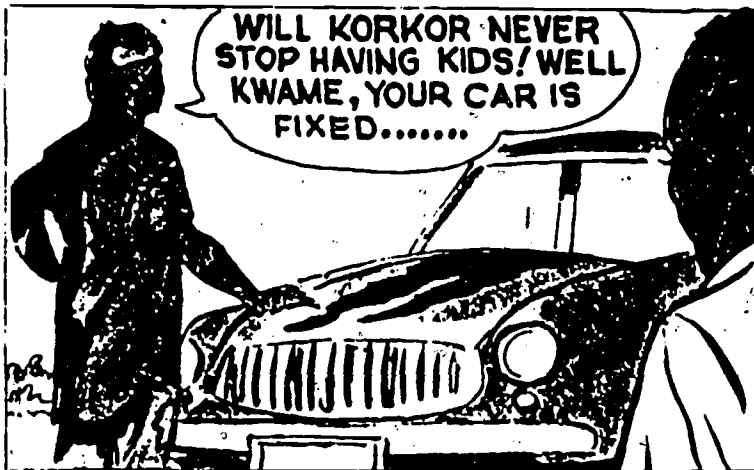
Illustration 37

detract from even semi-dramatic stories. In short, the six-frame sequence illustrated here is visually dull and contextually contrived.

Tulad ng Pinyahan (Like the Pineapple Plantation) is an example of the Agricultural Approach to Family Planning. The hero of this Filipino production, Mang Sebyo, is a pineapple farmer who wants to grow more fruit at a faster rate, but finds after experimentation with certain chemical fertilizers that although he can get fast, highly productive yields, his fruits are all so small that they are considered inferior. 'At this point,' says the synopsis,[1] the family planning promoter tells what she wants to say: that if childbirth comes successively at very short intervals, the health of babies and children will be affected.'

Illustration 38 shows a sample page taken from Tulad ng Pinyahan. As can be seen, there is little internal or external action, and the story is basically expository -- dramatic considerations are less important than the statement of the analogy and the message.

Although this comic book, as well as the eleven others produced in the agricultural analogy series, were positively evaluated and found to be effective in increasing knowledge about the 'whys, whats, and hows' of family planning, it is felt that they could have been more effective had they been designed more in the style to which Filipinos are accustomed. As has been

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[1] From Agricultural Approach to Family Planning, by D.M. Maglalang, Family Planning International Assistance-Communication Foundation for Asia, Manila, 1976.

Illustration 38

mentioned previously, the comic book is a very popular medium in the Philippines, largely due to American World War II influence. The audience, therefore, is media-sophisticated and demanding. A comic book such as Tulad ng Pinyahan could never compete with commercial publications, and although it has been directly distributed (through non-commercial channels) to a captive audience, it would probably never be chosen.

The intent is n.. to indict the Agricultural Approach to Family Planning nor to make inferential judgments; only to suggest that further such publications be developed with more attention devoted to the dramatic and visual elements that audiences have come to expect from comic books.

Ang Tao Komiks is a Filipino production on family planning with good graphic techniques and comic format which gets wordy and pedantic and loses both the visual and textual interest with which it began. Illustration 39 is a page whose visuals have been at least 50% obscured by verbal exposition.

Awon Omo Ara'kunrin Mi (My Brother's Children) is a Nigerian production which was produced for a large, multi-media effort on family planning. Although it is a booklet with color drawings and ballooned dialogue, in certain ways it is not at all a comic book (see Illustration 40). In fact, had the dialogue been structured in a narrative form and inserted at the bottom of each sequence, it would have been classified as an illustrated book. By way of comparison, Illustration 41 is a page taken from a People's Republic of China booklet, entitled Billows Ferry (see also Illustration 14, Chapter 2). This Chinese

Illustration 39.

I DID THAT ON PURPOSE, MARIO. I FELT IT WAS BETTER NOT TO WRITE YOU SO THAT I COULD DEVOTE MY TIME TO STUDYING.

WELL, NOW THAT ATE LILING IS A TEACHER AND HAS FINISHED HER STUDIES, I SUPPOSE THE WEDDING WILL PUSH THROUGH.

STOP, MITRING. YOU ARE TOO YOUNG TO MEDDLE IN AFFAIRS LIKE THAT.

HOW IS MANANG PACING, MOTHER? I'M SURE HER ELDEST BOY MUST BE VERY BIG BY NOW.

YES, HE'S VERY BIG. THE ONLY THING IS, YOUR MANANG PACING HAS SO MANY OTHER CHILDREN... I DON'T KNOW... SHE ALREADY HAS SEVEN CHILDREN AND IS PREGNANT ON HER EIGHTH.

DO YOU WONDER? AFTER ALL SHE'S MARRIED, ISN'T SHE?

I DIDN'T SAY SHE WASN'T. BUT SHE SHOULDN'T KEEP ON HAVING MORE AND MORE CHILDREN, ESPECIALLY SINCE HER HUSBAND HASN'T GOT A PERMANENT JOB.

THEIR TWO CHILDREN ARE ABLE TO HELP THEM A LITTLE ALREADY, AREN'T THEY? ROQUE AND THE NEXT GIRL. NENA BUY FISH FROM THE FISHERMEN AND SELL THEM IN THE MARKET.

BUT WHAT GOOD IS THAT FOR THE CHILDREN? THEY SHOULD BE IN SCHOOL, STUDYING. AND PACING'S YOUNGEST BABY- SHE'S BEEN SICK FOR SUCH A LONG TIME. SHE'S LOST SO MUCH WEIGHT.

THAT'S TRUE FATHER. NENE IS ALWAYS SO SICK.

HOW PITIFUL MANANG PACING'S FAMILY IS. THOSE TWO CHILDREN SHOULD BE IN SCHOOL...

THE ONLY SCHOOL IS A LITTLE FAR FROM TOWN... BUT NOW THAT LILING IS HERE, THOSE CHILDREN MIGHT BE ABLE TO STUDY ONCE WE GET UP A SCHOOL HERE.

THAT'S WHAT I'VE BEEN THINKING, FATHER. MAYBE NOW, THE RESIDENTS OF OUR TOWN WILL GET TOGETHER AND SET UP A SCHOOLHOUSE HERE IN OUR TOWN.

Illustration 40

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Illustration 41
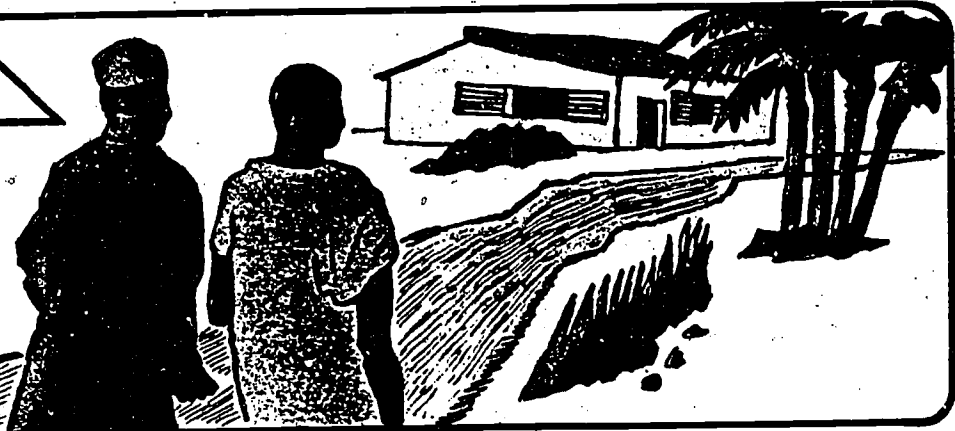
publication succeeds at what the Nigerian booklet attempts:
to be pictorially interesting and textually relevant. By
comparison, My Brother's Children is drab and lifeless, with
little animation. Illustration 40 has the two characters
talking together, with neither enough graphic detail to expli-
citly show emotions nor dynamic movement to develop reader in-
terest. As with many similar efforts, this Nigerian booklet
is simply an illustrated semi-dialogue: a visual, supportive
technique for conveying educational information.

It must be emphasized that this in no way implies a blanket
criticism of the medium or the method. This booklet was made
to accompany a film whose main character was portrayed by one
of Nigeria's biggest cinema stars. As such, the booklet may
well have accomplished its goal - to reinforce the theme and
message of the film. What is to be considered, however, is the
treatment of the booklet as print, and as such, it appears to
be lacking in many of the graphically important conventions and
techniques necessary to get and hold reader interest.

My Brother's Children is important because it represents
a mixed media campaign of considerable planning and sophistica-
tion. The potential for using a popular commercial film star
to portray a character in an educational film and related sup-
portive materials cannot be minimized. The credibility of
popular heroes is known throughout the world, and public endorse-
ments by them--of both commercial products and social causes--
is common. The fact that the use of a commercial film star in
a family planning program in a Third World country like Nigeria
is even more significant: many countries have refused or reluc-

tantly used popular figures in educational campaigns because of their lack of professional credentials. It must be emphasized, however, that such use of popular figures has its potential risks as well. Just as one can criticize the selling of commercial products on the basis of non-inherent characteristics (e.g., cars and sex appeal), one can also criticize the promotion of educational messages in the same way. There is always the possibility of distortion of social values and the promotion of image at the cost of substance.

Jose's Dream, and the Joao e Maria series are comic books which attempt to communicate with illiterates and semi-literates without words or with few words. In all three publications available to the authors, communicating visually became communicating abstractly, and the result was an illustrated sequence of drawings much more difficult to understand than had they been devised traditionally--with words--and developed with clear, unmistakeable graphics. Illustration 41 is taken from Planejando a Familia com Joao e Maria and Illustration 42 from Jose's Dream. In the first case, the ideographic balloons and 'Nhoc! Nhoc! Thump! Thump!' physical action descriptions are hardly clear; in the second case 'Is that all?' refers to what seems to be a meagre meal but to the untrained eye may be an ordinary, daily dinner.

In short, communication with illiterates is not a simple matter (see Chapter 2), and the conventions of the literate cannot be simply restructured for what must be considered a totally new audience.

Illustration 42

4

132
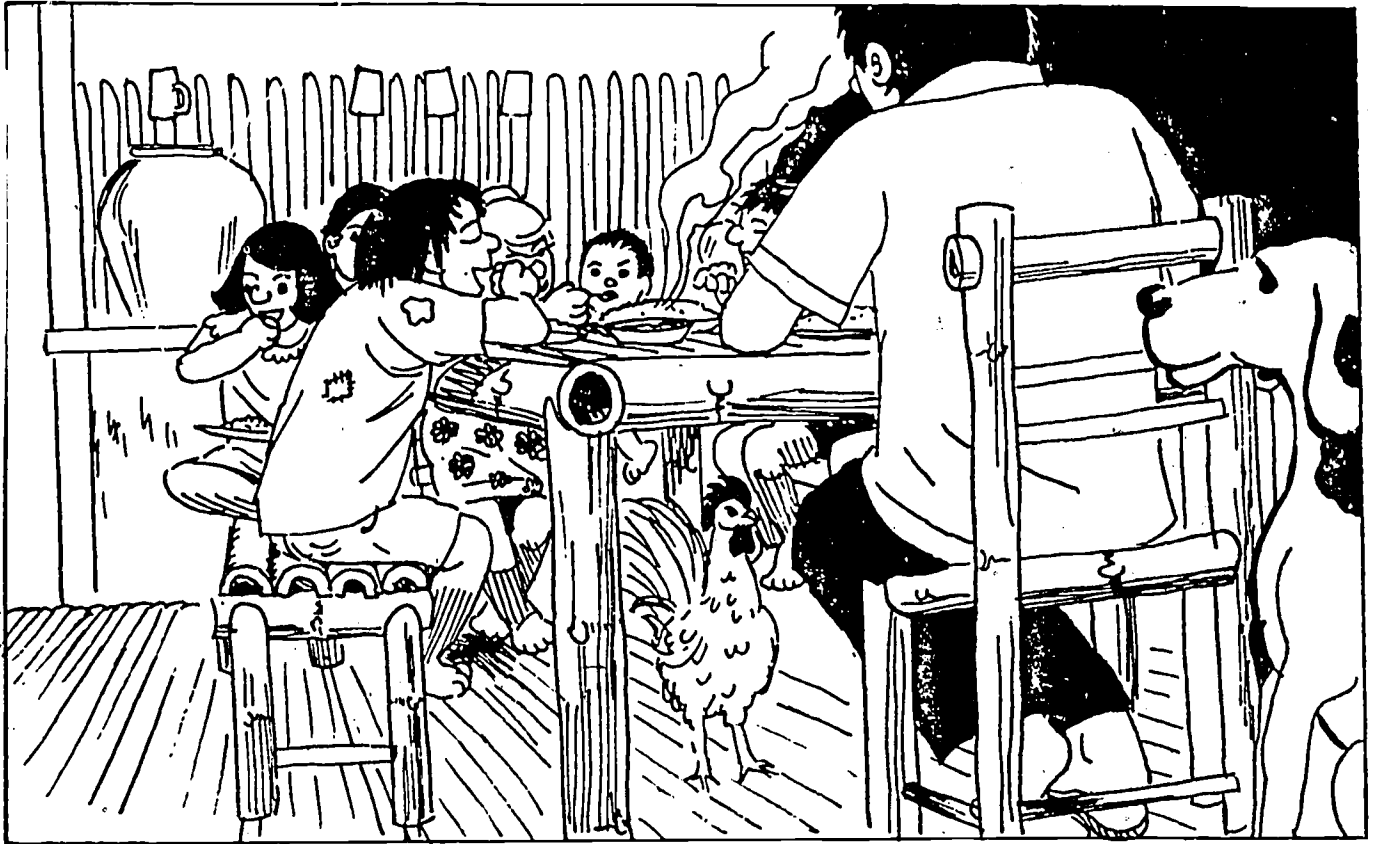
Well-done fotonovelas

Most of the highly-successful fotonovelas used for development support communications have been discussed in the theoretical chapter, Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Comparison, above. Little needs be said here except for a few summary comments and additional illustrations.

La Trappola and Il Segreto are two Italian fotonovelas which deal effectively with family planning. Both deal with non-traditional themes -- the former with the socio-political implications of larger families and the basic exploitation of the poor by the rich; the latter with 'responsible sexuality,' a presentation of personal, intimate concerns as they relate to contraception. Both are strikingly visual: La Trappola has a neo-realism and dramatic environmental setting; Il Segreto's graphics are as intimate and personal as the subject matter. Both utilize the medium fully, exploiting the dramatic and informational potential from each frame. (See Illustration 43, taken from La Trappola; Illustration 44, from Il Segreto.)

In addition to the visual and dramatic success of these fotonovelas, they have two additional positive features: they are both short (Il Segreto has only three full-sized pages of photographs), and they contain specific contraception information on the back page. A chart on Il Segreto specifies Type of Contraceptive Method, Advantages, and Disadvantages, then gives specific brand names of pills and foams commonly used in Italy.

NELL'UFFICIO DELLA DIREZIONE, CON UN SORRISO AMBIGUO CHE LASCIA PERPLESSO MARCO, IL CAPPELLANO BRINDA A MARCO E ALLA SUA FAMIGLIA.

Illustration 44

Sei stata splendida, questa volta:
così appassionata, così vibrante.
Non sembravi più la stessa...

...non è mai
...i bello:
...e meraviglioso...

Però ti eri talmente
avvinghiata
che non ho potuto
lasciarti nel momento
supremo: speriamo
che non succedano
guai...

Non preoccuparti, tesoro. Le nostre ansie
sono finite. Sto prendendo la pillola:
questo è il segreto della nuova felicità.
Per questo ho potuto finalmente
abbandonarmi a te senza timore
e gustare per la prima volta,
il piacere supremo...

124

135

È vuoi sapere un'altra cosa?
Ora gli altri uomini
non mi interessano più,
perchè tu mi dai tutto.

8

Non dia retta alla stampa scandalistica.
Come la maggioranza delle donne, Lei può
usare la pillola con assoluta tranquillità.
Prenda queste pillole e vedrà che molte
cose si aggiusteranno...

Illustration 44

quante cose si sono
per noi, con la pillola
prima: non aver sprecato
e nell'insoddisfazione,
ischi tremendi dell'aborto

Illustration 44A

Noi Giovani is a third Italian fotonovela which deserves special attention as a model for use in the Third World. It is longer than the first two described, but more fully developed. It tells of two young people about to get married but who run afoul of their parents traditional thinking about sexual roles, family, and children. As such, dealing with themes of common and relevant interest, Noi Giovani sustains reader attention through most of the fotonovela. It is not as dramatic as the first two, has its problems with the now-familiar character of the authority-figure doctor, but in general it has recognizable and empathetic characters, attractive actors, clear graphics, and a reasonable story-line.

The Manuel Santi series produced under the auspices of the University of Massachusetts Center for International Education are among the best Third World fotonovelas reviewed. As discussed in Chapter 3, they are innovative efforts to portray Indian campesino life and deal with subject matter well-suited to the visual, dramatic medium. Although some are clearly better than others, all three collected for this report (En el caso de la Mancha de Aji, Agua que no has de beber, and De Quien Es Nuestra Tierra) represent solid graphic and textual treatments of key rural development problems. As mentioned earlier, De Quien... and En el caso.... have the greatest dramatic potential. The former presents the Indians' case against exploitive absentee landlords, and the latter develops both personal and social themes related to drunkenness and alcoholism. Agua..., dealing with a more technical matter (irrigation), is less dramatic, with fewer individual involvements over emo-

tional issues of land, Indian rights, and dignity. Yet, it uses these themes as subtle superstructures into which the more detailed development schemes are presented.

A fotonovela which was well-done but which was limited by too many external constraints (budget, time) is El Conflicto de una Mujer, produced by a Peace Corps Volunteer in Ecuador, Daniel Weaks. This fotonovela dealt with an important, but little recognized, social problem amongst Indian campesino families: the yearly departure of the sierran husband to the coast in search of work. This perennial, seasonal migration is the source of family and community disruption with implications for child-rearing, family planning, the role of women, and sexuality. In the fotonovela (see Illuatration 44A), a young husband and wife are talking about his trip to the Coast. 'You're going again,' she says, 'leaving me with all the work. You have no responsibility for your family.' He leaves anyway, and later the young woman talks of her difficulty with a friend. 'What am I going to do,' she complains. 'Raul just left for the Coast, leaving me with my three children. And that's not all...He left saying that he wants another.'

Not only does she have all the family work, but there is the implication. subtle though it may be, that he has left her 'barefoot and pregnant' for good reasons: He has his freedom with few responsibilities. Family planning is the answer to at least part of her problems, and the young woman seeks out and gets help from medical authorities.

6. Ya te vás otra vez, y yo quedo con todo el trabajo. No eres responsable para tu familia.

7. Vaya no más.

Aquí no hay trabajo. En la Costa puedo ganar más plata. Volveré pronto, no te preocupes.
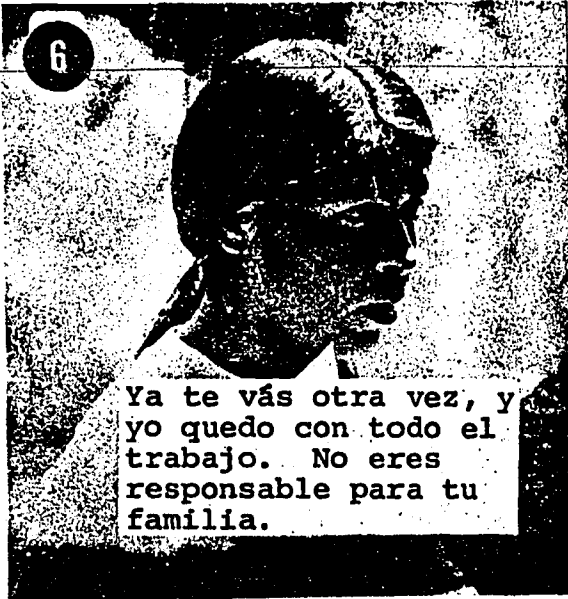
EL PROXIMO DIA, BLANCA SE ENCUENTRA CON SU AMIGA JUANITA........

8. Juanita, ¿que voy a hacer? Raúl ya se fué a la Costa me deja con mis tres niños.

9. Además, ya anda diciendo que quiere otrito.

Claro

10. Y porqué no te vas al Centro de Salud, para conseguir algo para "cuidarte".?

¿Cierto? ¿Pueden ayudarme?

11. Claro, cuando una no quiere niño tras niño puede cuidarse de los embarazos.

129

141
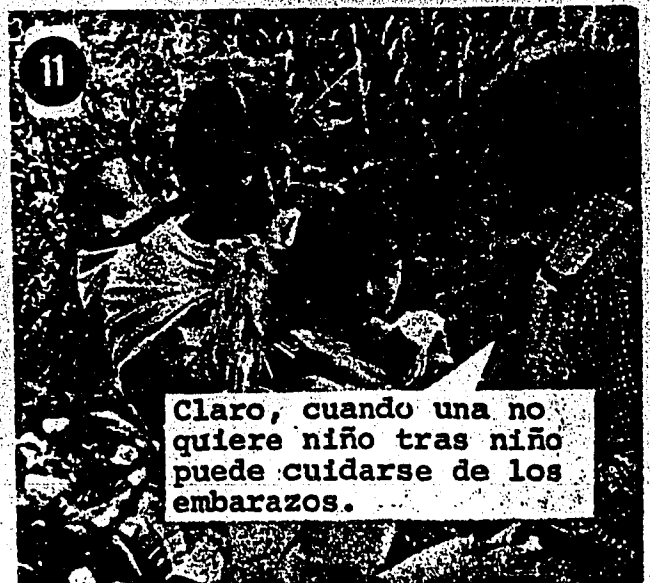
Because of budget limitations (there was only enough money for an eight page production), it was impossible to develop the theme and story-line further and more gradually, and the overall impact, therefore, is decreased. Therefore, while not standing as a complete or finally-polished foto-novela, El Conflicto de Una Mujer represents the right tech-niques, both visual and textual, for further development.

No Podemos Casarnos, Amor Mio is a classic Latin fotono-vela -- romantic, melodramatic, and traditional. This one is particularly good because it discusses family planning inteli-gently and realistically, from the point of view of a young woman about to get married but thinking sensibly about the al-ternatives. Beginning with a family tragedy which forces the heroine into unaccustomed work, the story continues with an exposition of the socio-economic benefits and disadvantages of being married or single. As in El Conflicto..., above, No Podemos... subtlely discusses women's sexual roles and tradi-tional frustrations. It presents the romance of love and mar-riage frankly contrasted with their all-too-frequent endings. Illustration 45 shows the heroine with her elder sister. They are talking about marriage, and the elder sister says, 'I'm only five years older than you, and look at me! I'm a wreck! Not only that, I know that Francisco is going out with another woman from the office. She's young...elegant...' The plaints continue, and finally she tells the heroine: 'There are no solutions! That's why I'm telling you: Don't get married.'

Illustration 45

'Nevertheless, the natural thing in life is that every woman wants to join her destiny to that of the man she loves, and have a home...,' replies the heroine, not entirely convinced. 'Not when you have to fight with misery,' persists her sister. 'I know that you work hard, but at least it isn't work which makes a slave of you.'

Like El Conflicto..., No Podemos... discusses important, timely issues that relate not to an abstracted misery; one that might happen -- but to a real one that can be avoided. Thus, a dramatic interest is built up on the part of the female reader who can empathize with the conflict in the heroine. It is a conflict between older, traditional values which are beginning to tarnish, although they are still held by society's men, and new, more enlightened values that promise a certain freedom, independence, and dignity. In short, this fotonovela is much like the Italian Il Segreto and Noi Giovani, for it moves away from more common treatments of family planning as cure-all for socio-economic distress and gets closer to the personal, highly individual feelings that motivate most women.

Finally, Mine Warfare, a 'narrative' fotonovela (non-dialogue, but dramatic story) produced in the People's Republic of China is considered to be well-done and worth note for two reasons: First, it represents a new technique for the fotonovela -- using movie stills in story sequence. Second, and closely related to the first, is the fact that it portrays external action, adventure, and psychological drama -- something most fotonovelas do not do.

The key element, it appears, is the fact that Mine War-
fare was produced from an existing film. Thus, all of the
continuous dramatic action and special effects achieved cine-
matically, can be reproduced successfully in print. Perhaps
more importantly, the feelings portrayed by the actors are
far more real than those in even the best fotonovela: an
actor involved in the gradual development of a movie scene,
with its demands of empathy, continuity, and emotiveness, can-
not help but convey his participation in movement in the story.
A fotonovela is a series of frozen, still events which must be
put together to make a story. A film-novela is a series of
action-stills edited to print scale. The difference is tech-
nique, and it is fundamental.

My Brother's Children, the Nigerian comic book developed
to accompany a film on population (see above) was criticized
for its lack of realism and empathy. One asks why a film-
novela, made from stills of the film was not made instead? In
such mixed media campaigns, film-novelas such as Mine Warfare
represent important new media applications.

Because of advancing photographic technology, there ap-
pears to be a way of achieving some of the film-novela's real-
ism. Recently, high-speed film-advance motors have been re-
tailed in the United States, advertising a minimum two-frame-
per-second advance. With this new motor, ordinary cameras can
be converted into quasi-film-novela instruments. A photographer
then becomes more in control of his actors; he becomes director/
photographer rather than writer/photographer. At two frames per
second, the photographer can inject more life into the fotono-

vela's action -- can remove the woodenness from communicative expressions.

Less-successful fotonovelas

Manuel y Maria: Un amor sin secretos is an example of a fotonovela produced simply and directly to acquaint a rural, Latin audience (produced in Mexico for regional distribution-- a common practice given Mexico's professional experience in the production of fotonovelas) with the practice of family planning. There is basically no story, although the action is loosely held together because of the common and familiar life of the two main characters, a husband and wife about to have children. From the second page (of 17 pages - 16 plus back cover), the discussion of family planning begins, with a friend giving Maria advice about various methods of contraception and the help of the Centro de Salud. From that point on, the informational message is developed, and the concept of health and family planning reinforced. Not only are Manuel and Maria on their way to a happy, good life, but Maria herself has become a nurse. On the last page, she says to her friend, 'Now you and I will attend to the people who live far away.'

'That's right, Maria,' says her friend. We know the roads and how to reach those who most need us.'

'We will be able to vaccinate children and give advice to mothers so that they only have children when they want them and not one a year.'

Finally, in the last frame, Manuel, hugging his children says, 'And how handsome are our children. Before Paco gets mar-

ried I'll write to him, telling him to go to the Centro de Salud.'

None of this, of course, is very believable. Lamentably such a well-tuned social conscience that urges Maria into social work is infrequently found; and few fathers in moments of happiness with their children think of the Health Center. No matter how clear, lucid, and objective the informational message presented, few readers are going to identify with this story.

The problem, it seems, is how to present simple, factual information in a fotonovela format. As has been mentioned amply above, readers who have experience with the fotonovela come to expect certain things from it. Their entertainment expectations are no different from those of any audience with any medium. All media have their conventions, they are quickly learned and understood, and are hard to change. If, therefore, a fotonovela promises romance and delivers education, a problem of credibility occurs. People may not even bother with the next free fotonovela distributed institutionally.

Yet, the fotonovela has a distinct potential in conveying clear, objective information. Perhaps the answer is the portada - the cover page. If that is clearly 'informational,' without seductive hints as to the romance inside; and if the title is not A Love that has No Secrets, but simply: Marriage and Children... or even, like the edition of Los Supermachos referred to above: How Not to Have Children, perhaps audiences would react with the openness and interest communications planners hope for.

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An important fact to consider, when planning population communications is this: many women, if not most, in developing countries waat fewer children than they have. There appears to be (although this data is hard to collect), an existing motivation to have fewer children.[1] If this is so, then successful informational material can be developed without disguising it in romantic or semi-adventurous themes. The fotonovela, then, can be used to simply present information to those who are looking for it, retain its credibility and popularity as an entertainment medium (by not compromising its standards), and be highly effective in reaching a variety of audiences.

It should be mentioned also that far too many well-intentioned communications attempts talk down to their audiences. Disguising a message, even though it may be for the perceived ultimate good of the people, is still deception; and nothing fails like failed deception. Although it has been said many times before, the more respect for audience intelligence, the more credible and durable the message and the medium.

Cuando Nuestro Hijo Ha Nacido is an example of an attempt to be factual and representative in a fotonovela. The producer decided not to try to develop an unconvincing story-line within which to couch an educational message; he simply set the action in a hospital and made few pretentions about his intent.[2] Although this is still an 'in-between' fotonovela -

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[1]The Republic of Korea's successful Family Planning Program was raised on this assumption: reach those who are ready with factual information and they will motivate others.

[2]See Appendix II for a discussion of education results.

part romantic drama, part educational vehicle -- it is a good
example of the creative problem facing communications planners
and developers: how does one present factual information--
inherently uninteresting -- in an acceptable, interesting way.
The question is not one of entertainment, but of interest.
From the review of materials collected for this report, the
problem is a significant one.

Typhoon and Young Love are both fotonovelas produced by
FAO for use in the Philippines and the rest of Southeast Asia
They were produced to accompany filmstrips and radio programs
as well as comic books. Both Typhoon and Young Love were de-
signed for both literate and semi-literate audiences and, as
a result, are 'in-between.' Their graphics and visual con-
ventions are not clear enough for a pictorially unfamiliar
audience to understand, and their texts are too simplified to
be believable for literates. In short, in their attempt to
reach many audiences, they appear to reach none.

Illustration 46 is taken from Typhoon. There is little
way that the illiterate, pictorially unfamiliar reader could
figure out that, in frame 2, the rice is ruined; or that in
frame 3, that the rice field is all mud; or in frame 4, that
suddenly the man has slipped and hit his head on a log.

If the illiterate or semi-literate were read the story
(a more likely occurrence), one could expect little interest
from the simple text and flimsy story-line demanded by the multi-
directed approach.

In communicating with non- or semi-literate people, it seems evident that although the fotonovela appears to be the best medium of communication, little is known about how to use that medium for maximum utility. There simply is not enough good data available. Yet, certain, key elements are known. For one thing, illiterates are frequently read to by literate friends or children. If one, therefore, wanted to reach illiterates, the approach might be to produce a very popular literate fotonovela on the assumption that illiterates would want to hear it. For another thing, true illiterates do not conceive of themselves as print-worthy. Even if a good fotonovela were produced without words especially for illiterates, they might not even look at it since nothing before on a printed page had ever been meant for them. Thirdly, it is known that pictorially illiterate people have a strenuous time learning how to perceive photographs. Even photographs done with the proper conventions would be difficult to understand.

Less is known about the semi-literate. To what degree does he understand written language, and what are his major impediments? Vocabulary? Length of sentence? Sentence structure? Size of paragraph? What are his conceptions of pictures and words together? Do they complement each other, or do they inhibit learning?

Asi Vivimos is a fotonovela produced by a University of Massachusetts team for the Government of Ecuador, but not in the Manuel Santi series. It is mentioned here because although it is technically well-done, and continues its accurate visual

representation of Indian environments, it sets forth an im-
plausible and barely believable story. In it a sierran
family is nearly ruined by bad crops. The father says that
he has to go to Quito to find work, but his daughter says that
it would be better if she go: she has a cousin there who is
an empleada and who can get her housework with a wealthy fam-
ily. The daughter goes off to Quito, finishes her work, and
returns home to her village. (So far the story is very plaus-
ible.)

At home she recounts her experiences - how hurried life
is in the city, how wealthy some are and how poor others; how
happy she is to come from the solid way of life of the campo.
She does bring one bit of advice back, however: many of the
houses in the Capital are well-built, and she has learned from
them how to make their own, modest hut more suitable and com-
modious. She takes here parents in hand and shows them how to
rebuild their choza. (Here the story-line becomes unrealistic)
'Let's knock down a wall here,' she says, 'and make the house
bigger so that we can have one room for sleeping and one for
the kitchen.' The remodeling continues and expands until they
have redone everything. In fact, their work was so complete
they built an entirely new house of adobe. The last page shows
the family adding the final touches: the daughter is hanging
a mirror, and the mother is putting some ornamentation in the
corner. 'Everything we've done looks beautiful,' says the proud
daughter. 'If the harvests go well this year, we'll buy beds
for the kids.'

Things simply do not happen this way. Hundreds of years of tradition are not so easily thrown away; dramatic changes in style of living do not happen so quickly. Moreover, despite the implications of the story, it _does_ take money--and time--to build a house, and if one were able to find the resources to do so, there would be little left over for mirrors and trinkets. Even an _empleada_'s savings would not go far.

Ideals and examples are clearly two different things; here they are mixed, and the result, it appears, is lack of credibility.

Nuestros Hijos, and _Tres Anhelos_ deserve only brief mention. The first, _Nuestros Hijos_, is a production with no apparent message at all. It appears to be about the important responsibilities of motherhood, but even that is unsure. It is noted here only to show the least successful fotonovela encountered: having neither message nor story-line. _Tres Anhelos_ is an attempt to convey notions of women's equality, and is the story of three young girls who enter an all-boys school. It is repetitive and develops neither story nor message adequately.

Examples of a comic book treatment in illustrated booklets

There are a number of materials collected in the course of this survey of entertainment print media that do not qualify as either fotonovelas or comic books. They are inspired by the comic book or fotonovela form, but use few of the graphic and textual conventions found in them. The question of definition arose: since a number of variations on a theme were encountered, what then was a comic book? or fotonovela? It was generally agreed that a fotonovela was a photographic treatment of a dramatic, usually romantic but often adventurous theme. Foto-

novela literally means photo-novel and generically can be considered a graphic medium which communicates in the same way as a written novel or as its modern extensions, the tele-novel and radio novel. When the fotonovela stops being a story, with characters, action, and a distinctive plot, it ceases to be a fotonovela and becomes a 'photo treatment.' The distinction is important, for as mentioned above, it appears that the important conventions of the fotonovela--the ones that are well-understook and expected--are often forgotten. The fotonovela--inadvertently or expressly--often becomes a photo-treatment when used by social programmers.

The definition of a comic book is somewhat more difficult: What do Spider-Man, Archie, Doonesbury, Classics Illustrated, and Donald Duck have in common? They are not all funny, not all dramatic, not all satire or caricature...yet they all entertain. Therefore, simply those illustrated drawings that did not entertain--hence, were solely educational--were not considered comic books but 'comic treatments.' Another definitional problem, howev arose when considering such booklets as Billows Ferry (see Illustration 47). If this publication had had balloon-dialogue, would it have been a comic book? Or was the particular graphic treatment, typical of most American comics, the key definitional element? Again, the point is not so much academic, but practical: the communications planner should look at all varieties of 'comic book,' and select the appropriate one for use: each graphic variation does make a difference and not all graphic treatments are applicable for all situations.

Illustration 47

I was worried. After dark Ah-chu suddenly came rowing a small sampan up to the cave entrance. Putting the baby onto her back, she ordered, "Quick, get in!" I learned only on asking that she'd taken the sampan from its moorings right under the enemy's nose.

La Viruela is a Bolivian production about smallpox, and it uses the traditional comic book format (Illustration 48) to present the message of the dangers of the disease and the advantages of vaccination. It is interesting visually and textually, presenting information about the origins of the disease, the scientific basis for vaccines and brief information on how they work, and illustrative material on how the disease is spread and prevented and the symptoms it produces. In short, it is a concise, but thorough presentation suitable for literate audiences and interesting enough, it appears, to be read to illiterates and semi-literates. La Viruela is straightforward and factual. It attempts no story other than that of smallpox; it makes no attempt to entertain except through the variety and diversity of its graphic and textual material.

Unidos en la Alianza is a comic treatment published by the Organization of American States to publicize the body's role and functions in the Americas. Like La Viruela, it is declaratory. It explores the nature and responsibilities of OAS without finding it necessary to have even a character-narrator. This booklet succeeds because of the professionalism of its production: the drawings are well-done, the format varied and lively, the use of color well-thought out and applied, and the blend of narration and pictorial representation interesting. The booklet—because of its theme—takes the reader to varied environments and situations, integrating people, work, and principle (See Illustration 49). It takes a basically uninteresting subject and makes it as 'entertaining' as possible.

Illustration 48

Illustration 49

UNA VEZ PREPARADOS LOS PLANES PARA UN PAÍS, SE REQUIERE LA COOPERACIÓN DE MUCHAS PERSONAS Y ORGANIZACIONES PARA LLEVARLOS A CABO.

LOS GOBIERNOS LOCALES DE LAS CIUDADES Y PUEBLOS, POR EJEMPLO, PROYECTAN OBRAS COMO LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE REDES DE DISTRIBUCIÓN DE AGUA CORRIENTE. EN MUCHOS CASOS EL TRABAJO ES HECHO POR LOS MISMOS VECINOS DEL LUGAR.

EL GOBIERNO CENTRAL TOMA A SU CARGO LOS PROYECTOS MÁS IMPORTANTES, COMO CARRETERAS NACIONALES Y GRANDES OBRAS DE RIEGO.

Hay que despertar en la mente de los jóvenes facultades que les permitan hacer frente al futuro.

LA O.E.A. POR INTERMEDIO DE SU CENTRO DE EDUCACIÓN RURAL, ADIESTRA ESPECIALISTAS EN ADMINISTRACIÓN DE ESCUELAS y MAESTROS, Y LOS ENVÍA A LOS PAÍSES MIEMBROS DE LA ORGANIZACIÓN, PARA QUE ENSEÑEN A OTROS MAESTROS LOS MÉTODOS MÁS NUEVOS Y MEJORES DE EDUCACIÓN INFANTIL.

[...] TAMBIÉN TÉCNICOS EN EL INSTITUTO INTERAMERICANO DE CIENCIAS AGRÍCOLAS. ESTOS TÉCNICOS VAN POR TODA AMÉRICA LATINA PARA ENSEÑAR A LOS CAMPESINOS LOS MÉTODOS MODERNOS DE PRODUCIR, SEMBRAR Y CRIAR GANADO.

8

The Barangay Nutrition Manual, published by the Nutrition

Center of the Philippines for use by rural extension workers,

is an excellent example of the comic treatment applied to a

direct development project. This Manual used for para-profes-

sional workers, often with a limited literacy capability, rep-

resents an ideal use of a popular graphic form (comic books are

commercially popular in the Philippines) for educational use.

Illustrations 50, 51, and 52 are pages taken from the Barangay

Nutrition Manual. They show clearly how the graphic treatment

is used as a means of both demonstrating para-medical techniques

and illustrating otherwise routine material.

Planification Familiar is a less-successful attempt to use

a comic-treatment to explain the basics of reproduction and

family planning. This failure is largely due to the use of both

story-line and separate educational material. The booklet be-

gins with yet another story of a husband and wife, once again

returning home with another child to a run-down, decrepit home

in a slummy environment (Illustration 53), then turns to eleven

pages of diagrams and technical text (Illustration 54). If the

booklet had used only an informational approach, it would have

been much more acceptable. In fact, drawings of 'sexual' matter

are always approved when photographs are not.

Abonos (Fertilizer), Los Sembradores, Control de Plagas,

and Cooperatives are comic treatments produced in a program of

Basic Village Education in Guatemala. They were produced in

a mixed media campaign using radio forums, posters, flip-charts,

and photo-treatments, and were distributed to farmers during the

Illustration 51
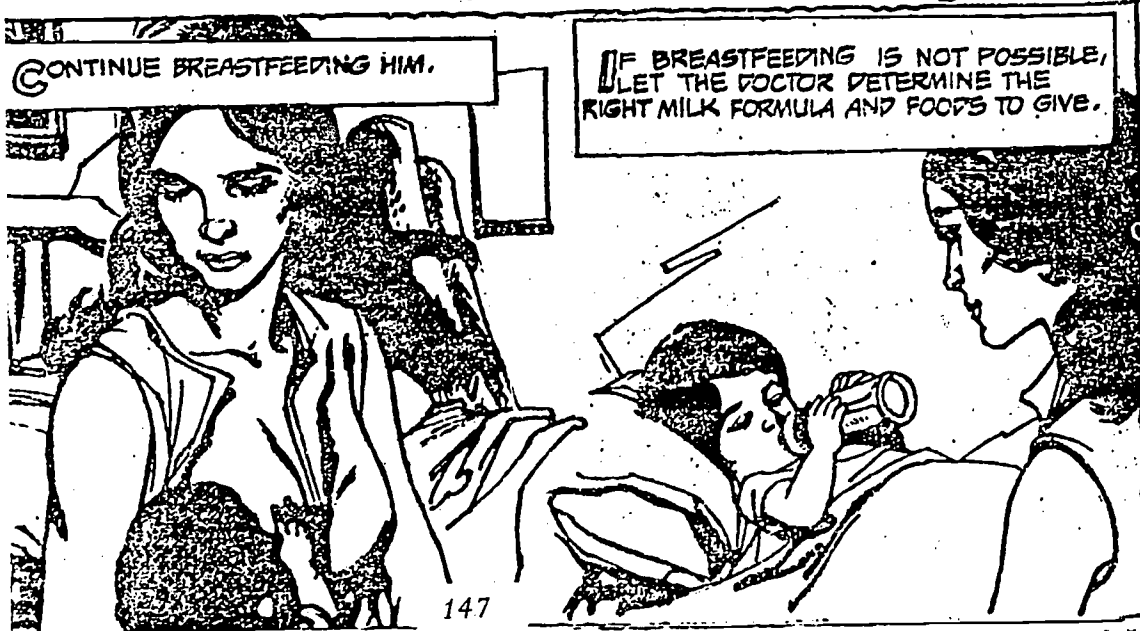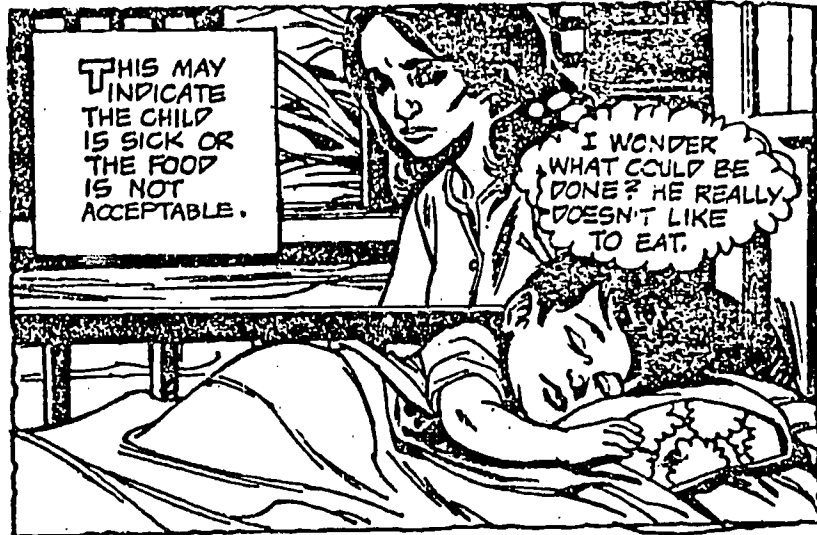
LET HER INHALE THROUGH THE PAPER FOR 10-15 MINUTES OR UNTIL THERE IS STILL STEAM. DO THIS 2-3 TIMES A DAY.

WHEN HER HEAD ACHES, PLACE WET TOWEL ON FOREHEAD.

LET THE PATIENT SIT OR LIE DOWN AND HAVE A COMPLETE REST.

WHEN HER STOMACH ACHES. LET THE PATIENT LIE DOWN AND LOOSEN HER CLOTHES AT THE WAIST.

PLACE A HOT WATER BOTTLE ON HER STOMACH.

148

161

Illustration 52

Planning Balanced Meals

Illustration 53
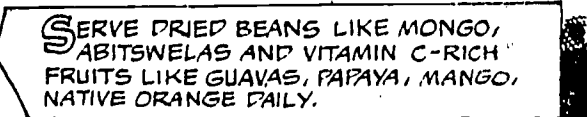
PLANIFICACION FAMILIAR

GUION Y TEXTOS:
Dr. ORESTES CUCURULLO

DIBUJOS:
ORLANDO DIAZ FORTUNA (LAN)

Es propiedad de
ASOCIACION DOMINICANA PRO
BIENESTAR DE LA FAMILIA, INC.
Santo Domingo, República Dominicana

1 9 7 2

ASOCIACION
DOMINICANA
PRO
BIENESTAR DE LA
FAMILIA, INC.

Serie "HI—P" No. 3

PLANIFICACION FAMILIAR
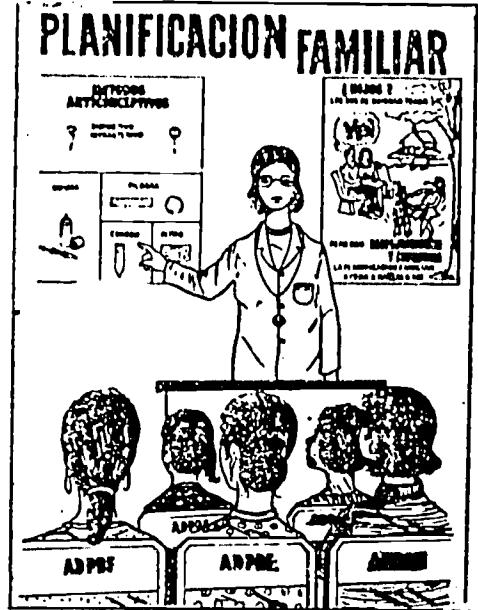
MERCEDES VUELVE A SU POBRE HOGAR AL SER DADA DE ALTA EN EL HOSPITAL DESPUES DE TENER UN NUEVO HIJO.

GRACIAS A DIOS.... AUNQUE....

¿AUNQUE.... QUE?....

BUENO.... YA ESTAS AQUI OTRA VEZ.... Y SALISTE BIEN

AY, PEDRO.!... AHORA SON CUATRO MUCHACHOS

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Illustration 54

FIGURA 1
ANATOMIA
CUERPO DE LA MUJER (DE FRENTE)

ILLUSTRATION 54

Utero o Matriz

Trompa

Trompa

Ovario

Ovario

Cuello Uterino

Vagina

Illustration 54

i51
164
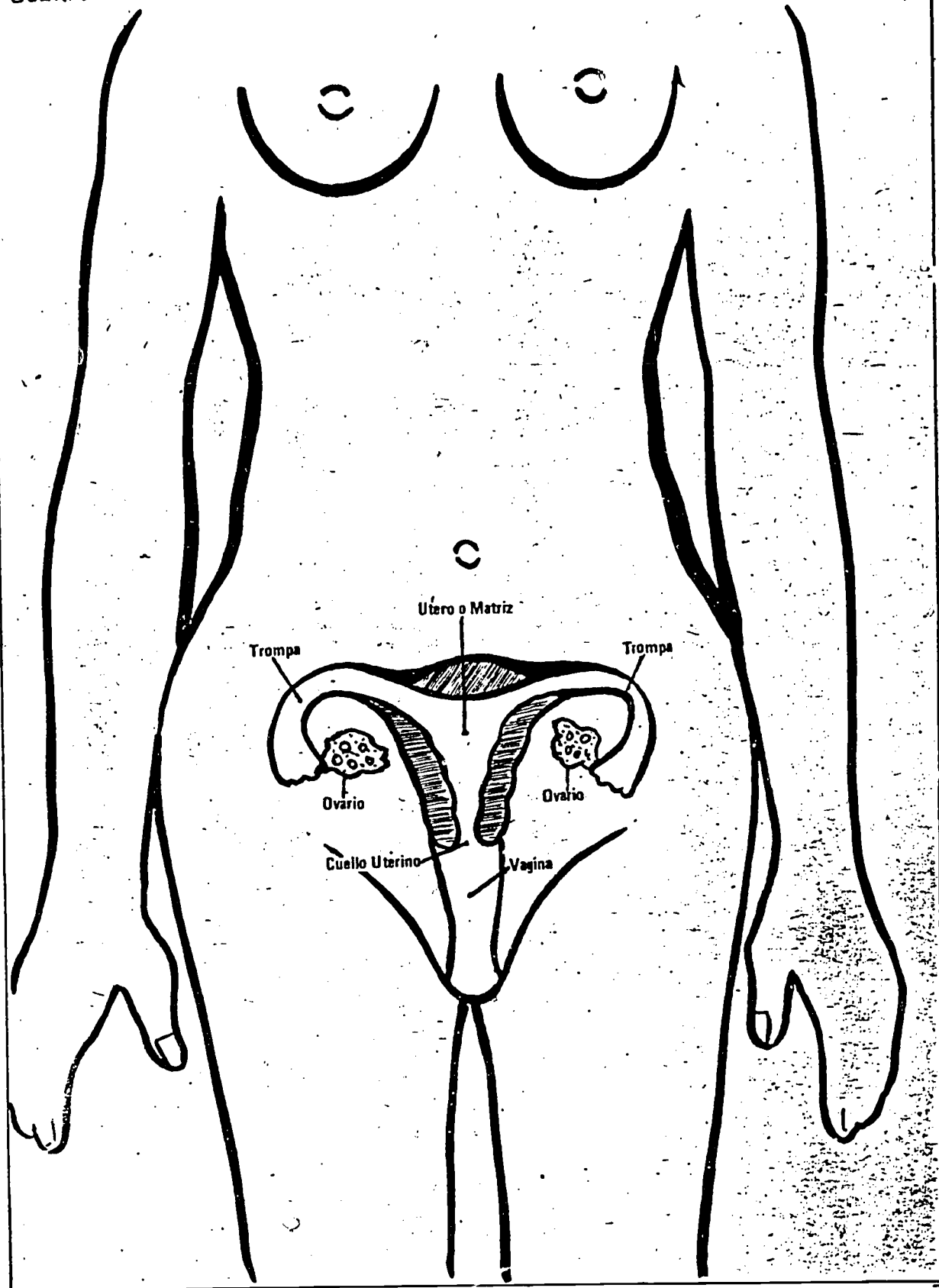
radio forums for at-home use. They are composed of simple drawings indicating graphically 'how to.' Illustration 55 is taken from Abonos and visually explains the two methods of fertilizing at two times during the year. The drawings are not always clear and self-explanatory, however, and in the case of this illustration, it is not at all evident to the non-agricultural eye what the difference in the two methods actually is. One can assume the same kind of perceptual difficulty for the illiterate and semi-literate audience to whom these messages are directed. Given the well-established inability of quasi-literates to understand drawings, it might be well to use these booklets only under the supervision of an instructor. In this BVE project, in fact, there were 'monitors' present in the experimental villages, using flip charts and assisting the farmers in learning. Their involvement in the farmers' learning process might have extended one step further, thus maximizing the utilization of these comic treatments.

Como Hacer Una Casa Mas Segura and Como Inspeccionar Y Reparar Las Casas Danadas Por Terremotos are both comic treatments produced in Guatemala after the earthquake. Both are illustrated booklets giving practical advice on how to repair and rebuild damaged houses, and how to build new, earthquake-resistant ones. Both use the device of a character-narrator-- a recognizable village figure--to give the booklets continuity. Illustration 56 is from Como Inspeccionar... and shows this narrator explaining about different types of house damage. Illustration 57 is from Como Hacer... and is an example of this booklet's more technical approach. Both comic treatments seem clear and understandable and serving the purpose for which

PRIMERA

SEGUNDA

Y DICE: PARA TENER UNA BUENA COSECHA HAY QUE ABONAR DOS VECES

Illustration 55

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LA Nº 1   Inspección De Las Casas Dañadas

UNA CASA DAÑADA CON TECHO PESADO.
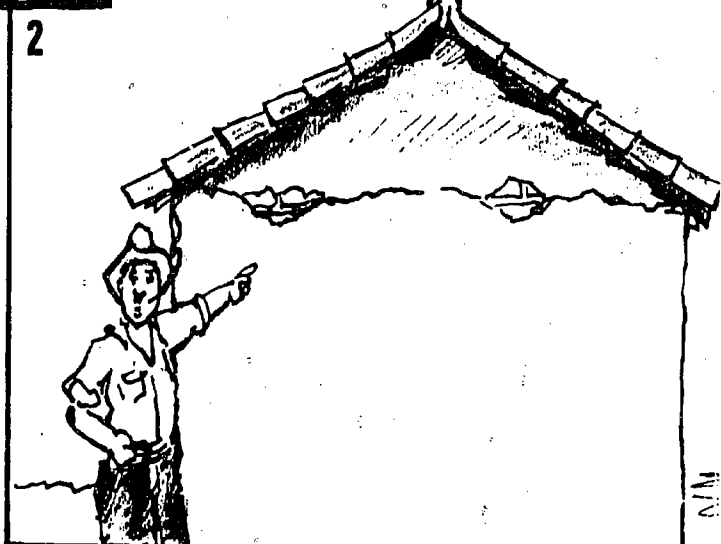
UNA CASA DAÑADA CON MOJINETE PESADO.

UNA CASA DAÑADA CON PAREDES MUY ALTAS.

UNA CASA DAÑADA CON PUERTA QUE ABRE HACIA ADENTR:

Illustration 56

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Illustration 57

14
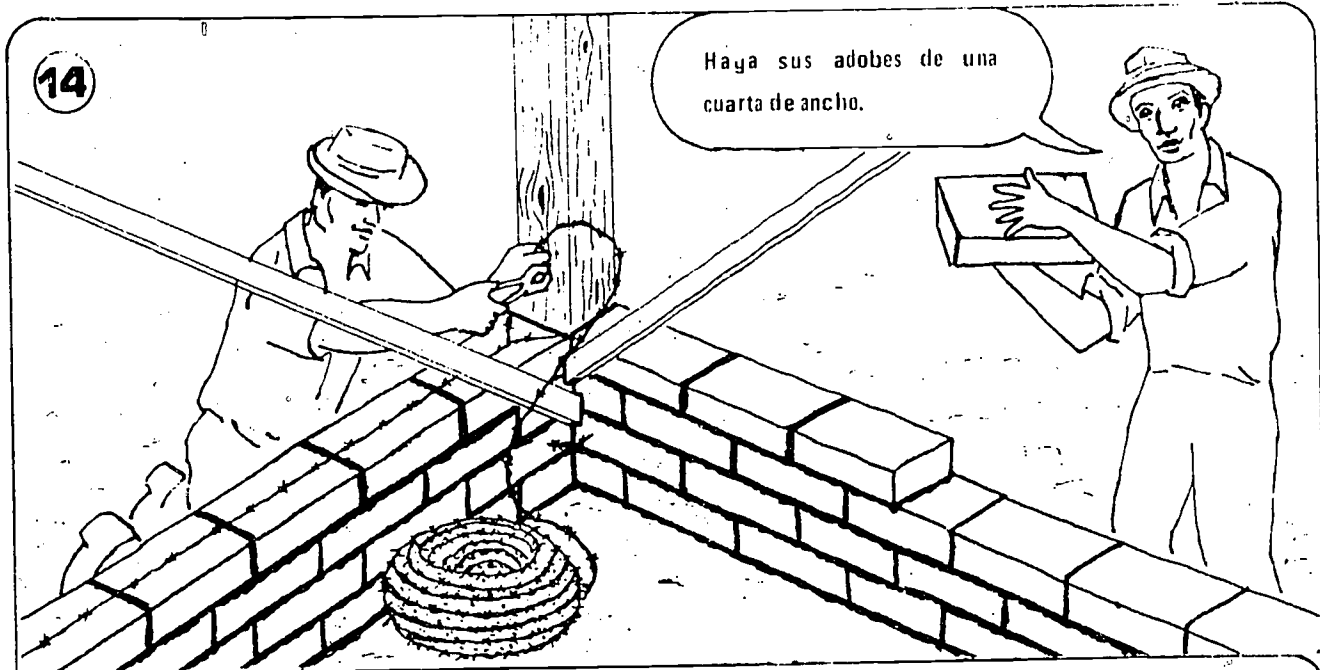
Haya sus adobes de una cuarta de ancho.

1. Use paredes delgadas de ladrillo, block o adobe *pequeño.*
2. Use poca mezcla para pegar los ladrillos, blocks o adobes.
3. Para adobe, ponga alambre espigado atirantado de poste a poste, empezando con la primera hilada y después cada tres hiladas.
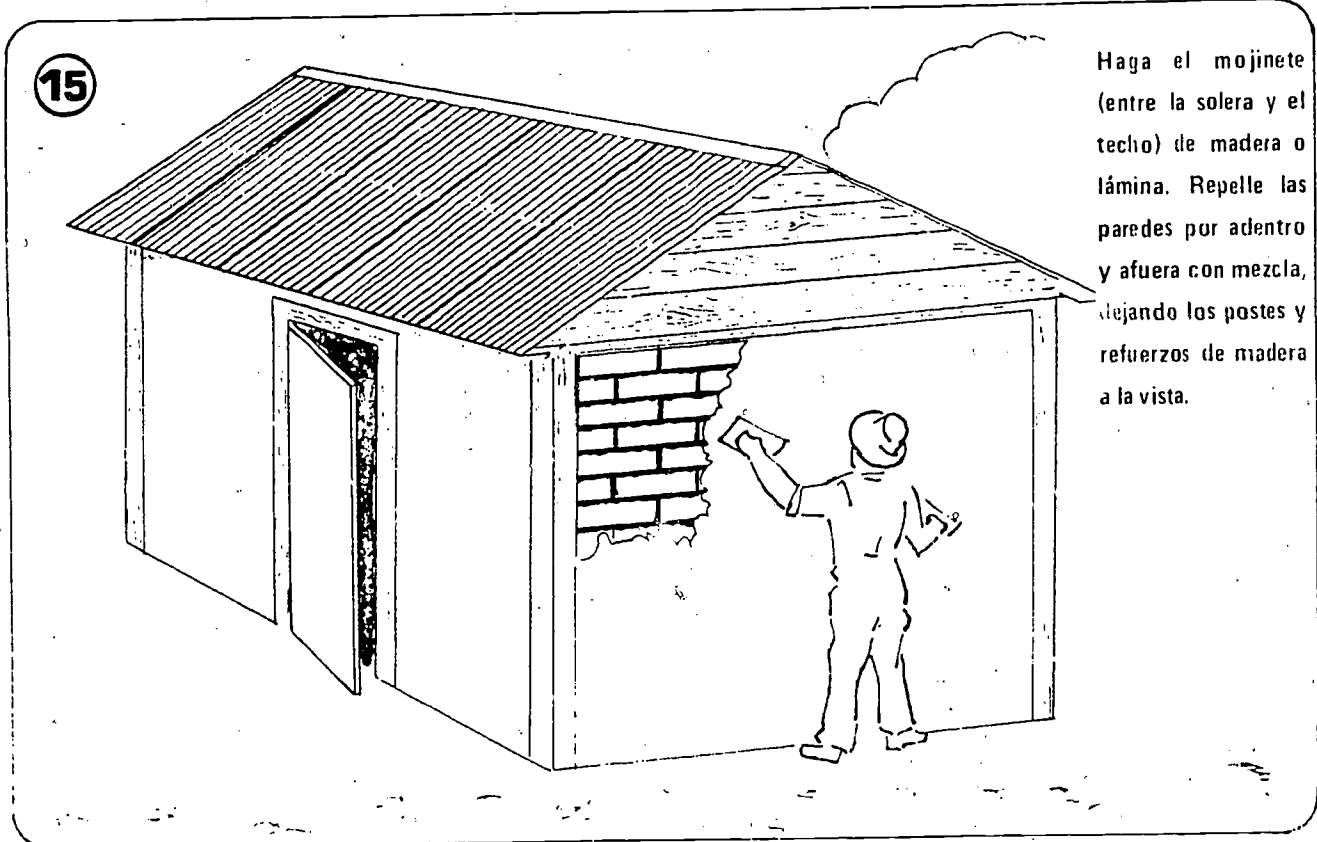
15

Haga el mojinete (entre la solera y el techo) de madera o lámina. Repelle las paredes por adentro y afuera con mezcla, dejando los postes y refuerzos de madera a la vista.

they were designed. As in _Abonos_, above, however, the only question is the utility of these comic treatments by readers alone, without the help of para-professional workers.

Daughters Are Better, a Korean family planning publication, shows the use of a comic treatment in an innovative way. It is basically a book of comics and illustrated text, done in a light, humorous style, presenting many of the important aspects and implications of family planning, such as: the health of baby and mother, child-rearing and education, demographics and national population growth, Women's Rights, and ε ual roles, nutrition, etc. It is meant for a literate, media-familiar audience, and is as progressive in its presentation--although more conservative in its treatment--as _Los Supermachos_. There are three basic components of _Daughters are Better_, all graphic. The first is an illustrated text (see Illustration 58), which uses humorous, caricatured drawings to support informational material. The second is an adult comic strip (Illustration 59); and the third is a children's comic, using the same character that has appeared in a separate comic book edition (_The Invincible Hong Kil Tong_ - discussion to follow in section on Children's Comic Books). Illustration 60 shows a sample page.

Daughters are Better is a highly professional, sophisticated production, graphically varied and interesting, with textual material that is both entertaining and informative. One of the most important features of _Daughters..._ is the use of existing commercial comic book characters, popular in Korea. This has great implications for both adult and children's com-

Illustration 58

한부모한아이

2 ▼ 앞으로 한부모 한아이 운동이 저절로 벌어질 것이다

귀엽고 앙징스러운 딸

1 딸의 재롱

아들, 아들 하지만 딸을 길러본 사람이면 딸 귀여운 재롱에 탄복하지 않을 수 없을 것입니다.
자식도 품안에 있을 때 자식이라고 하는데 품에 있을 때라면 망나니 아들에 비하면 딸의 귀여움이란 더 이상 언급이 필요치 않습니다.

2 가사를 돌보는 딸

딸은 조금만 크면 엄마의 일을 돕고 아빠의 피을 풀어주는 등 가사를 돕고 가정을 화목하게 드는데 큰 역할을 합니다. 아들과 비교해 볼 딸이 가정에서 하는 역할은 크며, 딸이 있는 안은 항상 웃음이 넘치기 마련입니다.

3 모녀간의 대화

딸은 엄마와 여러가지 일을 의논하며 엄마의 어려움, 아빠의 고충을 이해하는데 아들보다 유능합니다. 대화는 인간관계를 이루는 가장 기본적인 요소입니다. 딸은 대화를 통해 부모와의 관계를 아름답게 만들며 가정을 살찌우게 합니다. 행복이란 바로 이런데 있는 것이 아닐까요?
그러므로 구태여 아들만을 원한 것이 아니라 딸에 대하여도 인간적인 평등한 대우를 해 주어야 하겠읍니다.

4 강한 생활력

여자가 남자보다 연약하게 보여도 실제는 강한 생활력을 지니고 있읍니다. 현대 사회에서는 여성도 남성못지 않게 생활력을 발휘하여 사회에서 인정을 받고 경제적으로도 부유하게 살아가고 있읍니다. 그렇다면 여자를 무시할 이유가 무엇이겠읍니까? 여성에 대한 재인식은 생활력으로 보아도 당연한 것입니다.

5 노온 츠 치는 니면 기는 받고 아들 것이 버리 읍니

6 요조가 여자 세상

Illustration 59

Illustration 60
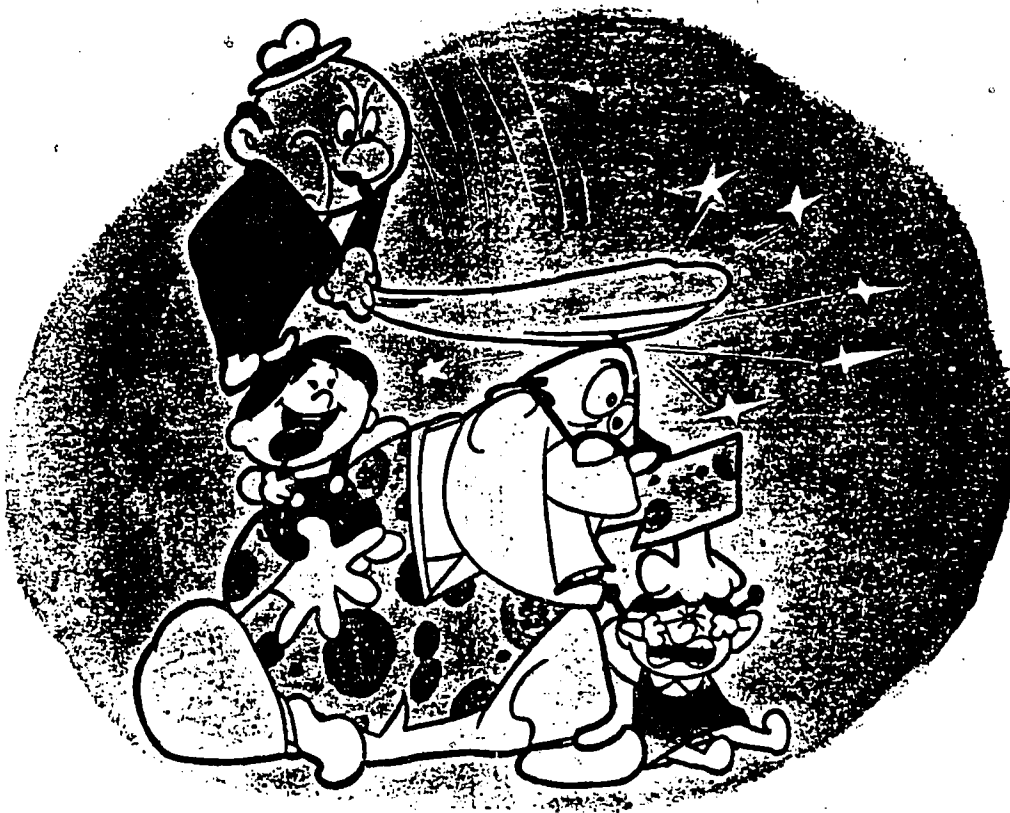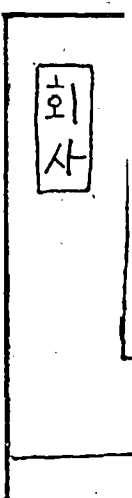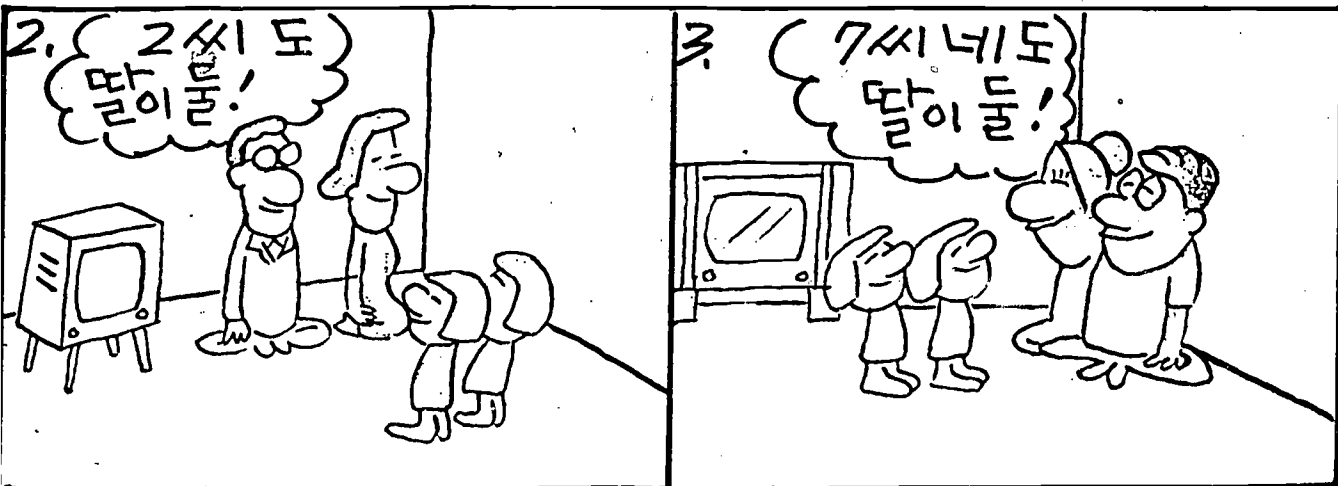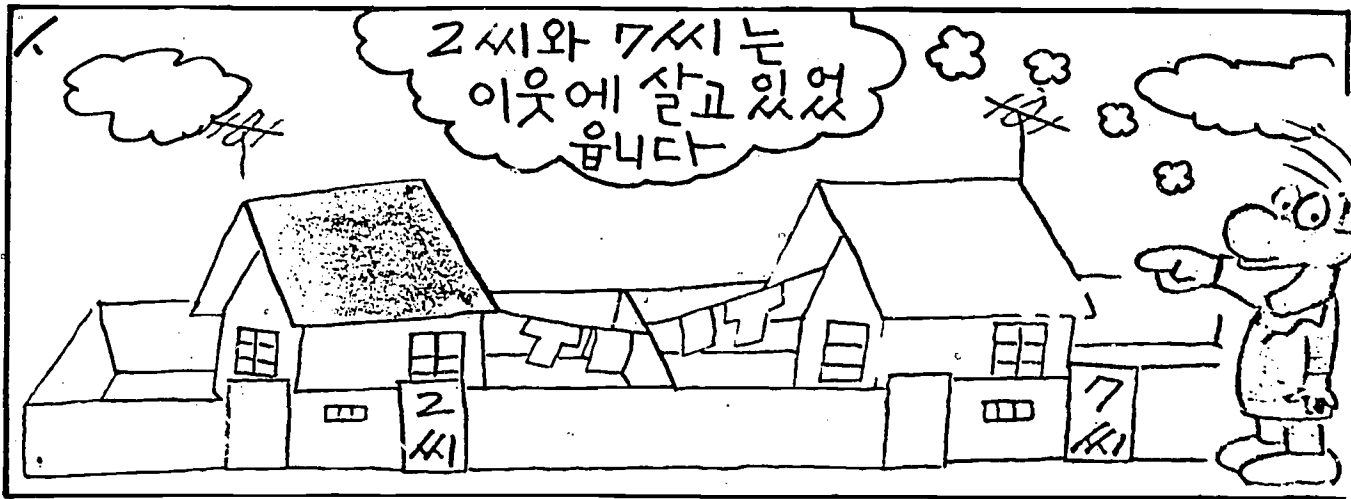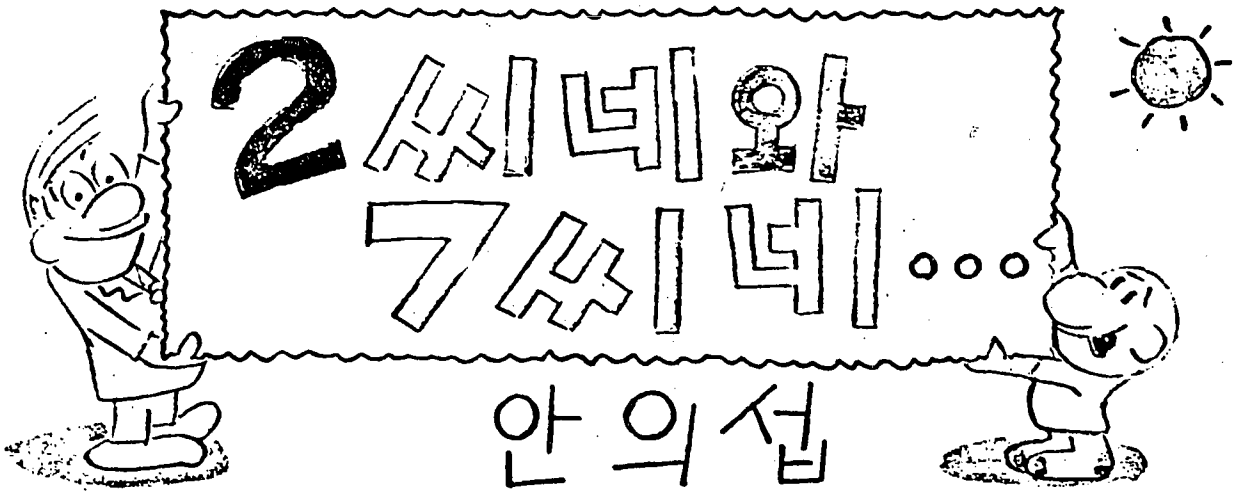
묘목도 때가되면 옮겨가꾸듯, 애기도 6개월이 되면 이유식을 먹이자

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아기를 낳고 기르는 일은 쉬운 일이 아닙니다. 출산은 산모의 건강에 영향을 주죠.

또 아기가 많은데 돌봐줄 사람이 없으면 엄마 혼자서 뒷치닥거리를 해야하니 얼마나 피곤하겠읍니까? 엄마나 아기의 건강을 모두 해치게 되죠

또 임신하고 출산하는 것만큼 힘든 일도 없읍니다.

녀석/넌 저기가 있어/

그러므로 두아기를 낳고 단산 것이 아기와 엄마의 건강을 지키는 길이 되는 겁니다

건강

또 교육시키는데도 엄청난 돈이 듭니다. 한 아기를 대학까지 공부시키는데 800만원 이상이나 되는 큰 돈이 든다는 계산이 나옵니다.

800만원

때문에 둘만낳고 잘기르고 가르쳐야 현명한 부모이며 책임있는 부모가 되는 것입니다.

소비하는 식구가 많으면 아무리 벌어봐야 밑빠진 독에 물붓기가 되죠.

규모있게 가족수를 조절하면 저축도 하고 생활도 즐기면서 건전하게 살아갈 수 있는게 아니겠읍니까?

우리가 살고있는 이사회, 이국가, 세계를 지키기 위해선 지금이라도 둘낳기는 실천하여야 합니다.

munication, and is a precedent that could be followed in any country with both the indigenous cartoon characters appearing in comic strips, and the literacy required to utilize the detailed information presented.[1]

What Shall We Eat?, another Government of Korea-CARE production, is an illustrated booklet using comic-style characters and characterizations, but with no actual comic-strips like those in Daughters... Illustration 61 is taken from a page of What Shall... and is representative of the rest of the booklet. In terms of media extension, any page of this booklet could be reproduced and/or serialized in local newspapers for a wider and perhaps different audience.

Dos Familias and Su Gran Error are both family planning comic-treatments that were evaluated (see Appendix II) and found to be successful in communicating basic information about family planning. They are not done in a clearly 'objective' graphic style, however, and the question is raised--particularly with regards Su Gran Error, which is done in a woodcut presentation--as to how they could be better understood with a more representational style. These two booklets are noteworthy for this experimentation with presenting only one picture per page, to assist marginally literate readers in following the story in the desired sequence.

Examples of photo-treatment in informational booklets

Only two examples of photo-treatment were collected in the course of this research: Yo...Mama?, a family planning booklet

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[1] Many countries simply import Western cartoon strips and translate them into local languages. Blondie, for example, was popular in Bolivia.

Illustration 61

우리 몸의 구조는 가장 과학적으로 움
직이는 공장의 내부 시설처럼 조직되어
움직이고 있습니다. 머리는 사령실이라
고 할 수 있어서 몸 안의 온갖 부속 기
계를 돌보고 다스리는가 하면, 음식물이
투입되면 이것을 흡수하고 처리하는 내
장 기관에서 찌꺼기를 버리는 배설 기관
에 이르기까지 정말로 몸은 멋진 움직임
을 하는 공장과 다를 바 없습니다. 어느
한 가지이든 빠지거나 고장이 나면 공장
안의 모든 기계가 함께 고통을 치르게 되
며, 결국 공장은 제구실을 못하게 되고
십하면 문을 닫는, 곧 생명을 잃게 되는
것입니다.

그럼 이 움직이는 공장 안에서 쉴새없
이 제 할 일을 하고 있는 몸 속 기계들
은 어떤 힘으로 작업을 계속할까요?

공장에는 모터를 돌리기 위한 전기,또
는 중유, 기술자, 물, 모빌유 등이 골고
루 필요한 것처럼, 우리 몸도 그 힘을 가
져다 주는 것이 각종 영양소입니다. 어
느 한 가지 영양소로만 이 모든 부속 기
계를 움직일 수가 없습니다, 더 구체적
인 예를 들면, 우리의 복장에 비유할 수
도 있습니다. 복장을 갖추려면 모자, 저
고리, 바지, 양말, 장갑 등이 필요합니다.

그 가운데 손에 필요한 장갑은 어디까
지나 장갑이지 머리에 맞을 수도 없고,
양말이 저고리의 구실을 할 수는 없는
것처럼, 각종 영양소도 제가끔 하는 일
이 정해져 있다는 이야기입니다. 그래서

인체 각 부분의 하는 일!

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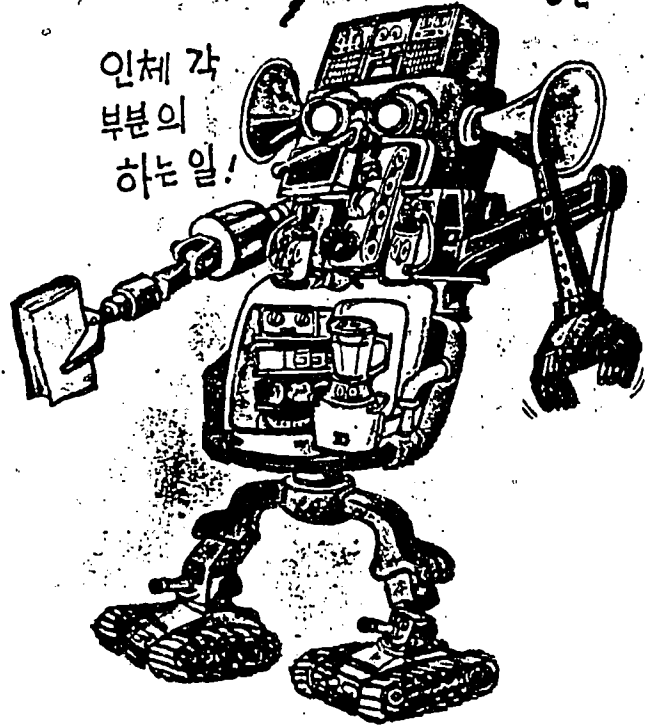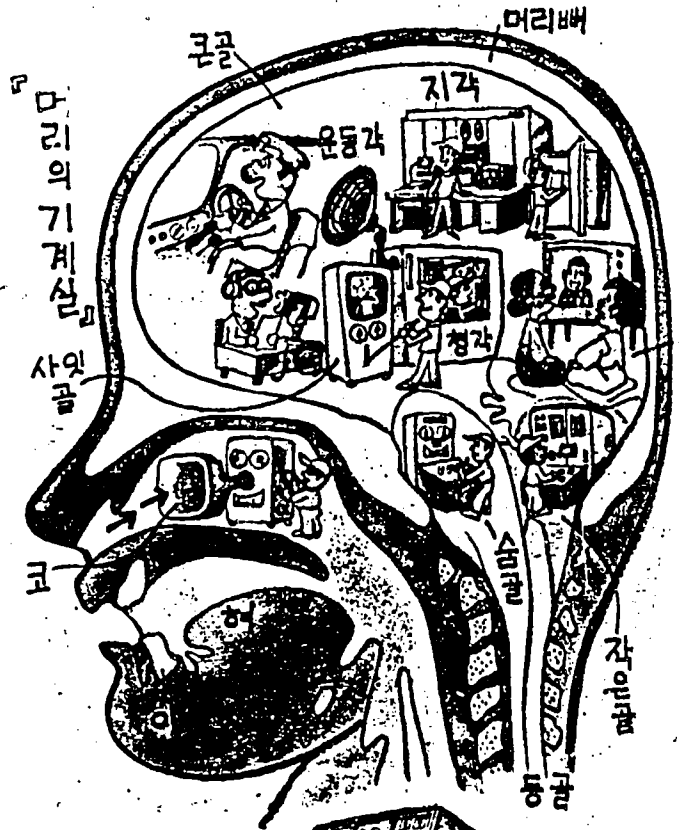
and Cooperativas, produced in conjunction with the Basic Village Education Project referred to above. Yo...Mama? is noteworthy because it blends both photographic and illustration techniques (see Illustration 62 and 63), and uses four colors to excellent advantage -- color here adds dramatic interest and is not merely for decoration. Cooperativas is detailed and explitic about the formation of cooperatives, and its familiar village scenes provide a relevant but not distracting background for the discussion (see Illustration 63A).

Comic books for children

The best comic for children encountered in this research (from the Third World) was Invincible Hong Kil Tong, done by CARE for the Republic of Korea. It is a blend of fantasy and adventure, with action, color, and charm (see Illustration 64). It is about nutrition and conveys the basic relationships between food and health, strength, and mental alertness in an interesting and diverting way.

Lakshman Kills the Tiger is also a CARE production, this time for the Government of India, and is the first of a series of quite different comic books developed there. Lakshman... was, in a way, a pioneering attempt in nutrition comic books, and along with Invincible Hong Kil Tong was one of the Third World's first. It, however, had problems. The evaluation, for example, indicated that the predominately Hindu audience objected to the chie- characters being adivasis (tribal people), particularly as the way the were portrayed (Illustration 64; frame 4) was considered provocative. Like Invincible..., Lakshman... told of the relationship between food and strength, intelligence

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Illustration 62

ILLUSTRATION 62

EL MEJOR ALIMENTO PARA EL BEBE:
LA LECHE DE LA MADRE

¡ES EL ALIMENTO MÁS COMPLETO, EL MÁS PURO, EL MEJOR ENVASADO Y EL MÁS BARATO!

ES A TRAVES
DEL SENO MATERNO
QUE EL NIÑO DESCUBRE
LA TERNURA, EL AFECTO
EL CALOR Y LA
PRESENCIA DE LA MADRE

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Illustration 63

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सबकी निगाहें फागुनी पर थीं, फागुनी इतनी सुन्दर जो थी ।

जब किसी ने न पूछा के उसकी सुन्दरता पर ऐसी सचमे तन्दुरुस्त का सदक्या ।

अगर कोई पूछता तो वह कहती, सही ढंग का भोजन । इसेसे तन्दुरुस्ती ही नहीं न्दरता भी निखर उठती है ।
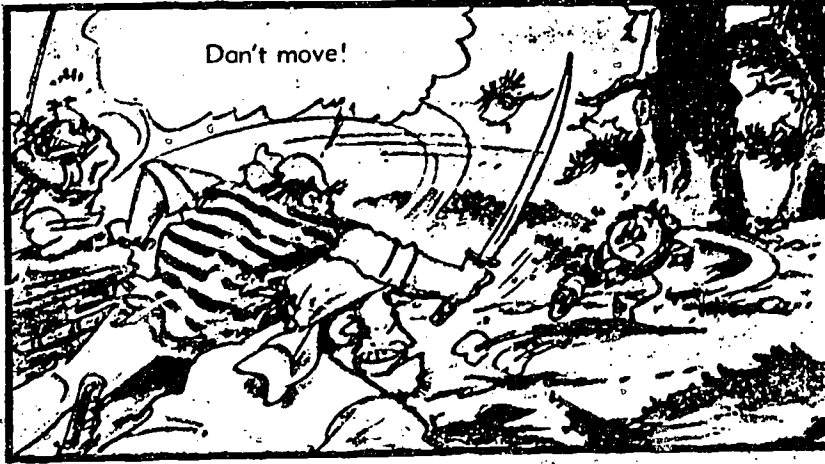
जो सही ढंग का खाना खाता है, उसकी तन्दुरुस्ती अच्छी है

उसकी आँखों में चमक होती है
चेहरे पर रौनक होती है
रंग-रूप निखरा होता है
दाँत मजबूत और मोती से होते हैं
होठों पर मुस्कान होती है ।

साग-भाजियाँ,
दालें, दूध-दही,
फल, मेवे

मांसाहारी लोगों के लिए
अंडे, मांस, मछली

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and good perceptual faculties, and although not fully accepted by its audience,[1] represented an important step in children's programming.

The Adventures of Raju was CARE-India's second attempt at a children's nutrition comic book, and it was developed as part of a multi-media project for entire rural communities. Raju... was done in two colors, whereas Lakshman... was done in four, for it was felt that children from a media-scarce environment, literate, but exposed to no comic books, would find a two-color production as attractive as a four-color. The reduction in cost, of course, was significant. Raju... is a series of three stories about a young boy and his adventures, all relating to his good health and good nutrition (see Illustration 65).

Shabash, Balwan is the third in the CARE series on nutrition distributed to children through primary schools. Here the hero is a bit older, but with the same adventures. This com: is the shortest of the three, only four pages long (Illustration 66), and was designed to permit the publication of several issues about Balwan within a limited budget; thereby increasing the number of media contacts with the audience.

Papelillo is a Mexican comic book distributed to children in a multi-media program that included adults. The subject matter of the comic series was nutrition and preventative medicine, non-formal education, and community development; and the booklets supported television, prints, and filmstrips. One particularly notable aspect of this comic is that it was distributed to children, but contained a section specifically for parents. In the case of Raju... and Lakshman..., CARE found that a signif-

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[1]See Appendix II for a discussion of evaluation findings.

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Illustration 66

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icant number of adults read the comic.

The fotonovela as participatory education

Most development fotonovelas follow a commercial model,
designed to be competitive with popular, entertainment produc-
tions which have large audiences. And, in countries with im-
portant health, population, or agricultural problems, and lim-
ited resources with which to deal with these problems, a mass
media approach, complemented in later stages with timely inter-
personal contact, seems to be a good one. A good fotonovela
designed for a wide audience, dealing with new subject matter
in an interesting, if not intriguing, way appears to be ideal
for conveying relevant information about development and its
personal implications.

There is another approach, however, called 'Participatory
Education,' which is an educational process designed to actively
involve learners and teachers in a common experience. In fact,
at its most ideal, the very concept of 'teacher' and 'student'
disappear, and the commonality of the experience is enhanced.
The theory of such participatory education, promulgated primarily
by Paulo Freire, is that people of a community know what they
need to learn, but do not know how. Effective 'teaching' is
eliciting that relevant community information and formalizing
it into abstractions. The teacher provides the   :ture for
learning; the learner provides the substance.

In addition, participatory education is based on theories
of psycho-drama: the very involvement of people in the re-en-
actment of real-life situations produces new self-knowledge and
self-awareness which can then be used in the education process.
Both video-tape and still photography (in fotonovela form) have

been used successfully. Two successful participatory education projects amongst others using the fotonovela have been that of the New England Farm Workers' Council and that of ALFIN in Peru. Both projects involve literacy -- the former with the learning of English as a second language, and the latter with the learning of traditional literacy skills amongst campesinos.

It is not within the purview of this report to go into Participatory Education as a social development process. As a technique and a profession, it can only be alluded to by way of comparison. What is important is to indicate that a medium which has been traditionally used throughout Latin America and selected other regions of the world as an entertainment mass medium, has been developed as a successful tool for dynamic, interpersonal learning.

Perhaps more importantly, the experience of Participatory Education has a direct bearing on the use of the fotonovela as a mass medium, for in Participatory Education it has been developed from an important socio-philosophical point of view, relevant to any information dissemination: people from the community designated to receive a developmental message are the key links in all stages of the communications process -- selection of message, design of story and development of theme, and delineation of special and specific audience groups. A fotonovela designed for mass consumption, if it is developed in direct conjunction with representative members of the population group to be addressed will be more appropriate, accurate, and relevant, and will better serve the needs of the community.

The technique of this community participation is key. Whereas many projects have intended to 'bring the community in,' the advocates of Participatory Education attempt to keep non-community people in an advisory role. Through the use of photography as an involvement-generating technique, participatory education 'facilitators' elicit a story from their audience. As learners become involved in the structuring of their environment and the relevant circumstances relating to their problem within it, they develop a drama, one that eventually becomes fictionalized--or dramatized--fact.

The lesson for mass media planners is simple: if mass-distribution fotonovelas could be developed in this way, their message, creative approach, and the atic technique might have far greater impact and relevance than if they had been developed in the relative isolation of media studios.

CHAPTER 5

DISTRIBUTION, COST, AND PRODUCTION

Comic Books and Fotonovelas: Distribution, Cost, and Production

A major emphasis of this report has been that fotonovelas and comic books have been underutilized because of an incomplete understanding of the functional relationships between message, theme, and medium. Although each medium, because of its generic structure and historical conventions, is better suited to certain types of informational treatment than to others, communications planning and implementation does not always follow this assumption. Fotonovelas are often produced as though they were illustrated books; comic books are published as line-drawing fotonovelas, and both infrequently mimic their successful commercial counterparts.

In addition to this media-message-theme confusion, it is felt that another exists: that between design and distribution. Few fotonovelas or comic books reviewed were designed with end-use in mind, and little consideration was given to the actual way in which media were distributed and to how the audience was ultimately to utilize them. A motivational fotonovela on family planning, for example, may have no place in a family planning clinic where women have come because they are already motivated.[1] Such motivational materials may have no place in health clinics either, since women (and men) going there (1) have a basic understanding of the concept of health, planning, and family welfare and need more information than motivation; and

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[1] Atucha and Ruiz, in a recent analysis of family planning audio-visual materials in Latin America, note that since 90% of the materials are used within health centers, their contents and tone are invariably not appropriate.

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(2) have a first-hand contact with a credible, interpersonal source of information -- the clinic doctor, nurse, or midwife. Under such conditions, simple informational literature might be more appropriate, explaining exactly what family planning is and how it can be applied.

The same example can be given for nutrition, where motivational material designed to change people's dietary habits through powerful, effective communication might not be appropriate for rural women participating in a child-feeding program at which an extension worker is present.

The point is, different media do different things. As has been pointed out in previous chapters of this report, fotonovelas because of their traditional conventions of romance and melodrama, tend to be more effective in conveying motivational material; comic books, because of their flexibility, tend to be more effective in presenting 'objective' information and in presenting it in a variety of different ways. Theoretically, at least, one would not expect an interchangeability with regard to end-use. Fotonovelas might be programmed for mass-distribution, either through commercial channels or secondary institutional channels (family planning material through labor unions or public transportation, etc.), while comic books would serve a supplementary educational function through primary institutional distribution (at health centers, for example).

A second point to be made refers to the way in which both comic books and fotonovelas are structured. It has been suggested in Chapter 4 that with certain substantial changes, foto-

novelas can become 'photo-treatments' and comic books, 'comic-treatments.' Although a fotonovela may be more motivational than declaratory, a photo-treatment--simple information presented directly and with no attempt to entertain--might be appropriate in the same circumstances in which a comic book is now preferable. Similarly, alth comic books have their appeal largely because of their caricature, and situational adaptability, a comic-treatment--a simple, graphic treatment of an educational subject--might be more appropriate in certain circumstances (in a discussion of anatomy, for example; or in the use and application of contraceptive devices).

The major problem, however, or at least the most immediate one, is not the conception of the media but the actual distribution of them. Regardless of how well-designed a comic book or fotonovela might be, presently there are few good, effective ways of distributing them to an audience. Rural development infrastructure in most parts of the Third World has not been well-established. If there are health centers in a particular region, for example, they may be widely scattered, with irregular attendance, and lacking in staff. Extension workers may have wide areas to cover with many responsibilities and may never see certain, more remote regions.

Mobility is limited in many rural areas of the Third World. Large sections of the population may get to market towns only infrequently, and therefore their contact with sources of print information is limited. Commercial marketing--a potential conduit for development educational materials--rarely extends be-

yond small towns, and the opportunity for the distribution of family planning, nutrition, or health information along with product promotional material is seldom possible.

Distribution has always been a major problem with print media. Although information disseminated through media, such as comic books and fotonovelas, has been shown to be effective and important in supplementing an overall communications system, nevertheless little attention has been paid to the development of these informational tools because of the limited and often costly ways of using them. Nearly all the comic books and fotonovelas examined during the course of the study were distributed through institutional channels: family planning and health materials were distributed through health centers, family planning clinics, and other out-patient facilities; nutrition print materials were distributed in schools and through mothers' clubs; agriculturally related materials were distributed through extension offices and radio listening groups.

Following is a discussion of major problems inherent in present and potential distribution schemes, and suggested recommendations for improved programming:

1. Institutional channels reach a narrow audience. Institutional facilities such as clinics, mothers' clubs, and agricultural extension offices have a limited audience, and one that, because of natural selection patterns, is more urban, better educated, and more open to change than those who do not come into regular contact with such institutions. For example, people who live in remote, and even semi-remote, areas live too far from a clinic to have anything but the most sporadic contact. Small,

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marginal farmers in most countries of the Third World rarely

have contact with an agricultural extension agent, and feel

too intimidated to seek advice in the local development office.

2. Institutional distribution tends to be uni-dimensional,

having little impact outside of its own bureaucratic limits.

Government ministries and private organizations have tended to

distribute materials vertically, passing them down from their

central offices to their local outposts. There is little cross-

utilization of institutional outlets; agricultural print mater-

ials reach the agricultural extension office, and family planning

booklets are sent to health facilities. Rarely do agencies use

each other's distribution avenues.

This typical system of distributing material further limits

the potential audience of printed materials, for while a cer-

tain percentage of the population may come into contact with a

variety of government and private facilities, there is not al-

ways a large overlap in their reach. The cross-use of facilities

would enable educators to reach a larger audience. The adminis-

trative difficulties and bureaucratic problems of working through

another agency should not be minimized, but there are examples

of how such an approach has succeeded. In Ecuador, to take one

instance, malaria control personnel are used to distribute fam-

ily planning literature. These government workers, who in the

course of their own work go from house to house in many areas

of the country, were instructed to distribute print information

on family planning to each of the families whose house they

sprayed. The malaria control workers were used purely as distri-

butors, and were not expected to answer questions or serve as

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de facto family planning agents. It was assumed that the materials, independently, would serve their intended function of introducing new concepts and information to the public, and would also present them with information on where to obtain both further information and family planning services. It was also felt that a 'primed' audience would be more receptive to potential contacts from the few health extensions workers serving the areas.

3. Distribution through field personnel, although poten-tially effective because of the introduction of interpersonal contact, has little present impact because of the small scale of most government operations. Although there are examples of suc-cessful distribution of comic books amongst cases catalogued for this report,[1] few countries have allocated resources for wide-scale extension efforts. Although agricultural extension·pro-grams are by far the largest, world-wide, they are small in con-trast with the need, and play a relatively small part in the agricultural change process. Health and nutrition extension programs are proportionately smaller, with much of the 'extension' work carried out at an institutional base.

4. Distribution through the use of mobile vans, although potentially significant because of a mixed-media service, is limited because of high capital and operating costs. A variant of the system of using individual field personnel to reach indiv-

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[1] Dos Familias and Su Gran Error were distributed house to house by field staff of PROFAMILIA, the Colombian family planning association. Daughters Are Better and What Shall We Eat? were distributed in Korea by nutrition education workers during their contact with local mothers' clubs.

idual households or small gatherings of mothers, farmers, or other organized groups is that of the mobile van. In countries such as Turkey and Thailand where extension workers have vans equipped with slide and film facilities, they are able to attract large groups of people and to distribute print materials as part of their program.

Other, less equipment-bound methods of distributing print materials outside the context of institutions or organized groups has been that of using loudspeaker-equipped bicycles (the India Family Planning Program) and vehicles to assemble people and distribute material.

All such programs however, have had limited impact due to financial constraints.

5. <u>Distribution through existing commercial marketing</u> <u>systems is at present limited because of limited product reach;</u> <u>but as rural markets grow, so will the potential for educational</u> <u>material distribution.</u> Comic books and fotonovelas, unlike most other print materials can be distributed commercially because they are primarily entertainment media that are seen as attractive and of value by potential audiences. They can be sold through a variety of channels and can successfully compete with their commercial counterparts. Few of the fotonovelas and comic books reviewed during the course of this study had been distributed through commercial or quasi-commercial channels.[1] Yet commercial distribution of print materials is a system that should be explored more thoroughly, since it offers the advantage

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[1]<u>Los Supermachos</u>, mentioned in the previous chapter was commercial, but it was editorially independent of any educational funding agency.

of reaching a much wider audience than is currently being reached by local institutional facilities or extension personnel. As commercial penetration extends to more and more rural areas, the possibility of either selling educational materials directly (newsstands) or in conjunction with other commercial products increases proportionately.

Following are a number of commercial avenues of distribution:

(a) Newsstands: It is possible to distribute comic books and fotonovelas dealing with social themes through the same distribution network as used for commercial print media. Being competitive in this market requires a professional product, that can compete both in appearance and emotional entertainment impact. The Manuel Santi series of fotonovelas, produced in Ecuador, was distributed through the regular outlets for magazines and comics, and was quite successful. Its market price of $.14 (US) apparently was enough to cover its production costs, and the price was competitive with the other fotonovela titles on sale.

There are, however, certain limitations and difficulties in this form of distribution. First, commercially sold print material reaches down only so far. In a country such as Ecuador, for example, the distributors of Manuel Santi noted that they were reaching a good setment of the people living in the capital and the more important towns and provincial capitals, but were reaching only about 10-15% of the rural population.[1] In areas

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[1] Ecuador Non-Formal Education Project: Borrador. Nota Tecnica Fotonovela. Center for International Education. University of Massachusetts (mimeo). No date. Page 37.

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of Africa and Asia where little, if any, commercial print materials reaches the villager, a similar situation would probably be encountered. And, while commercial distribution may be more effective in reaching small-town audiences and segments of the rural population than the standard institutional distribution schemes, supplementary distribution schemes would be required to reach priority rural audiences.

A second limitation to a purely commercial distribution scheme is a bureaucratic one. In many countries, government Ministries have certain regulations which prohibit them from selling pamphlets or educational materials. In many countries, then, the initiation of a commercial distribution scheme would probably have to be undertaken on an experimental basis, until such time as official rules could be changed.

(b) Commercial sale on public transportation: In countries where public transportation is used by the majority of people, and where it is customary for travelers going even short distances to buy food, trinkets, and a variety of other products as part of the ritual of the journey, fotonovelas and comic books can be sold by either the ticket taker or ambulant venders.

The Eduador Non-Formal Education Project, in an effort to reach a wider rural audience, experimented with this distribution idea. Ticket takers on interprovincial buses were given a bundle of fotonovelas on consignment, to sell to passengers during the trip. The distribution was, apparently, successful, and one ticket taker was reported to have sold over 100 booklets in a month's time.

While this system of distribution, involving the <u>sale</u> of educational materials, might create the same type of legal difficulty as discussed above, the idea is a good one, and requires further testing.

(c) <u>Distribution through stores and other commercial outlets</u>: The distribution of educational print material through commercial outlets such as farm supply stores and "grocery stores" (the local small shops where essentials such as matches, sugar, and soap are sold), has been used by a number of communication programs. In Thailand, for example, the Ministry of Agriculture experimented with using farm supply stores as points of distribution for brochures on the use of pesticides and new cultivation methods. Similar <u>free</u> distribution arrangements have been used on a limited and local scale, by various programs, but rarely has the distribution network been used as part of a national, well-organized, multi-faceted distribution system.

One experiment with the <u>sale</u> of fotonovelas through small, family-owned <u>tiendas</u> is reported by the Ecuador Non-Formal Education Program. Of all the distribution systems tested by this group, the consignment of booklets to these neighborhood stores was one of the most successful. This distribution network reached rural as well as urban people, and the atmosphere of most of these shops--often gathering places for talk and gossip--made them particularly suitable points of distribution.

Unfortunately, the report discussing these various distribution schemes does not mention any of the problems inherent in each of them. However, it would seem that the administration of such a network would be difficult: a method would have to

be devised for reaching the shopkeepers with supplies of print material on a regular basis, and on a national or regional level, this would involve a well-planned and coordinated field effort. A further administrative problem would be revenue collection and keeping good distribution and payment records. The idea, however, is good and bears further examination.

(d) Distribution as a promotional item: In India, CARE experimented with ways of using commercial vans selling toiletries, tea, and other basic consumer items as vehicles for the distribution of comic books on nutrition. Many of the larger firms marketing consumer goods in rural areas, where there are few established marketing channels, employed vans to both promote their products in new areas, and to serve as marketing channels. Companies, such as Hindustan Lever and Brooke Bond Tea, traditionally gave purchasers a free gift item--a comb, ruler, or bar of soap--as an incentive to purchase. And, these companies were most receptive to the idea of using a child's comic book, such as Raju, as the free gift.

While such cooperation between industry and government programs can be advantageous to both parties: the social program obtains a good distribution network, and the company gets a free promotional item, such schemes must be handled with great care. A government-sponsored program cannot be used to unfavorably assist one company at the expense of another. Print materials cannot be used to aid the promotion of products of questionable social or health value (cigarettes, infant milk formulas, coca cola, etc.). And a government-sponsored program would not

want to associate its comic book or fotonovela with any product or company having a poor public image. Moreover, many politically-sensitive governments may object to any relationship with business at all.

(e) The itinerant hawker as a distributor: Also of note is the use of the professional hawker to distribute comic books and fotonovelas. In many areas of the world, these ambulant venders go from market to market, and town to town, selling a variety of wares. The hawker has the advantage of reaching the audience that is the most difficult to reach--the rural one-- and he does it in a situation where people are ready to linger and be entertained. The marketplace is probably one of the most appropriate places to reach people with entertainment materials such as fotonovelas.

Use of the hawker to distribute attractive and commerically competitive social fotonovelas was made in the distribution of the Manuel Santi series in Ecuador, and the method of distribution was the most successful of the four approaches that were tested. One hawker who sold the booklets in the main "Indian" market of "24 de Mayo," the Sunday market assisted by farmers from a great surrounding distance, sold over 1,000 copies in a month. He would assemble a group of 100 to 150 people by playing the guitar and telling stories, then would offer Manuel Santi for sale, recounting a few incidents from the story, and advertising that there are no lies in the story. He would continue in this, playing music and touting all the marvelous adventures and lessons to be read in the fotonovela.

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(f) Other methods of distribution: At some time or another, most social education campaigns have used one or more of the following methods to disseminate print materials. These methods are effective in reaching only very select and limited audiences, and are particularly difficult and labor intensive to administer. They are mentioned here to provide a wider view of possible distribution methods:

- Advertisements over radio - informing listeners about the booklets and indicating how they can cbtain them.

- Coupons in the newspapers or in magazines - giving the same kind of information as radio advertisements.

- Pay check inserts - booklets attached to the paycheck envelope.

- Direct mailing - many family planning programs have used direct mailing campaigns to reach specific categories of people: all new brides, influencial businessmen, etc.

Production and Cost

In earlier sections of this report, the relative merits of the comic book and fotonovela were discussed, as well as the subject areas and themes most amenable to treatment by each of the two graphic formats. However, the ultimate decision as to which medium to use for a particular project may well depend upon non-media considerations such as: budget, available professional talent, and printing facilities, the ideal medium may not be feasible.

Cost Considerations

While production and printing costs vary greatly from country to country, and even from year to year, the following generalities can be made:

1. The comic book is more expensive than the fotonovela to produce. Not only are talented artists difficult to locate,

but their fees are generally higher than those for a professional photographer. Also, the comic book requires more field test-ing and revision than a fotonovela in order to accurately por-tray the environment and characters (this is discussed in more detail below).

2. The comic book is more expensive to print than the fotonovela. Although as a rule of thumb line-drawings arc less expensive to print than photographs, a comic book costs more to print because of the conventions of the medium. Most comic books are printed in full color -- this is what people are used to -- while even the most elaborate commercial productions of fotonovelas are black and white. Since fotonovelas are custom-arily produced in black and white, there is less possibility of printing cost variation. Even if the front and back cover are done in color (most commercial fotonovelas are done with color covers, and if the media developer plans to distribute the foto-novela through commercial or semi-commercial channels, it must be made competitive). The cost is still less than that of a comic.

When fotonovelas are distributed through institutional chan-nels, the color cover treatment has not proved necessary. In Ecuador, for example, the Conflicto de una Mujer and other fotonovelas produced by the Ministry of Health were printed with black and white covers.

Typical budget

The authors were able to collect only two actual budgets for comic books and fotonovelas produced for social programs. One is from Ecuador and the other from the U.S. (The New England Farm Workers Adult Literacy Program).

The Ecuador budget for the production and printing of a 16-page fotonovela (100,000 copies) was $5,160.00 in 1976, or roughly $.05 per copy. (See Table 4).

The fotonovela Los Hermanos: La Trabajadora, produced by a literacy class in the U.S. where paper and printing costs are less than Ecuador, cost $.06 per copy (1,000 copies printed). And, while this figure includes only printing expenses (photography and laboratory work not included), it does give a general idea of costs.

Production considerations

Although the production of either a creative and successful comic book or fotonovela requires a good deal of professional talent and attention, it is felt that the fotonovela presents fewer problems. The following presents some of the more important issues involved in the production of these two media:

1. Realism: Audiences which are most often the target populations for social communications campaigns require realistic and faithful representations of their environment. Achieving this goal with drawings is considerably more difficult than with photographs and involves a good deal more time and pre-testing.

Some of the experiences of comic book producers illustrates the type of difficulty encountered. In the Philippines, for example, the producers of the Agricultural Analogy series of comic books found through repeated pre-tests that the artists drawings were lacking in some physical or cultural detail. These "misrepresentations" caused confusion, and also proved distracting to the test audience. After repeated pre-tests, the production

team finally sent out photographers to photograph typical scenes and then used these photos as the basis of their drawings.

Such experiences are common, as most artists live in urbanized areas, and although they may have once lived in rural areas, and even maintain contact through visits to family and friends, they are not attuned to the details of village or small-town life. A major problem, then, of producing acceptable drawings is educating the artist in these subtle cultural cues and details of existence.

The Basic Village Education Project in Guatemala found that they had to program special field visits and observation sessions for their artists who were preparing comic books and other graphic material.

The authors, working in India, encountered similar problems in producing comic books for rural and small-town school children. Although the drawings in the comic featured a boy and some of his adventures--not culturally complicated agricultural or domestic scenes--the illustrations underwent two series of pre-tests and revisions before they were considered acceptable. A necklace out of place, or a hair bun drawn too low on the neck were distracting enough to warrant redoing the art work.

Fotonovelas, because of their reliance on photographs, are less prone to the type of problem depicted above. If the scenes are shot on location, with inhabitants from the areas, they portray faithfully the environment and the characters. Because of this realism, fotonovelas are faster and more economical to produce.

2. Talent: The question of talent is important to the production of any creative enterprise, and a media planner may base his decision on whether to produce a comic book or foto-novela solely on the basis of the professional talent pool at his disposal. Many communications departments in developing countries have artists on their payroll (many fewer have photographers), and there are often budget and political pressures to use the professionals already on hand.

In most instances, however, Ministry production departments do not have the talent (either artistic or photographic) to produce a dynamic graphic creation. It is recommended that commercial artists and film cameramen (or fotonovela producers) be contracted, whenever possible, from the commerical sector. It is considered important to select creative and talented people to produce educational media, and they exist in almost every country: as illustrators of children's books; commercial artists in advertising; photojournalists, film cameramen, and as talented amateurs. It is a question of identifying and using the best professional resources available.

Note: For those interested in more detailed descriptions of the personnel and equipment required to produce a fotonovela, see the book by Dan Weaks, The Photonovel: A Tool for Development, cited in the bibliography.

Actual suggestions for "shooting" and producing a fotonovela can be found in Weak's book and in The Participatory Process: Producing Photo-Literature, by Cain and Comings, which is also cited in the bibliography.

APPENDIX I:

MEDIA REFERENCE CHARTS

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TABLE I

A BREAKDOWN BY SUBJECT AREA OF THE COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS REVIEWED

SUBJECT AREA	NUMBER OF EXAMPLES BY MEDIA CATEGORY	
	Comic Books	Fotonovelas
Family Planning/Population	25	10
Nutrition	7	1
Health	5	1
General Development	6	4
Agriculture	2	0
Political Commentary	3	0
Education/Literacy	1	2
Other	1	1

TOTAL: 69

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TABLE II

A BREAKDOWN BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA OF COMIC BOOKS AND FOTONOVELAS REVIEWED

GEOGRAPHIC AREA	NUMBER OF EXAMPLES BY MEDIA CATEGORY	
	Comic Books	Fotonovelas
Latin America*	25	13
Africa	5	0
Asia	14	2
Caribbean	5	0
Europe	0	3
Worldwide	1	0

TOTAL: 69

*Includes Spanish-speaking Caribbean.

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TABLE III

M E D I A   R E F E R E N C E   C H A R T

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
...s (c)*	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	Radio forums; Posters; flip charts	Agriculture	AID/Min. of Education/ AED	Radio Forums
...in's ...ter (c)	Italy	Philippines (for use in S.E. Asia)	No info.	Film strip; Radio; Fotonovela	Family Planning	FAO/UNFPA/ Commission on Pop. of the Philippines	Teachers; Extension Wkrs. Health Pers.
...Corres- ...do (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	no	no	Latrines	Min. of Agriculture & Livestock	Health units
...ao ...s (c)	Philippines	Philippines	-	-	Fam. Plan.	No info.	No info.
...Que Sea (c)	Mexico	Latin America	No info.	No info.	Gonorrhea	AID	No info.
...ivimos)	Ecuador	Ecuador	-	-	Rural-Urban Life	AID/U.Mass/ Min. Educ.	Commercial RR & Bus Ticket Sellers Grocery Stores Adult Ed. Cent. "Charlatans"
...gay ...tion ...l (c)	Philippines	Philippines	No info.	-	Nutrition	Nutrition Center of the Philip.	Not distributed -reference book for extension workers
...banga ...)	Tanzania	Tanzania	-	-	Social-Political, occasional health, etc. Developmental	Commercial	in newspapers and collected booklets

*(c) - comic book; (f) - fotonovela

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TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
...trol de ...as (c)	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	see Abonos	Agriculture	see Abonos	see Abonos
...erativas ...ersions: ...C)	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	see Abonos	Cooperatives	see Abonos	see Abonos
...Hacer Una ...Mas ...ra (c)	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	no	house construction	World Neighbors	classes
...Inspec- ...ar y Re- ...r Las ...s Danadas ...Terremotos	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	no	house construction	Save the Children Alliance	classes
...azones ...onflicto ...)	?	Latin America	-	--	family planning	no info.	clinics
...litos (2 ...sions:F&C)	Guatemala	Guatemala	yes	see Abonos	credit	see Abonos	see Abonos
...do Nues- ...Hijo Ha ...do (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	yes	-	family planning, nutrition	AID/Min. of Health	clinics
...ghters Are ...er (c)	Korea	Korea	No info.	no info.	family planning	CARE/PPFK/ Min. Health	no info.
...Kang ...ati (c) ...Panut ...les	Indonesia	Indonesia	Planned	radio, posters, pamphlets, slide/tapes	family Planning	Family Planning Assoc. of Indonesia	no info.
...Familas	Colombia; others (?)	Latin America	yes	-	family planning	AID	clinics

TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTED
El Conflicto de una Mujer (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	-	Radio spots, Billboards, Print	Family Planning	AID	clinics
Escape from Fear (Amor Sin Temor) (c)	no info.	Latin America, USA	-	-	Family Planning	PPFA	clinics
Hard-up Joe (c)	Trinidad	West Indies	no info.	no info.	Family Planning	ILO/UNFPA	no info.
Il Segreto (f)	Italy	Italy	yes	-	Family Planning	Pathfinder Fund/AIED	3 communities
Invincible Hong Kil Tong (c)	Korea	Korea	yes	Radio, Posters	Nutrition	CARE/ORD/ MHSA	schools, extension workers
João E Maria (series) (c)	Brazil	Brazil	-	Film, posters	Family Planning, Health, Nutri.	BEMFAM	no info.
Jose's Dream (c)	Italy	Philippines	no info.	see Agustin's Daughter	Family Planning	see Agustin's Daughter	see Agustin's Daughter
La Fuerza Del Querer (c)	no info.	Latin America	-	-	self-help, potàble water	AID	no info.
Lakshman Kills the Tiger (c)	India	India	yes	-	Nutrition	CARE	schools
La Trappola (f)	Italy	Italy	-	-	Family Planning	AIED	no info.
Los Agachados (c)	Mexico	Mexico	-	-	Political	Commercial	Commercial channels

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TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Los Superma-chos (c) (weekly)	Mexico	Mexico	-	-	family planning; political; social	commercial	commercial & family planning clinics
Manuel Santi (series) (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	no	no	alcoholism; water usage; land tenure	AID/ U.Mass/ Min. Ed.	see Asi Vivimos
Manuel y Maria (f)	Mexico	Latin America	-	-	family planning	AID; others (?)	clinics
Mesie Benoit (c)	Haiti	Haiti	-	-	family planning	Comite Protestant D'Alfabetisation	no info.
Mirando al Futuro (c)	Mexico	Latin America	-	-	family planning	USAID/ RTAC	clinics
My Brother's Children (c)	England	Nigeria	yes	Film, posters, decals, etc	family planning	IPPF	no info.
Noi Giovani (f)	Italy	Italy	yes	no	family planning	AIED/Path-finder Fund	3 communities
No Podemos Casarnos Amor Mio (f)	Chile	Latin America	-	-	Family Planning	AID(?)	clinics
Nosotras Las Mujeres (c)	Mexico	Latin America	-	-	Political Organiz; Health	USAID (RTAC)	clinics
Nuestros Hi-jos (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	-	-	Being a Housewife is work (?)	World Education	Seminars & Extension Workers
Nuestro Hi-jo (f)	Ecuador	Ecuador	no	no	family planning; nutrition	Min. of Health/AID	Health Centers

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TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Pak Panut (c) (series)	Indonesia	Indonesia	planned	Radio, Posters, Pamphlets, slide tape	family planning	Family Planning Assoc. of Indonesia (?)	no info.
Papa Top (c)	Cameroon	Cameroon	-	-	Census	Cameroon Bureau of the Census	insert in commercial newspaper
Papelillo (c)	Mexico	Mexico	not completed	t.v.-a.v.s	nutrition, non-formal educ., comm. devl, preventative med.	Sistema Nacional Para El Desarrollo Integral de la Familia	Schools
Para Mi Niño Lo Mejor (c)	Chile (?)	Latin America	-	-	nutrition	AID	clinics, extension workers; in Bolivia, newspaper coupon
Planification Familiar (c)	D.R.	D.R.	?	?	family planning	ADPF	clinics
Planificacion Familiar (c)	Mexico	Latin America	-	-	family planning	Gov't. of Mexico, Min. of Health	clinics
Poverty Was My Shadow (c)	Ghana	Ghana	-	-	family planning	Ghana Nat'l Fam. Plan. Program	no info.
Put-Off Joe (c)	Jamaica	Jamaica	-	-	family planning	Nat'l Fam. Plan. Board	no info.
Raju (c)	India	India	yes	Film; Radio; etc.	Nutrition	CARE	schools
Shabash Balwan (c)	India	India	yes	film	Nutrition	CARE	schools, extension workers

TABLE III (cont.)

TITLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Some Questions on Education (c)	Guinea-Bissau	Guinea-Bissau	-	-	Literacy; Participatory Education	IDAC	used in training courses
Su Gran Error (c)	Bogota, other(?)	Latin America	yes	-	family planning	AID	clinics
The Story of Stumpy, Jean and Lena (c)	St. Vicent, West Indies	West Indies	no info.	no info.	family planning	ILO/IPPF/St. Vicent PPF	no info.
3,000,000 (c)	Netherlands	worldwide in French, English Spanish	-	film; posters	demography	ILO/UNFPA	Seminars
Tres Anhelos (f)	Colombia	Latin America	no info.	-	women's education	UNICEF	no info.
Tulad ng Pinyahan (series) (c)	Philippines	Philippines	yes	flip charts	family planning	Fam. Plan. Int'l. Asst.	health units
Typhoon (f)	Italy	Philippines	no info.	see Agustin's Daughter	family planning	FAO/UNFPA	see Agustin's Daughter
Unidos en la Alianza (c)	Mexico (?)	Latin America	-	no	Promote Alliance for Progress	Alliance for Progress	no info.
Viruela (c)	Bolivia	Bolivia	no	no	smallpox	Min. of Health	health centers
What Shall We Eat?(c)	Korea	Korea	no info.	-	nutrition	CARE/WFP/ MHSA	no info.
Yo...Mama? (F&C)	Ecuador	Ecuador	-	Radio, billboards, fotonovela (El Conflicto de una Mujer)	Family planning, pre-natal care	AID/Min. of Health	clinics

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TABLE III (cont.)

TLE	WHERE PUBLISHED	WHERE DISTRIBUTED	EVALUATION	MIXED MEDIA	SUBJECT MATTER	SPONSOR	DISTRIBUTION
Love (c)	Italy	Philippines	no info.	see Agustin's Daughter	family planning	see Agustin's Daughter	see Agustin's Daughter
appy (c)	-	Developed and tested during fam. plan. workshop, Manila, 1972	-	-	family planning	WHO	-
Jovenes s)(c)	Mexico	Latin America	-	film version	sex educa.	AID	Bolivia: in schools after film
ss (c)	Bolivia	Bolivia	-	ext.workers	consumer co-operatives	World Neighbors	no info.
ss (f)	Peru	Peru	Orientation for student volunteers		Literacy	Int'l Council on Adult Educ.	used strictly as teaching tool

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APPENDIX II

EVALUATIONS: A SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

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Evaluation of Comic Books and Fotonovelas: A Review of Findings

One of the objectives of this study was to provide infor-
mation on the effectiveness of both comic books and fotonovelas
in presenting new ideas and concepts, and in fostering new at-
titudes and patterns of behavior.   The study also planned to
present data on the acceptability of each of the media, and to
make some statement as to their effectiveness in mixed media
campaigns.

However, although a number of comic books and fotonovelas
have been evaluated, the authors were not able to obtain very
complete information on many of these studies.   In several cases,
evaluation reports have disappeared, and only scattered ref-
erences are to be found in journal articles, or general project
reports.   In other cases, media evaluations had never been
presented in a report, and it was outside the scope of this
study to collect, assemble, and interpret data.   In still other
cases, data on comic book and fotonovela evaluations were not
available in the United States.

Although the findings reviewed were in most cases not com-
plete, the information available was sufficient to enable the
authors to draw some general conclusions on the effectiveness
of these two entertainment media:

(1)   comic books and fotonovelas are well liked by a
      wide range of people, and are treated as an ob-
      ject of value.   It is not uncommon for people to
      have them in their possession a year after their
      distribution.

(2)   the media by themselves are effective in presenting
      new information and concepts, making a significant
      change in the readers' level of knowledge.

    (3)   the media appear to be somewhat less effective in
            changing attitudes, but most studies did report
            some shifts in attitude.

    (4)   these media stimulate interest and are a key fac-
            tor in generating discussion with family members,
            neighbors, and extension agents. As such, they
            appear to play a very important role in any program
            designed to bring about change.

Comic book evaluations

Key findings from eight comic book evaluations are pre-
sented here. One of the evaluations is of an educational comic
produced and used in the United States, and is included to flesh
out some of the questions not answered in other studies.

Su Gran Error and Dos Familias

The evaluation of these two booklets, undertaken by George
Washington University,[1] was carried out over a ten month period,
and was the most comprehensive and extensive of those reviewed.
The study was done in Colombia in·conjunction with PROFAMILA,
a private family planning organization, and consisted of 1,800
interviews done in three stages. Phase I was a benchmark study
in which 1,000 women were interviewed, and then given the two
comic booklets. In Phase II of the evaluation, 750 women were
recontacted after having had an opportunity to read the material
(approximately two weeks after Phase I). Ten months later, 76
of these women were again contacted for Phase III of the evalua-
tion. The major findings of this evaluation are presented below:

- The comics influenced behavior: 23% of the women sur-
  veyed in Phase III reported visiting a family planning
  center after receiving the booklets. Some of the women
  related their behavior directly to the comics, while

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[1] Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Illustrated Print Media
(Nonverbal) on Family Planning Attitudes Among Colombians, Pro-
gram of Policy Studies in Science and Technology. George Wash-
ington University, 1974.

others were not able to verbalize reasons for their new behavior.

● The large majority of women who received the booklets understood the messages that were presented, and little difference in comprehension was noted between literates, and semi-literates.

● The comic books brought about an overall improvement in attitudes towards family planning.

● The booklets were very effective in generating communication about family planning between husband and wife (an important factor in family planning acceptance).

● The booklets, distributed exclusively to women, were read by a majority of the husbands, and were lent to and shared with neighbors.

● One of the many attractions of the comic books reported was that they enabled women to read, reflect and discuss the new ideas without "pressure" from fieldworkers. And, in areas outside the test areas where the booklets were also distributed, the extension personnel indicated that their efficiency was increased, because they did not have to spend as much time on preliminary discussions.

Raju

This comic book designed expressly for school-age children (grade 3-4-5) was one of 12 media used by CARE in a nutrition education campaign in the North and South of India. The comic book was evaluated in two ways: (1) by interviewing a sample of 200 children in the schools where the comic had been distributed, and (2) by an extensive media impact evaluation involving 2,400 interviews with adults (evaluating the impact of each of the 12 media, regardless of their intended audience). These evaluations carried out by the market research division of Advertising Consultants (India) Limited,[1] indicated that:

● The comic book was very popular with the school children, with 95% of them indicating they had read and enjoyed the story.

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[1] Nutrition Education Communication Project. Evaluation Study, Volume II (part 4: comic book). CARE. New Delhi, 1973 and Margaret Parlato, Breaking the Communications Barrier: A Report of Results, CARE. New Dehli. 1973.

- The comic book was effective in conveying basic ideas about food and its relation to health to the majority of those interviewed.

- The booklet also was successful in conveying detailed information about the benefits of lentils and green leafy vegetables to a sizeable percentabe of the students. On a series of nine specific questions correct answers ranged from 60% to 90%.

- Although the comics were distributed only to students, they were read by a significant number of adults, with over 12% of those interviewed citing the booklets as one of their sources of information about nutrition.

Invincible Hong Kil Tong

This comic book, produced by CARE, was one of the media used in a mixed media campaign to reach selected Korean audiences with nutrition information, about the importance of correct weaning practices and the use of "minor" (as opposed to rice) cereals. Conversations with some of the project supervisors and a journal article[1] provided the following information about the evaluation:

It was conducted by the Koran Productivity Center, and consisted of a sample of 1,000 people equally divided into three groups according to the degree to which they had been exposed to print media. Group A consisted of those who had received printed materials (booklets, comics, calendars); this category of respondents were further broken down by age, living standards, educational level, and according to the particular media that had been directed especially to them. Comic books, for example, were designed to reach a very young audience, and

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[1]Margot Higgings and Joel Montague, "Nutrition Education Through the Mass Media in Korea." Journal of Nutrition Education. Vol 4, No. 2, Spring 1972.

was not distributed to adults. Group B was comprised of those who were not direct recipients of any printed materials, but lived in areas where they had been distributed. Group C consisted of those people selected for interviewing who lived outside the campaign area. Groups A, B, and C were all reached by radio spots.

Although the evaluation results reported in the Journal of Nutrition Education do not mention the impact of the comic book on the school age audience, a few findings are presented on its general success amongst all respondents:

- Nearly all persons interviewed had received, seen, or heard about the comic book, indicating a very high level of unplanned for dissemination. Even in the areas where it was not distributed, 30% of the people had either seen or heard about it.

- One year after receiving the comic books, 52% of those interviewed still had the booklets in their possession, and 31% had either given them or lent them to friends.

Filipino Agricultural Analogy Series

J. Walter Thompson, a commercial advertising firm, conducted the evaluation of this series of 12 comic books aimed at an adult audience. The comic book format was used to present information about family planning using agricultural analogies to explain basic concepts about the need for spacing children, and to explain each of the major methods of contraception.

The evaluation[1] was conducted using a sample of 70 women in a group interview-discussion situation, and a sample of 285 women who were interviewed individually. Three sets of interviews were conducted: (1) the first was carried out after the distribution

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[1] M. Demetrio Maglaland, Agricultural Approach to Family Planning, Communications Foundation for Asia. Manila, Philippines. 1976.

of the first two comic books; (2) the second set of interviews was done following the distribution of the seventh comic book; and (3) the third group of interviews was executed after the women had received all 12 of the comic books.

The findings of this evaluation, the researchers note, is perhaps more an evaluation of the effectiveness of using agricultural analogies, than an evaluation of the medium's effectiveness. In the evaluation of flip charts (done independently), the researchers note that the 'traditional' approach was more successful than the agricultural analogy one, leading one to believe that the following results might have been quite different with a more traditional approach.

Major findings of the evaluation are presented below:

- The comic books were successful in communicating new information to its audience, although the topics treated in some of the booklets were more readily understood than in others. In the first set of interviews, for example, less than half the women scored high to very high on the knowledge test, while in the third test, there was a significant increase in knowledge registered for all the women.

- The comic books had little effect on attitudes towards family planning, and the improvement registered after receiving seven different comics, and that registered after having received all 12 was slight. (The report is not clear as to whether there was a shift in attitudes pre and post exposure to the first two comic books.)

- The project report mentions that the comic books influenced the decline of fertility rates among its target population. (No data is provided, and information in other parts of the book is somewhat contradictory.)

Series of comic books and fotonovelas produced for the Basic Villages Education Project in Guatemala

As part of this non-formal education program, a series of comic books and fotonovelas were produced to be used in conjunction with radio forums. The project is still in operation, and

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will not be completed until some time in 1978-1979. Although findings regarding the role of print media ·in a mixed media campaign are not yet available, and although the booklets have not all been individually evaluated, some evaluation results have been published. One of the studies,[1] an independent test of the relative effectiveness of the comic book and fotonovela format is discussed at some length later in this report (see Appendix III). Very briefly, the major findings were:

- The fotonovela was more effective than the comic in raising levels of knowledge with both literate and illiterate farmers.

- The illiterates who had the booklets read·to them scored lower than the literates in relating detailed information presented in the stories; however, both groups did raise their level of knowledge.

Other small evaluations have been reported in various project documents[2] and reports. Important and relevant findings were:

- The comics and fotonovelas were considered of greatest interest, and were best liked in the more isolated areas, although they created a high overall level of interest.

- Humorous drawings, such as eyes or a mouth on a plant, were neither liked nor understood by the majority of the farmers.

- There were problems of credibility in some cases, because the comic book mentioned INDECA and BANDESA, two government agricultural agencies with mixed reputations amongst the farmers.

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[1] Oscar Vigano, <u>Estudio Sobre Aceptacion y Efectividad de las Fotonovelas e Historietas en la Comunicación de conocimientos en areas rurales de Guatemala</u>. Programasde Educatio'n Rural y Educatio'n Extra Escolar de Guatemala. (mimeo). Academy for Educational Development. Guatemala. 1976.

[2] Unpublished reports. Basic Village Education Project. Academy for Educational Development. Washington, D.C. 1976.

Lakshman Kills the Tiger

This comic book, produced by CARE for Indian school children, was extremely popular, and was translated into five languages for use throughout the subcontinent. The comic book was evaluated by the marketing division of Clarion McCann in New Delhi, and although it was not possible to obtain copies of this evaluation, the following general conclusions are presented based on the authors' familiarity with the findings:[1]

- The comic book successfully communicated the concept of a balanced diet to students, and was popular in each of the areas where it was distributed.

- The comic was not popular with a sizeable proportion of adults (teachers, education officials, and parents), because the story was about "uncivilized" tribal people, and because they were depicted wearing few clothes.

Mulligan Stew: an example from the U.S.A.

The case of Mulligan Stew is presented here, because it is one of the only evaluations encountered which addresses itself to measuring the role of the comic book in a mixed media campaign. Although Raju and The Invincible Hong Kil Tong were used in conjunction with other media, their evaluations were not structured to determine whether adding or subtracting the comic from a media package would effect the overall impact of an educational campaign. The Mulligan Stew program was designed with these objectives in mind, and although it is not a case study from the developing world, the results are considered relevant.

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[1] Margaret and Ronald Parlato participated in the design of this evaluation study (Lakshman Kills the Tiger).

The nutrition education program directed at 9 to 13 year olds was evaluated by Abt Associates at the request of the USDA Extension Service. The evaluation sample consisted of 3,000 students (grade 4 through 6) from Arkansas, Missouri, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas. These were four treatment groups: one group watched the Mulligan Stew films in school; the second group watched the films on their home television set; the third group saw the films in school and received a comic book. In addition, there were two control groups that were not exposed to any of the educational materials. One of the control groups was administered the pre-test, and the other one was given both the pre and post test to allow the researchers to measure any unplanned for learning resulting from the tests themselves. The major findings from this evaluation[1] can be summarized as follows:

- Television plus a comic book was a more effective media mix than television alone, regardless of where the film series was viewed. Thus all children who received comic books showed more improvement in their knowledge about nutrition than those who saw only television.

- Those that viewed the films in school did better than those who viewed them at home.

Evaluation of Fotonovelas

Few of the fotonovelas developed to convey educational messages have been evaluated. This absense of data on their effectiveness is due in part to the fact that (1) relatively few fotonovelas of this genre have been developed; and (2) the adap-

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[1]S.S. Shapiro, et. al. An Evaluation of the Mulligan Stew 4-H Television Series for Extension Service, USDA. Report No. AA1-74-120. Estension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 1974.

tation of this medium to support development programs is rela-
tively recent.

The Pathfinder Fund is currently funding the evaluation of
a series of fotonovelas used in the Italian Family Planning
Program: El Trapo and Il Segreto.
The results, however, are not yet available.

Manuel Santi Series

The Manuel Santi Series of fotonovelas developed by the
University of Massachusetts and the Ecuadorian Ministry of
Education were, unfortunately, never evaluated. However, since
the booklets were distributed through commercial channels, some
very relevant conclusions can be drawn:

- The fotonovelas were commercially successful.
  Thousands (no exact sales figures were kept) of
  rural people paid $3.50 to buy them - exactly what
  they would have to pay for a commercial import from
  Mexico or Argentina (about .14 U.S. cents).

- Sales of the fotonovelas increased with each new in-
  stallment in the series, indicating that the pur-
  chasers did not feel "cheated" or disappointed when
  they discovered that the booklets dealt with weight-
  ier subjects than pure romance.

Nuestro Hijo Ha Nacido

While this fotonovela was evaluated by the Ecuadorian Min-
istry of Health (Division Nacional de Fomento), it was not pos-
sible to obtain a copy of the results in time to include them
here. Only general findings, then, based on the authors' fam-
iliarity with the study will be presented.[1]

The objective of the evaluation was to determine how well
a multi-message fotonovela would be understood by literate and
illiterate women. About 200 people were included in a random

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[1]Margaret Parlato was a consultant to the Ministry of
Health and participated in design and execution of the evalua-
tion

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sample of urban lower class women. General findings were:

- the fotonovela was effective in significantly in-
  creasing levels of awareness and knowledge about
  family planning, and specific contraceptive meth-
  ods - the central theme and central messages of
  the booklet.

- messages on infant nutrition and hygiene presented
  outside the story context (in the centerfold) were
  poorly remembered.

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APPENDIX III

A REVIEW OF PSYCHO-PERCEPTUAL RESEARCH

A Summary of Research on the Ability of Semi-Literates and Illiterates to Understand Pictures

There is a substantial body of research indicating that pictorial illiteracy, or the inability to understand drawings or photographs, is a widespread problem in the developing world. This research indicates that the ability to "read" graphic, visual materials is a learned skill which requires considerable practice. And, while this skill is generally acquired in the process of becoming literate, through exposure to maps, illustrated texts, etc., this is not always the case. Pictorial illiteracy, then, can be characteristic of literates as well as illiterates. Those living in an environment where there are a very limited range of two-dimensional perceptual experiences--billboards, posters or other graphics-- are often pictorially illiterate.

On the other hand, illiterates living in more media saturated areas where they come into contact with tabloids, bus advertisements, and other graphic depictions, are often quite capable of understanding two-dimensional graphic presentations. Whether or not a person understands pictures or not depends to a large extent not only on the cultural environment, but on whether there is any personal reason or cultural emphasis on being able to understand what is depicted visually.

For literate people accustomed to immediate comprehension of drawings and photographs, it is somewhat of a surprise to realize the highly conventionalized format of even a realistic photograph. Emphasizing this point, Herskowits (in Segall et al)

recounts his experience in showing a Dutch Guianan woman a

black and white photograph of her own son. She examined it

> "...this way and that, in attempting to make sense
> out of the shadings of greys on the piece of paper
> she held. It was only when the details of the
> photograph were pointed out to her that she was
> able to perceive the subject."[1]

Another account which highlights the real difficulty

of encountering and deciphering two-dimensional pictures

is recounted by Deregowski:[2] His description of a test-inter-

view with a 35 year old lowland man follows:

> Experimenter: Points to the picture: "What do you
> see?"
>
> Subject: "I'm looking closely. That is a tail.
> This is a foot. That is a leg joint.
> These are horns."
>
> Experimenter: "What is the whole thing?"
>
> Subject: "Wait. Slowly, I am looking. Let me
> look and I will tell you. In my
> country this is a water buck."

Although these two examples may be considered extreme in

that they are with people with little if any exposure to pic-

torial materials, their comments clearly reflect the type of

difficulty encountered by many people in rural areas of the

developing world in "reading" pictures. Not only is identifi-

cation of the pictured subject difficult, but the whole exper-

ience of looking, analyzing, and making sense out of the shad-

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[1]Segall et al: p. 32.

[2]Deregowski (a): p. 168.

ings is stressful, frustrating, and tiring.

The research on perception of graphic materials is of
special interest to media planners and developers, as it focuses
on the following problems:

(1)   The audience, whether literate or not, must have
       sufficient experience with drawings and photo-
       graphs to receive information from them. In sel-
       ecting media for use with a particular audience
       it is necessary to determine not only their verbal
       literacy level, but their pictorial literacy levels
       as well.

(2)   The pictorial materials used must be absolutely
       realistic and accurate in their depiction of
       object detail and cultural cues of background,
       placement, and social mores. Whether this level
       of realism can best be obtained by a photograph
       or a drawing must be carefully assessed given the
       availability and quality of artists/photographers,
       pre-testing experience, and production facilities.

Much of the work on visual perceptions has been executed
by psychologists and anthropologists interested in cross-cul-
tural differences in visual perception. Not until quite recently
have communications experts become interested in this area of
study, and it is still more recently that communications spe-
cialists have undertaken original research in this field. Con-
sequently, most of the studies reviewed have focused on the
ability of subjects to deal with isolated elements of pictures:
depth cues, object recognition, cropping, etc., rather than on
the ability of pictorially illiterate subjects to understand a
message or concept presented in a visual-graphic format. Also,
most of the research has dealt with interpretation of single
pictures, rather than with a sequence or series of pictures,
such as would be used in a comic book or fotonovela. Despite
the obvious limitations of the research as a whole, many of the

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studies are of relevance to the media planner, and their find-
ings will be summarized below:

Depth perception

Much of the research on perception has focused on the
ability of subjects to understand drawings intended to be seen
three dimensionally. Hudson carried out the pioneering work in
this area in 1960 by testing a series of illustrations contain-
ing depth cues on different Africal cultural groups. Similar
studies have since been carried out by Kilbridge, Dawson, Mundy-
Caste, Deregowski, Shaw, Holmes, and the Lesotho Distance Teach-
ing Center. The studies indicate that the pictorially inexper-
ienced do not react to cues of shading, superimposition, size
differences and linear perspective used to convey depth, but
tend to "see" all the objects and figures in the illustration
as existing on one plane. The subjects recognized individual
objects in the graphics, however they could not correctly inter-
pret what was happening in the scene because they did not see
the objects in their intended physical relationship to each other.
Understanding depth clues enough to see the picture in 3-D is
nearly as difficult for literates as illiterates, with less
than one third of both groups showing an understanding in the
tests reported by the Lesotho group. Effective mass communica-
tions then would require graphics in which the perception of
depth cues is not critical to understanding the illustration.

Object recognition

Another area of research has been on the ability of non-
educated, pictorially inexperienced people to recognize single
objects in pictures. The questions of the degree of realism and

the amount of detail required has been the subject of consider-
able research by Holmes, Winter, Fonseca, Fuglesang, as well
as designers of educational materials such as UNESCO and World
Neighbors. Their conclusions, which are in basic agreement
are: that absolute accuracy is essential in every aspect of
the picture, from hairstyles to jewelry; that the inclusion of
non-relevant details, especially in the background, causes con-
fusion; and yet that sufficient detail must be given so that
objects can be seen in context. There seems to be a very fine
line between what should be included for help in identifying
objects and what should be left out as distracting.

Virtually all of the research on object recognition has
been carried out with drawings, and the style as well as the
quality of the drawings vary considerably. In fact, the du-
bious quality of many of the drawings used in tests has, for a
number of years, tended to cloud the whole issue of pictorial
illiteracy, with some media specialist dismissing its findings
as "anthropological folklore." Within the past five years, how-
ever, the whole subject of pictorial illiteracy has gained
currency amongst communicators and educators, and a number of
new research studies have been initiated and completed.

Object recognition: the photograph vs. the drawing

Studies to ascertain the best graphic presentation for basic-
ally illiterate audiences have been few in number. In a study
done in the 1960s, Holmes compared the ability of subjects to
recognize objects drawn in stick style with line drawings of
the same objects. He found the line drawings more effective.
More recent studies of pictorial methods have focused on the
relative effectiveness of photographs and drawings.

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In general, this research does not reveal a dramatic dif-
ference in the effectiveness of the two medium, although it
is apparent that the more realistic and accurate presentations
are most easily understood. Fuglesang, for example, found that
photographs with the background removed (block-out) are better
than either drawings or standard photographs. Others, such as
Leibowitz, stress the need for background in the photograph,
while still other researchers have found that three-tone draw-
ings are superior to photographs (Fussell). To better under-
stand what these researchers are comparing, the materials devel-
oper should examine the findings in the following context:

1. Which presentation provides greater clarity?

2. What is the preference of the audience?

3. What are the production implications?

4. Which presentation is more emotionally engaging?

Three of the studies presented here were designed to test
the understandability of different pictorial styles. In the
study done in Nepal by Fussell and Haaland, the three tone draw-
ing was found to be slightly more effective than the photograph
with the background blocked out (block-out). The results of the
comprehensibility of the various pictorial styles are summarized
here:

    3-tone 72%
    block-out. 67%
    line drawing 62%
    silhouette 61%
    photo 59%
    stylised drawing 49%

The authors of this research study have the following comments to
make regarding these results:

It is not surprising that the 3-tone and the block-out
were the most effective styles. They give as much
visual information as possible about the subject of the
picture, and eliminate surrounding details which could
be distracting. The superiority of the 3-tone when com-
pared to the block-out is presumably due to the 3-tone's
greater sharpness and clarity. (This last comment is not
clear. One would imagine a good quality photo would have
equal sharpness and clarity.)

If one compares the different styles of drawing, it is
apparent that the more detailed and 'realistic' a draw-
ing is, the better chance it has of being recognized.

The second study reviewed dealing with comprehension and

pictorial style is one done in Lesotho, by Mitton et al, whose

findings are reported in Understanding Print: A Survey in Rural

Lesotho of People's Ability to Understand Text and Illustrations.

The results of the study testing the relative effectiveness of

photographs and drawings indicated that the photographs were sig-

nificantly better understood. The results are:

> photograph   82%
> block-outs   76%
> line drawings 74%

The researchers note that in some of the recognition tests,

there was virtually no difference in comprehensibility, while

with others there was. (There were significant differences in

only four out of the seven different object-testing situations.)

Apparently, the type of object selected for the test had a great

deal to do with recognition--regardless of pictorial technique--

a variable that the experiment did not control. In other words,

Mitton and his colleagues could not determine whether it was the

technique or the object chosen for testing that produced the

significant difference.

Fuglesand, in his pioneering work with bringing modern gra-

phic media to use in communicating with illiterates, executed a

number of studies in Zambia to test the comprehensibility of various graphic presentations. In one such study, he compared the effectiveness of photos, photographs with the background cut out (block-outs), silhouettes, and line drawings. The results of the tests with 63 illiterate adults are as follows:

block-out	57%
photo	32%
silhouette	7%
line drawing	4%

It should be noted, however, that the test was structured to determine which graphic format was the one where the subject first recognized the object. The tests do not give any information on whether or not the line drawings are unrecognizable-- only that recognition came first with the photographs.

Audience preference in pictorial styles

Two related studies were done in Northeast Thailand and rural Ghana, each testing illiterates perceptions of various pictorial treatments, but neither one measured object-recognition or comprehension and simply dealt with 'audience preference.' Damman in Thailand found that photographs were more popular than line-drawings, although the project description (as reported in Fussell et al) is unclear as to specific methodology (whether block-out photographs, for example, were included in the category 'photograph').

Belcher et al in Ghana showed subjects four graphic representations: line-drawings, photographs, block-outs, and color drawings, and asked them which they preferred. Adults preferred photographs only slightly over color drawings, but considerably over block-outs (no statement as to statistical difference was provided). Specifically, the results of this sample of 272 chil-

dren and 268 adults are as follows:

	children	adults	preferred overall
color drawings	42%	38%	40%
photo	33%	39%	36%
block-out	16%	16%	16%
line-drawing	9%	7%	8%

Summary of research on object recognition

In summary of the above research, due to lack of rigorous research methodology, no definitive conclusions can be drawn concerning the superiority of one graphic technique over others when communicating simple, one-object images to illiterates. It can be suggested, however, that a photographic treatment tends to be the one more likely to be effective because of its realism: it has been adequately shown that illiterate audiences need absolute detail and near-perfect representation of an object to recognize it, and photographs simply are more effective in doing so. In fact, the authors of the Nepal study (the one which found three-tone drawings the most effective) corroborated this was by suggesting that their findings reflected more the relative caliber of individual artist and photographer than they did any real difference in visual technique,

Picture sequence

The great majority of cross-cultural research on pictorial perception has been based on observing and questioning subjects on their interpretation of single drawings and photographs, containing neither entertainment nor information value. With few exceptions, the researchers have asked subjects to look at, and concentrate on, single depictions held at a short distance, rather

than providing the subject with a comic book or photo series
to be held in his own hands and examined more naturely. Ob-
viously, the jump between concentrating on and "reading" a
single photograph and reading 50-60 pictures in sequence is a
tremendous one. Ability to understand one photo, clearly does
not imply ability to string along and understand a whole series
of related pictures.

One of the few studies on the comprehensibility of picture
sequences was executed by Fonseca in Brazil. He was interested
in determining whether it is best to present a simple event to
new-literates in two scenes or in a series of scenes. He found
that each step of a process or an instruction must be separately
illustrated in order to be understood. Holmes, working in Kenya
with marginally literate students, came to the same conclusion.
In his study, he presented subjects with two graphic treatments
of a process. One was a pair of illustrations, and the other,
a series in which each step of the process is depicted. It would
seem from these two studies that people unsophisticated in using
visual materials do not "skip read," filling-in in their minds
what happens between one scene and the next (such as would be
required in reading most comic books or photonovelas).

A more recent study done in Lesotho by the Distance Teaching
Centre was designed to see whether rural people could follow a
simple series of six drawings without words. Several tests were
done which indicated that the picture sequence is not a very
promising medium. A high proportion of respondents, especially
the illiterates, did not include all the frames when retelling
the story; did not refer to the main character as the same person
throughout; did not completely understand what was being conveyed

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and did not understand where the story began and where it ended.

Pictures within a contextual framework

It must be re-emphasized that none of the above-mentioned studies attempted to deal with the incorporation of graphic images into a contextual framework--such as in simple fotonovelas or comic books. It is not clear, therefore, whether illiterates with no prior familiarity with either comic books or fotonovelas would be able to understand a simple message presented in the context of a familiar story. This is an important consideration to communications planners, however, for if it can be shown that an illiterate, 'reading' without assistance, can learn from foto-novelas, rural audience reach can be vastly expanded.

There is one study, done in Guatemala by Oscar Vigano and colleagues, that attempts to deal with this problem, but is of limited use, largely because of insufficient sample size. Vigano developed a fotonovela whose subject was cooperatives, and dupli-cated it as a comic book (by tracing and graphic reproduction). He took a sample population of subsistence farmers and divided them into two groups--literate and illiterate. He also divided them by region--Oriente, that geographic area of Guatemala in which the population is primarily ladino (mestizo, Westernized); and Occidente, that area whose population is primarily Indian. In each area, he took a baseline survey, distributed comic books and fotonovelas randomly so that half the population received one medium, the other half the other, then measured final results (questions were asked concerning the basic message of the media: cooperative development). He found amongst literate audiences that the fotonovela was far superior to the comic book in raising

levels of knowledge. In the Oriente, there was an increase of 46% between baseline and post-distribution correct answers for those respondents who were given fotonovelas and only 24% for those who received comic books. In the Occidente, the increase was 93% for fotonovelas and only 36% for comic books.

When measuring responses of illiterates, Vigano found somewhat less definitive results. In the Oriente, the greatest increase of correct answers occurred with comic book readers (88%) compared with fotonovelas (35%). In the Occidente, fotonovelas registered the highest increase (4500%, from one correct response to 45) compared with comic books (33%). Yet, because of very small sample sizes, this data for illiterates has to be considered incomplete.

The only conclusion that one can draw is that since fotonovelas are clearly superior teaching tools for semi-literates (Vigano's 'literates,' coming as they do from poor, isolated areas are not true literates at all, but marginal literates), by inference it can be concluded that illiterates would not learn better from comic books, a medium which is more abstract, less realistic, and generally only appreciated by very literate audiences.

One fact that has been made abundantly clear is that the ability to learn from two-dimensional graphic images is more related to prior familiarity with either specific media or media in general than it is to considerations of literacy. It is commonly accepted that once a person has learned to deal with graphic images and has learned the convention of object-recognition and/or sequential progress, he or she--regardless of liter-

acy status--will understand better than a person who has not. In other words, an illiterate with a strong media familiarity can receive graphic information more efficiently than a literate without it.

Thus the question of illiterate perceptions is often moot: a communications planner can program fotonovelas, for example, in media-rich areas, knowing that illiterates will potentially be able to learn something from them without being too concerned with the perceptual process by which this is done. Furthermore, illiterates are often read printed material by literates (this was the basis on which many illiterates in the Guatemala study-- the project report is unclear on exact percentages--made their responses), thus enhancing potential illiterate understanding.

Symbols

A number of tests have been carried out to determine how people of limited education interpret pictorial symbols. The conclusion of all the studies reviewed is that illiterates as well as literates in most rural areas do not have the experience to understand symbols, and that attempts to use them are wasted. Holmes found that when presented with symbols such as a skull and cross-bones, his Kenyan subjects (already tested for familiarity with the symbols) tended to interpret them literally rather than give an "extended" symbollic meaning. Hudson and Hector working with Bantu industrial workers in South Africa found that presentation of information through simple pictorial metaphors was not successful. Similar results are reported by Fussell and Haaland in their tests of "standard" symbols in Nepal: skull, smiling faces, 'X' to represent bad, or don't do, etc.

Color

The question of the importance of using color or black and white to insure comprehensibility of graphic presentations and to insure interest has not received much study. In terms of films, there have been a number of studies indicating that it makes little difference to the audience, and that black and white films are equally acceptable. Leonard Doob, for example, reports a study where Nigerians were exposed to a number of films, some in color, some in black and white, and showed no change in level of interest.

Hudson carried out a similar test in South Africa, and found that color films were not more comprehensible or interesting than black and white ones. A study done by IPPF in Nigeria also found that black and white films on family planning were as acceptable as those in color.

While these studies have dealt with the impact of using color in films, observations by communication specialists working in the field have shown that color in pictorial materials, while attractive, can also cause confusion. Fuglesang, for example, found that color is not important for realism and clarity in pictorials, but that it can effectively focus attention when it is used to focus on important aspects of the picture. Work done in the Philippines (reported by Maglalang) indicates that color can cause confusion if it is not a true and realistic approximation of the natural color. A slightly off-shade on an object will cause people to misunderstand what it is supposed to be. Fantasy and whimsical coloring, such as blue cows and pink women, are also found confusing by people who do not come into contact with many pictorial materials.

Unconventional graphics

While most of the research has concentrated on how liter-
ate, pictorial conventions are perceived by illiterates and
marginally literate people, there have been a number of studies
by Deregowski on how illiterates themselves actually portray
events on a two-dimensional surface. These studies demonstrate
the importance of picturing all the details which characterize
an object, or other subject being portrayed. In one study done
in Zambia, subjects were asked to draw a three-dimensional model
placed in front of them. The subjects showed a preference for
creating "chain-type" drawings. "Chain-type" drawings in which
the artist attempts to draw a three-dimensional object on a flat
surfact by depicting all three sides connected with each other.
The drawings lock like cut-outs before they are assembled.

Hudson also found that uneducated subjects in South Africa
preferred to have all important characteristics of the object
portrayed, even if it did not make sense physically. Drawings
of cows, for example, were typically drawn in profile view, but
showing two full horns, two full eyes, all four legs, and a fron-
tal view of the four feet. The work of Kilbride et al also
suggests that visual materials would be more understandable to
people unfamiliar with them, if basic cultural preferences were
followed, and if salient and characteristic detail is accurately
portrayed.

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APPENDIX IV

A LIST OF PERSONS CONTACTED

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LIST OF PERSONS CONTACTED

Robert Worrall
Director
Population Reference Bureau

Bruce Knarr
Librarian
Population Reference Bureau

Gerald Windfield
Chief, Information, Education
  Communication Section
Office of Population
USAID

Marschal Rothe
Information, Education, Com-
  munication Section
Office of Population
USAID

Russell Swenson
Information, Education, Com-
  munication Section
Office of Population
USAID

Anthony Schwarzwalder
Office of Nutrition
USAID

Robert Pratt
Office of Nutrition
USAID

Ludwig Rudel
Office of Nutrition
USAID

Jock Gunter, Director
Clearinghouse on Development
  Communication
Academy for Educational
  Development

Paul Boyd, Director
Information Section
UNDP, New York

Carlos Alfaro
Health Education Specialist
Pan American Health Organi-
  zation

Richard Prindle
Director (retired)
Family Life Division
Pan American Health Organiza-
  tion

Alec Shaw
Population-Nutrition Division
IBRD

Tom McMahon
Media Specialist
Airlie Foundation

Margo Zimmerman
Center for Population Activities

Thomas M. Cooke
Director
Richard K. Manoff International

René Jaimes, Chief
Information and Education Dept.
International Planned Parenthood
  Federation, Western Hemisphere
  Region, New York

Rosario C. Adler
Materials Specialist
IPPF, Western Hemisphere
  Region

William Visser
Latin American Coordinator
UNFPA, New York

Peter Witham
Program Director
UNFPA, New York

Martha Keehn
Vice President
World Education

Erskine Childers, Director
Development Support Communications
   Service
UNDP, New York

Royal D. Colle
Department of Communication Arts
Cornell University

Charles Ausherman, Director
Educational Materials Unit
Carolina Population Center

Elizabeth Buck
Assistant Director
Communications Institute
East-West Center

Susan Perl
Education Officer
IPPF, London

Martha C. Mapes
Senior Extension Associate
Division of Nutritional Sciences
Cornell University

Peter Spain
Institute for Communications
   Research
Stanford University

Robert Hornik
Institute for Communications
   Research
Stanford University

Robert Salmon
Institute for Communications
   Research
Stanford University

Colin Fraser, Director
Information Division
FAO, Rome

Mayone Stycos, Director
International Population Program
Cornell University

K.B. Mathur, Director
Population Division
UNESCO, Paris

Everett Rogers
Institute of Communications
   Research
Stanford University

Andrew Fisher
Communications Specialist
School of Public Health
University of California,
Berkeley

Darryl Hunt
Managing Editor
Maryknoll, N.Y.

Margo Higgins
Nutritionist (retired)
CARE

Virginia Schmidt
Overseas Development Mater-
   ials
World Neighbors

Catherine Crane
Program Development and
   Evaluation Department
World Education

Ned Benner
Inter-American Foundation

Teresa Davis
Department of Educational
   Affairs
Organization of American
   States

Howard Ebenstein
Multi-lateral and Special
   Programs
Peace Corps
ACTION

Carlos Hernan Daza
Regional Nutrition Advisor
Pan American Health Organ-
   ization

Luis Ramiro Beltran
International Center for
   Research in Development
Bogotá, Colombia

Mary Jane Neuendorffer
Education Development Center
Newton, Mass.

Wiliam Walton
Education Development Center
Newton, Mass.

Bob Caswell
Latin American Programmer
Laubach Literacy, Inc.
Syracuse, N.Y.

Jan Smittee
Publications Distributor
Laubach Literacy, Inc.
Syracuse, N.Y.

Eliot Putnam
Vice President
The Pathfinder Fund

Nathan Grey
OXFAM America

Mr. Blanco
Latin American Coordinator
UNICEF, N.Y.

Victor Soler-Sala
UNICEF, Bogota.

Ellen Lieber
Education Officer
CARE, Inc., N.Y.

John Comings
Center for International
   Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst

Hilda Kohuhirwa
Center Associate
Center for International
   Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst

Mary Collantes
Center Associate
Center for International
   Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst

Adriana Rothkegel
Center Associate
Center for International
   Education
University of Massachusetts
Amherst

Esther T. de Gally
Editor
Editorial Jax
Libreria Carlos Cesarman S.A.
Mexico

David Kline
School of Education and Inter-
   national Development
Harvard University

David Harmon
School of Education and Inter-
   national Development
Harvard University

Marian Zeitlin
Nutrition Specialist
Institute of International
   Development
Harvard University

Jim Sheffield, Associate
International Education Program
Columbia University

Beverly Donoghue
International Education Program
Columbia University

Roger Kilavaca
Materials Division
Center for Interamerican Rela-
   tions
New York

Librarian
CODEL, Inc.
New York

Charles Lininger
Education Officer
Population Council

Hans Groot
Communications Speicalist
Planned Parenthood-World
   Population
New York

Cristy Bentley
Education Officer
New York Catholic Center

Christian Anderson
International Program Development
Carnegie Foundation

Emily Gibbs
Education Division
Church World Services
New York

Jovelino Ramos
Latin American Coordinator
Church World Services
New York

Kathy Parker
Health Programmer
Family Health Care, Inc.

Jil Merrick
Assistant Director
Clearinghouse on Development
   Communication
Washington, D.C.

Kenneth Brundage
Office of Agriculture
USAID
Washington, D.C.

Woodrow Leake
Agricultural and Rural Development
   Division
Africa Bureau
USAID

Lawrence Iker
Latin American Bureau
USAID

Edward Hirabayaski
Africa Bureau
USAID

Ray Martin
Office of Population
USAID

John Hafenrichter
Technical Information
   Reference Center
USAID

Marion Kohashi
Africa Bureau
USAID

R. Pike
Office of Middle East
   Affairs
Bureau for Near East
USAID

APPENDIX V

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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