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YouthNet

Using Global Media to Reach Youth: The 2002 MTV *Staying Alive* Campaign



Cindy Waszak Geary, Hally Mahler, William Finger, and Kathleen Henry Shears

Youth Issues Paper 5



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Family Health International, YouthNet Program

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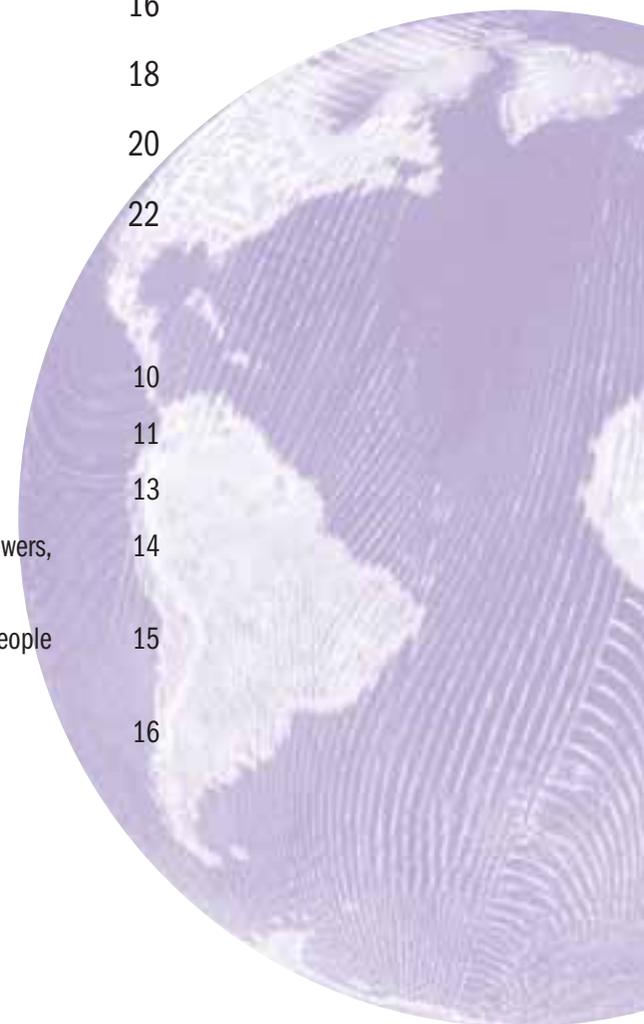
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Introduction

In 2002, the YouthNet Program participated as a key partner in a project that expanded the reach of global HIV-prevention messages to historic levels — the *Staying Alive* campaign coordinated by MTV Networks International (MTV). MTV is the world’s largest television network targeted to youth, reaching more than 400 million households in 164 countries in 2004. The 2002 *Staying Alive* campaign went beyond the MTV channels because the broadcasts were distributed rights-free and unencrypted, so that the content could be translated and broadcast worldwide. The campaign was eventually broadcast on television stations that reached nearly 800 million homes and linked with major radio distribution channels as well.

In an evaluation of the 2002 campaign, FHI/YouthNet found clear evidence that this massive global campaign had significant impact on interpersonal communications about HIV/AIDS and also affected social norms in some cases. These findings are based on a population-based analysis in three diverse countries, using pre- and post-campaign surveys as well as focus group discussions. The results of this study are presented here in the context of what has come to be called the “global youth culture.”

Chapter 1 summarizes the evidence suggesting that a global youth culture exists, emphasizing that technology is an important entry point in providing messages to young people across cultures. These messages have the potential for positive impact in HIV prevention, not just negative influences such as commercialization. Chapter 2 summarizes the 2002 campaign. Chapter 3 explains the methodology of the FHI analysis, based on a social diffusion model, whereby media can affect social norms through interpersonal communication; this communication in turn influences culturally based behaviors. Chapters 4 through 6 summarize the results of the quantitative surveys, finding that the campaign had significant statistical impact on interpersonal communication and some impact on social norms. Chapter 7 captures the major themes from the focus groups, including a universal connection with cross-cultural messages relating to responsibility, blame, empathy, and faithfulness. Chapter 8 offers conclusions and observations about future work with global media campaigns.

YouthNet, with other organizations, contributed funds and technical expertise in HIV and reproductive health to the 2002 campaign, which MTV aired and made available free of charge to broadcast media. At commercial airtime rates charged by MTV, the campaign on MTV channels alone was valued at an estimated U.S. \$60 million. MTV has also utilized assistance from YouthNet and others in developing the 2003 and 2004 *Staying Alive* campaigns.

— Dr. Tonya Nyagiro, YouthNet Program Director

Chapter 1. Globalization, Technology, and Youth Culture

Twelve-year-old boys in Kiev, Dakar, and Bangkok sit in cyber cafes playing *Mortal Kombat*. Girls in secondary schools in Kathmandu change from saris to blue jeans after seeing the latest fashions on MTV India, and they listen to other girls telephone and e-mail their questions about love and sex to a weekly show on the same station. Internet chat rooms track the popularity of rock stars with viewers worldwide. Teenagers in São Paulo say they are hooked on the popular American television sitcom *Friends*. Teenagers in Beijing, Nairobi, and Mexico City download still photos from the movie *Lord of the Rings* as computer screensavers. Young people throughout the world saw Cable News Network (CNN) images of the capture of Saddam Hussein. The media landscape for youth is progressively becoming a global one, unhampered by geographic boundaries.

Youth in almost every country are increasingly exposed to television programs, movies, and music via new technologies such as satellite television and the Internet. This globalization of media — in both content and distribution methods — contributes to what analysts characterize as the globalization of culture. Advertising and financial experts see the world as a shrinking marketplace, with youth leading the way, and music is often the medium for promoting products and lifestyles. “A growing uniformity of culture results from billions of points of contact among young people and the media every day,” says William Werther, a U.S. management expert.¹ Other analysts characterize the process as the globalization of youth culture.²

Some fear that Western media and globalization are promoting materialism and serving to homogenize culture rather than celebrate diversity, especially through the impact on young people. “Youth are seen as the part of society that is most likely to engage in a process of cultural borrowing that is disruptive of the reproduction of traditional cultural practices,” explain Cara Heaven and Matthew Tubridy in a report by the International Youth Parliament on the impact of globalization on young people, sponsored by Oxfam International. While these impressions about youth are hard to verify, “what is certain, however, is that the age of globalization, more than any other age before it, is an age that has both exerted great effects upon, and been greatly affected by, young people.”³

Concerns about the impact of globalization and media assume that these forces have the power to influence attitudes and behaviors. Most writers have focused on the potential for negative influences. What critics consider less frequently is the potential for positive change and opportunities to make young people aware of social issues that affect them and to educate them about their rights and responsibilities.



Youth in almost every country are exposed to media programming, which contributes to the globalization of culture. Here, students from a multinational secondary school in Botswana pose for a photograph.

For example, when CNN showed images of young college students leading uprisings in the former Communist block countries in Eastern Europe, students in other countries gained inspiration to do the same.

As global broadcast networks have grown, from CNN and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) to MTV, so have technology distribution systems. Those who have traveled to a capital city anywhere in the world are familiar with the broad range of programming and channels available via cable or satellite television, not to mention cyber cafes, the Internet, and music videos. Many of these media target their content to narrow audiences, called “narrowcasting.” Perceived as a market with distinct patterns of consumption and worldwide access to television, youth have become a focus for narrowcasting.

Global Youth Culture Evolves

Youth are a natural target in the globalization of media because they are at the cutting edge of innovation in technology and ideas. They have less experience with the old way of doing things — that is, less to unlearn — and change is easier for them. They are quicker than their parents in learning to use new products such as cell phones with text messaging. This difference in the comfort level



Television increasingly reaches areas throughout the world, including this tavern in rural Uganda.

with new technology creates a gap between parents and children and leads to exposure to different kinds of content, which creates greater gaps.

Narrowcasting benefits from this generational divide. A recognizable “youth culture” has emerged around the world, in which young people now have access to media that caters to their tastes and preferences. This youth culture has emerged, says the Oxfam International report, as young people “consume cultural phenomena and assume styles of behavior and dress that are different from comparable habits of children and adults.”⁴

The relative influence of local and global culture depends to a large degree on the culture into which Western values and products are injected. In many parts of Asia, for example, global media have contributed to broadening the worldview and deepening the understanding of young people about such global issues as women’s rights and environmental concerns. Even so, with many Asian families emphasizing a strong bond to children, Asian teenagers are less likely to question the authority of their parents, according to marketing analyst Thomas Tan Tsu Wee.⁵

Youth in many regions are seeking a balance of local and global cultures. The Haatso Youth Club in Ghana, for example, submitted a proposed policy recommendation to the Oxfam International Youth Parliament that read in part, “We are driven by enormous pressure into a very consumerist lifestyle, stimulated by transnational corporations as well as commercial mass media. In contrast, we witness at the same time the stark poverty widespread in our region and the world. We see our own cultures giving way to a consumerist monoculture. There is an urgent need to revisit, appreciate, and participate in the evolution of our own cultures, which are community-oriented, non-materialistic, eco-friendly, and holistic in their worldview. We need to develop the capacity of cultural perceptibility towards creative interaction between cultures.”⁶

Some argue that the global youth culture is not about Western culture so much as it is a new form of culture that knows no boundaries, that it is an emerging culture based on a melding of a number of different cultures shared via global media.⁷

While Western media clearly contribute in a major way to shaping a global youth culture, this youth culture might be characterized more as a part of a young person's identity development, which does not necessarily extinguish one's involvement in aspects of local culture. Moreover, not all youth are part of this global youth culture; its members are found where there is access to global media, which means primarily urban areas. But the number of youth in urban areas continues to grow, and thus so do the commonalities across borders. At the same time, access to media in rural areas continues to grow, taking many global themes beyond urban centers.

Evidence of Global Media Impact

While much anecdotal evidence exists for the negative influence of global or "foreign" media on young people, there is less empirical evidence. A meta-analysis of the early research on this topic found that exposure to foreign television increases in only a small amount the purchase of foreign products, especially clothing and other consumer products. The study also found that exposure to foreign television led to only a small impact on adopting values similar to those present in the country producing the foreign message.⁸

Only a few studies have examined the impact of Western media, particularly television, on youth in developing countries. Moreover, nearly all have used a cross-sectional study design, which does not have a control group or monitor changes over time. Hence, in most studies, no attribution can be made about cause and effect. That is, the studies do not prove whether young people with more Western values and interests are drawn to American television or whether American television has shaped these more Western values. Even so, the mostly descriptive studies below do suggest that Western-based media images have some impact on shaping youth culture but that local cultures also have a strong influence on evolving youth cultures.

A 2001 study in Botswana in southern Africa examined the impact of American music videos on 191 secondary school students in the capital city of Gaborone (mean age, 17). Seventy-two percent of the respondents reported having a television in their house, and 70 percent said

they bought clothing they saw in the American music videos. Of those who had not seen the American videos (59 students), only six students purchased the type of clothing promoted on the videos. About two-thirds of those surveyed cited specific American entertainers as their favorites, even though they were not able to correctly explain the American slang terms used in the videos. This descriptive study found that substantial percentages of urban African youth, especially those with televisions, relate to American music.⁹

A study in Zimbabwe examined the degree of influence of Western or global culture on the use of cannabis and inhalants by teenagers, comparing this influence with the influence of drug use by older siblings, best friends, and indigenous culture. It found that global culture was associated with use of cannabis and inhalants, but a stronger association of use occurred based on age, sex, and use by friends or siblings. Indigenous culture was not associated with use. Similar patterns of association with global culture were also found for alcohol and tobacco. The study was based on a survey of 3,061 secondary school students in four areas of Zimbabwe (mean age, 15).¹⁰

A study in Greece, including a rural area of the country, examined the impact of media on culture. While the study found that American television plays a small role in cultivating among young people a view of reality that is U.S.-influenced, it found that other variables play a larger role, such as overall media consumption and parental education. The study surveyed 508 students ages 15 to 19, about half from a small rural town and half from the capital city of Athens. The survey asked students how much television and what type of programming they watched — and how it influenced them. The young people spent on average about three hours a week watching U.S. television shows. The heavy television viewers tended to have a favorable attitude toward foreign consumer goods.¹¹

Researchers from multiple countries surveyed a total of nearly 2,000 university students in China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Spain, asking them how they perceived the

Internet Use in Developing Countries

The FHI evaluation of the 2002 MTV *Staying Alive* campaign (explained in Chapter 3) included questions about Internet use. The level of Internet use in developing countries is one indicator of the reach of a global youth culture. The data reported in the baseline surveys indicate that access to this new global technology is growing rapidly in developing country cities, at least, and has the potential to contribute to youth trends and ideas that cut across culture.

A gender difference exists among Internet users, with more boys using it in the three countries analyzed. In Kathmandu, one of every eight girls and one of three boys had used the Internet; in São Paulo, one of three girls and two of five boys had used it, and in Dakar, about a quarter of the girls and a third of the boys had used it.

The most commonly used Web sites in Kathmandu and Dakar were U.S.-based (Hotmail, Yahoo, and Google). In São Paulo, the most popular Web site was local (Uol) but followed by a much greater diversity of Web sites than in the other two cities. In Dakar, more than 85 percent of Internet users had ever signed on to a message board, compared to about a quarter of users in Kathmandu and 10 percent in São Paulo. Cyber cafes are the venues of choice for Internet use in Kathmandu and Dakar, while in São Paulo, respondents were more likely to access the Internet from home. More than a fifth of all Internet users in Dakar connect at school.

When asked about various reasons for using the Internet (using prompted responses), among those who use the Internet, most respondents of both sexes in all three cities said that they use it most often to check e-mail or to find information. More respondents in São Paulo than the other sites use the Internet to buy things. About a fifth of users in São Paulo reported they do banking on the Internet; no one in other sites mentioned this.

Almost 35 percent of boys compared to 7 percent of girls in Kathmandu said they use the Internet to find information about sensitive topics. Though there were no differences by sex, about a quarter of respondents in both Dakar and São Paulo also use the Internet to find out about sensitive topics.

A fairly large proportion of Internet users in all sites listen to music on the Internet, with the highest levels in São Paulo. Playing games was also listed as an important reason for using the Internet, with no sex differences apparent.

influence of American media. The study examined the assumption that foreign media can inflict deleterious effects on indigenous cultures. In the Asian countries, the students believed that American media had a positive influence, contrary to the negative assumptions some hold. However, the Europeans surveyed perceived a negative influence from American media. Both Asian and European youth believed that they were negatively influenced by violence in American media, and they all believed that other people were more negatively influenced by the media violence than they were themselves. The study concluded that the perceived influence of American media on cultural values depends on a young person's cultural background, while perceptions about violence in American media are shared across cultural boundaries.¹²

A study based on a survey of 600 adolescents ages 14 to 19 in Singapore concluded that youth develop their own culture as part of establishing independence from their parents, and that American media has influenced that process. However, local culture plays a strong role in shaping the next generation of youth as well. The survey, conducted in the context of market research and consumerism, concluded: "The old adage of 'think globally, but act locally' is equally applicable when it comes to teen fashion and purchases. In countries where brand and advertising literacy are low, much effort should be directed at building brand awareness and equity rather than selling. Even the implications of technology should be selectively used in the teen market, as many teenagers in developing countries are still not exposed to such technology."¹³

Thus, the evidence about the impact of global media is not conclusive. The limited research findings that exist indicate that both local and global culture are important to youth, with some youth asserting that they are seeking a balance of global and local cultures. The impact of global media appears to vary depending on the culture into which Western values and products are injected, the media outlets available to various groups of youth, and other factors.

Chapter 2. MTV Global HIV/AIDS Prevention Campaign, 2002 – A Case Study

Before 2002, no study had ever attempted to analyze the impact of a global media campaign on HIV/AIDS issues because no such campaign had ever been undertaken. But that changed when MTV, the world's largest television network and the leading multimedia brand for youth, launched the 2002 *Staying Alive* campaign. Beginning in 1992, MTV had produced some programming for World AIDS Day, but plans for the 2002 *Staying Alive* campaign expanded exponentially. To undertake the expanded campaign, it drew on the assistance and resources of multiple partners, including the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Kaiser Family Foundation, Levi's Jeans, Population Services International's YouthAIDS project, and FHI/YouthNet.

FHI/YouthNet undertook a four-country research project to evaluate the impact of the campaign. However, an understanding of the campaign itself is needed before the presentation of the study and the results.

The 2002 *Staying Alive* campaign was the largest, most ambitious HIV/AIDS media effort ever attempted, reaching a potential of almost 800 million homes, 64 percent of total television households worldwide. The campaign was aired in nearly 100 countries, including 44 of the 50 countries most affected by HIV/AIDS. This was possible because MTV offered the programming unencrypted and rights free beyond its own 32 MTV channels (since 2002, the number of channels has grown to 41). Any television station around the world could access the material via satellite. This allowed producers in countries throughout the world to translate and adapt the programs for their audiences.



The campaign had three goals: to increase awareness of HIV/AIDS and encourage prevention behavior, to reduce HIV-related stigma and discrimination, and to empower youth to take action. It was launched with a Global Forum in July 2002 at the XIV International AIDS Conference in Barcelona, Spain, and formally concluded with the airing of the concert program and a documentary on World AIDS Day in December 2002. The campaign utilized multiple formats including public service announcements (PSAs), a show called *Clinton Uncut*, and the *Staying Alive* Web site (see box on page 9).¹⁴ Following World AIDS Day, campaigns in selected countries continued to build on the 2002 campaign, including broadcasts in China and other countries.

The 2002 campaign primarily targeted young people with access to television, but it expanded the reach of the programming by adapting it for radio stations, the Internet, and other types of activities in selected countries. New partnerships with radio broadcasting organizations were an important part of the campaign, because many people in the developing world have better access to radio than television. The parent organization of MTV, Viacom, used its Westwood One Radio Network to convert the *Staying Alive* concert to a radio format. The European Broadcasting



Union (EBU), the largest professional association of national broadcasters in the world, distributed the campaign via satellite to its 70 members in 51 countries in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. Radio distribution covered 56 countries, including five countries in Africa and seven in the Americas, as well as China and Indonesia, the two most populous countries in the world. In Senegal and Kenya, the campaign was extended dramatically, due to a targeted approach by FHI country offices to involve local programming in the campaign.

Senegal and Kenya Campaigns

In Senegal, FHI formed an advisory committee to assess the global MTV materials and to develop a country-based campaign, working with two media consultants. “We watched the TV material with doctors, AIDS-fighting professionals, politicians, religious leaders, and others,” explains consultant Tidiane Kassé. “We understood that this would never be appropriate for a Senegalese audience. The impression given by the images was something that would make people look more than think. The countryside and the clothes were too exotic, the references too westernized, the images and the dialogues far too explicit for the conservative Senegalese society.” The viewing committee saw



some of the MTV materials from previous campaigns and judged what would be appropriate for Senegal. Images from the Global Forum with former U.S. President Bill Clinton, the concert program, and the documentary segments showing people living with AIDS were eventually selected.

Using the message of the MTV material as an inspiration, the Senegal campaign developed its own campaign, using *Staying Alive* (translated in French as *Rester en Vie*), which appeared on t-shirts, caps, and scarves. The advisory committee urged the media to explore the reality of HIV/AIDS in Senegal by interviewing those infected with HIV, by stressing the consequences of the disease and how to avoid it, and by encour-

aging young people to be aware and get tested. The overall objective was to form a partnership with the media to accomplish these goals.

The Senegal campaign focused on radio stations, the most popular media in the country. Before the campaign, radio stations covered HIV/AIDS in an excessively medical approach and rarely interviewed people from the community on the air. Through the campaign, each radio station started inviting young people, women, people with AIDS, nurses, and doctors to talk on the air about the virus and how to curb its spread. Some stations organized games, giving away a t-shirt or cap to those who gave the right answers to a question about HIV/AIDS. Plays about the virus, often performed in a village square or during a sporting event, were broadcast over the radio as well. For six months, 32 radio stations in Senegal were talking about HIV/AIDS several times a week, which had never happened before.

In Kenya, the FHI office, working with YouthNet, launched the *Staying Alive* campaign at a meeting with representatives from the major television stations, the Ministry of Health, and nongovernmental agencies working with HIV/AIDS prevention. Four of the television stations in Kenya carried all or part of the *Staying Alive* campaign, with the most popular segments being the Global Forum, *Clinton Uncut*, and the World AIDS Day concert. Producers at all four of the stations agreed that youth in Kenya who watch television would relate to the MTV shows and that a global culture of sorts existed among youth. The PSAs generally were not shown because they were too westernized — none had been shot in developing countries.

The Nation Media Group in Kenya saw the MTV campaign as an opportunity to broaden its HIV/AIDS coverage for young people. The station has a bimonthly program called, *Eyes on People*, which has a more youthful audience than many of its other shows. The station decided to air all of the major campaign components, including a couple of the PSAs that they thought were the funniest and most likely to be inoffensive to their audience. Securing a small grant from FHI, they produced a two-part show called *Youth in Dilemma*, aired during the

Components of the 2002 *Staying Alive* Campaign

The Global Forum. Held July 16, 2002, at the XIVth International AIDS Conference, the forum consisted of 75 young people from 25 countries discussing HIV/AIDS with world opinion leaders, including former U.S. President Bill Clinton, UNAIDS Executive Director Peter Piot, Paul Teixeira of Brazil's Ministry of Health, actor and activist Rupert Everett, Vicki Ehrich of GlaxoSmithKline (the pharmaceutical company that is the world's leading seller of AIDS drugs), and Archbishop Raphael Ndingi Mwana Nzeki of the Catholic Diocese of Nairobi, Kenya. Front-page stories about the forum ran in *The New York Times*, *The Miami Herald*, and *USA Today*, and worldwide coverage included BBC, CNN, and MSNBC reports. The Global Forum proved to be one of the most popular segments of the campaign.

Clinton Uncut. The final segment of the Global Forum featured Bill Clinton fielding questions alone. When Clinton's segment was finished, he looked surprised, saying, "That's it? I'm not done!" Wanting to continue the dialogue, Clinton walked to where the young people were sitting, sat down in the middle, and invited the young people to gather round. As the MTV crew scrambled to readjust their lights and cameras, Clinton began taking more questions from the youth. What followed was a wide-open discussion, providing enough additional material to produce another hour-long program for the *Staying Alive* campaign at almost no additional cost. They called it *Staying Alive: Clinton Uncut* and marketed it to their stations and others as an unedited, up-close, and personal chat with the former president.

The PSAs. The seven public service announcements sought to address negative attitudes toward safer sex and to promote the *Staying Alive* Web site. Around 30 to 60 seconds each, the spots began airing in November, later than planned. They were produced in the studio and, for the most part, were unable to have the same look and impact as if they had been shot on location in a country like South Africa or Brazil. For many viewers, the PSAs had too much of a Western, rather than a developing country, feel. Another disappointment for many of the campaign sponsors was the failure to agree on a PSA about sexual abstinence or delay of sexual debut.

Documentary: *Staying Alive 4*. This hour-long show included the stories and personal testimonies of three young people and short interviews with several HIV-positive youth. Mary J. Blige, a U.S. singer popular with young people, hosted the show. The three stories featured Srun, Oleg, and Isadore. Srun, a young Cambodian woman who had been infected with HIV then abandoned by her husband, was suffering from AIDS-related diseases and was unable to get antiretroviral drugs. Oleg, a Latvian youth, was struggling with drug addiction and a recent HIV-positive diagnosis. Isadore, from Côte d'Ivoire, did not know his HIV status but was having unprotected sex with many women, including three girlfriends.

The Concerts. *Staying Alive* concerts were held on November 7, 2002, in Seattle, Washington, United States, and on November 23, 2002, in Cape Town, South Africa. Using footage from the concerts, MTV created a 90-minute, commercial-free program that aired on World AIDS Day, December 1, 2002. The program interspersed concert footage and interviews with the performers and other famous personalities, providing extensive HIV education. Interviews with young people in many countries addressed topics such as HIV risk and prevention behaviors.

The *Staying Alive* Web Site. All of the elements of the campaign encouraged viewers to go to the Web site, www.staying-alive.org, a brightly colored site presented in English, French, and Spanish. The site included information about HIV/AIDS under such headings as "know the facts," "find help," and "take action." The *Staying Alive* site offers a confidential environment where people can feel safe to ask about HIV. It is independent but directly linked to many of the 22 MTV Web sites around the world. Other MTV sites created their own pages about HIV/AIDS, often using *Staying Alive* materials. MTV used the Web site, along with 18 other MTV sites, to find out more about users' attitudes toward sexual health and their reactions to the campaign through a sexual behavior poll – the fourth such annual survey by MTV but the first conducted via the Internet.

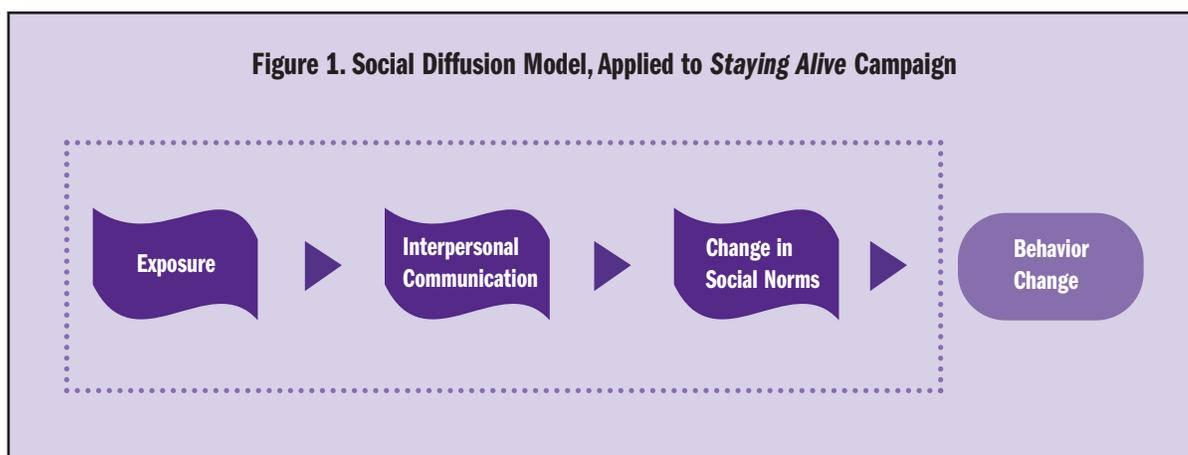
Eyes of the People discussion show. Working with FHI, the station developed two panels of prominent Kenyans and youth and issued an open invitation for youth to be in the audience and ask questions. The two shows, which were taped in one day in December, had an informal give-and-take quality that seemed less orchestrated and formal than the Barcelona Global Forum. One show addressed broad issues related to sex and sexuality, while the other focused on HIV/AIDS. They were aired in January and February 2003.

Chapter 3. Evaluation of 2002 *Staying Alive* Campaign

FHI/YouthNet used a conceptual framework called the social diffusion model of media effects to evaluate the impact of this global project. To influence culturally ingrained behaviors, such as those related to HIV risk and prevention, an intervention must first influence social and cultural norms and attitudes about those behaviors. Norms change, at least in part, as a result of interpersonal communication. According to the social diffusion model, the role of mass media campaigns is to promote interpersonal communication — in this case, about HIV prevention — as a step to change social norms and support personal behavior change.¹⁵

In Figure 1 (below), the dotted box includes the three elements the campaign sought to affect. The first goal was to have as many people actually see or be exposed to the campaign as possible. The second two goals were to increase interpersonal communication about HIV/AIDS and to change social norms related to HIV prevention. Behavior change — shown outside the dotted box — is not an outcome the campaign expected to achieve.

Behavior change is a long-term process and requires multiple, intensive interventions, with *Staying Alive* being only one. Though a number of studies have shown an association between exposure to mass media campaigns and changes in reproductive health behavior, these media campaigns were aired over a longer period of time. Also, the content was often of longer duration (e.g., radio or television serials) than the *Staying Alive* campaign, or the media campaigns were linked with the promotion of a product (e.g., condoms).¹⁶ Behavior change was not a realistic goal for *Staying Alive*, where viewers saw only a few shows or messages that were not sustained over a long period of time.



Thus, to evaluate the *Staying Alive* campaign, FHI examined three outcomes that parallel the first three steps in the social diffusion model. The study measured exposure to the campaign, examined the effects of exposure on interpersonal communication about HIV prevention, and looked at the joint effects of exposure to the campaign and interpersonal communication on social norms related to HIV prevention.

No precedent existed for evaluating a global campaign. The study identified four sites for the evaluation, each of which represented different country-level experiences with HIV/AIDS, different cultures, different media environments, and different kinds of access to the *Staying Alive* campaign. The four sites were São Paulo, Brazil; Nairobi, Kenya; Kathmandu, Nepal; and Dakar, Senegal. In addition to meeting the above criteria, YouthNet staff had relationships with local investigators in each of these sites, which made quick start-up of the evaluation possible.

The study used two basic methods of data collection. The primary data source was cross-sectional, population-based, household surveys among young men and women ages 16 to 25. These surveys were conducted at baseline and post-campaign in three of the four sites: Dakar, Kathmandu, and São Paulo. At each site, about 1,000 young people were surveyed at baseline and post-campaign, including about equal numbers of males and females. The surveys included information on background characteristics, media use, HIV/AIDS knowledge, beliefs relevant to HIV prevention, use of reproductive health and HIV services, discussion of HIV with others, and, in the post-campaign survey, exposure to the campaign. The data from the surveys

Table 1. Media Access and Use by Site, Percentage of Respondents

	Dakar	Kathmandu	São Paulo
Access			
TV	89	89	99
Cable/satellite	39	47	24
Use			
Radio	96	91	95
MTV	–	42	89
Internet	31	23	38

are the basis for the analysis presented in Chapters 4 through 6.

The survey in Nairobi was a convenience sample in several city slum areas and was conducted only post-campaign. Data from the Nairobi survey are not included in the results summarized in this paper, though they will be analyzed separately and disseminated in other reports.

To obtain more in-depth information from the user or audience perspective, the study also included focus group discussions. The study included groups of only young men, only young women, and both males and females. During these focus groups, participants were asked to watch two campaign components — the PSAs and the documentary. Their responses in a moderated discussion provided information on interpretations of, and reactions to, the content of each campaign component.

Media access and use in the three cities (as measured in the baseline survey) provide context to the study results and are summarized in Table 1 (above). In all three cities, access to television is very high: nearly universal in São Paulo and about nine of every 10 respondents in the other two cities. More than 90 percent of youth in all three cities listen to the radio.



At Ndef Leng FM radio in Dakar, Senegal, a live program about AIDS is performed during the 2002 *Staying Alive* campaign using dialogue developed by young adults and other volunteers, with station writer Djibi Ndiaye (far right).

Access to an MTV station varied significantly, which affected how the campaign was implemented in each country. Viewers in Kathmandu had access to the global campaign through MTV India (in English or Hindi). In Kathmandu, 47 percent of respondents had access to cable/satellite television, and 42 percent of all respondents had ever watched MTV.

Respondents in São Paulo could watch MTV on MTV Brazil, a terrestrial (non-cable, non-satellite) channel that everyone with television can receive, or on MTV Latin America, a cable channel. Because of this broad access, while only 24 percent of respondents had access to cable, 89 percent of São Paulo respondents had ever watched MTV.

In Dakar, where 39 percent of respondents had cable access, there was no access to MTV through satellite networks when the baseline data were collected. Dakar was chosen as a site because campaign access was planned through third-party broadcasters. Later, implementation became much more locally focused, as discussed in Chapter 2. Also, MTV France later became available to a limited audience in Dakar through one cable channel.

The next three chapters explain the findings following the social diffusion model shown in Figure 1: the levels of exposure, the effects of the exposure on interpersonal communication, and the effects of both exposure and interpersonal communication on social norms related to HIV prevention.

Chapter 4. Campaign Exposure Rates

Exposure to the *Staying Alive* campaign was substantial in all three sites. The degree of exposure ranged from 12 percent to 82 percent of the youth exposed, due to the type of media access in each site, the types of content available in the country, and how the campaign was presented in each site.



A garage owner outside of Dakar, Senegal, participates in the community outreach for the *Staying Alive* radio campaign. Malick Ly (far left), the owner, talks to his young workers with outreach workers Babacar Gueye (second from left) and Issa Ndiaye (second from right).

In Kathmandu and São Paulo, the study measured exposure according to whether a person had seen any component of the *Staying Alive* campaign on either television or the campaign Web site (the Global Forum, *Clinton Uncut*, PSAs, the documentary, and the concert). In Dakar, as explained in Chapter 2, the campaign was adapted to local media outlets, especially radio. There, the study measured exposure as having seen, heard, or read any information on the campaign from celebrities or in the local media, including television, radio, newspapers, or Web sites.

In Kathmandu and São Paulo, the study first elicited spontaneous recall to the campaign programs by asking the question: “Have you seen any programs on TV about HIV/AIDS? Describe what you saw.” The interviewer then asked if they had seen each *Staying Alive* program specifically (documentary, Global Forum, etc.). For each program they had seen, the interviewer asked a series of follow-up questions, including: Where did you see it? How many times did you see it? What was it about? Who was on it? Did you like it? Did you learn anything? Did you do anything because of it?

With regard to the PSA spots, the interviewer first asked: Have you seen any short spots on TV about condoms? If yes, please describe. Also, have you seen any short spots on TV with the *Staying Alive* logo? If yes, please describe. The interviewers then read through a description of each of the seven spots, asking after each description if the respondent had seen this spot. Most of those classified as “exposed” to the PSAs came on the basis of a “yes” response to one or more of these descriptions. With any answer indicating exposure to the campaign spots, respondents were then asked follow-up questions similar to those asked about the programs.

In Dakar, where the content was more diverse, locally produced, and aired through non-MTV channels, the questions covered not only television programs on HIV/AIDS but also whether respondents had heard a radio program on HIV/AIDS; read any information in the newspapers about HIV/AIDS; seen any information on HIV/AIDS on the two local Internet server sites; or seen, heard, or read statements about HIV/AIDS by celebrities or public personalities. For each medium, interviewers asked follow-up questions about which specific channel, newspaper, Internet site, or celebrity talk had communicated the information, the content/format of the communication, and the respondent reactions to the communications.

Exposure rates were by far the highest in Dakar, where 82 percent of all young people in Dakar (220,000) were exposed. There, third-party broadcasters — i.e., not MTV itself — broadcast the campaign through various types of media for a longer period of time than the regular MTV campaign. This allowed virtually everyone in Dakar to have access to the campaign through one of the local media outlets.

Local Linkages Expand Global Campaign Exposure

The analysis found much higher exposure rates in Dakar compared to Kathmandu and São Paulo, which raises the question: Is the increase in exposure worth the costs of producing local activities based on the global campaign? In Dakar, the FHI country office spent about US\$100,000 to help organize the local campaign, distribute the global materials among local broadcasters, develop new local programming based on the global material, and work with local media, especially radio, to find advertisers to cover the time. The advantage to broadcasters was access to high-quality materials to air directly to fulfill public service requirements or to sell to advertisers, and global materials on which to build the development of local programming ideas.

In Dakar, practically all content was regionally or locally produced, primarily through the radio, using the *Staying Alive* and MTV logos to promote the materials. The local FHI office was heavily involved in the production of these materials and worked with relevant HIV prevention nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to promote the campaign. This local investment resulted in far greater levels of exposure compared to the other two sites, costing about US\$0.45 per viewer exposure. Note that these funds also contributed to other locally generated activities related to the campaign that were not measured by exposures, such as community theater on HIV held in conjunction with radio programming, HIV education outreach to local workplaces by another NGO, and similar activities. A full summary of the Senegal campaign appears in a report on how *Staying Alive* was implemented.¹⁷

Additional support seems most justified in places where there is no access to the global media or where access is prohibitively expensive to most viewers. Other situations in which local investments would be worthwhile include areas with high HIV rates among the target audience, where there are strong local media, and where there are NGOs that can promote the global content or use it in their own programming. For example, NGOs can use tapes of the documentaries in various activities to stimulate conversations and ultimately affect social norms.

Exposure was notably higher in São Paulo (23 percent, 400,000 youth) than in Kathmandu (12 percent, 50,000 youth). Access was broad in São Paulo, where MTV Brazil was available as a terrestrial, non-cable channel. In Kathmandu, the campaign was only available via cable.

Table 2 summarizes the exposure. Because the surveys were population-based, an estimate of the total number of 16- to 25-year-olds exposed to the campaign can be made by multiplying the exposure rate with the age-specific population estimate in each city.

The surveys in Kathmandu and São Paulo identified which of the major MTV campaign components the

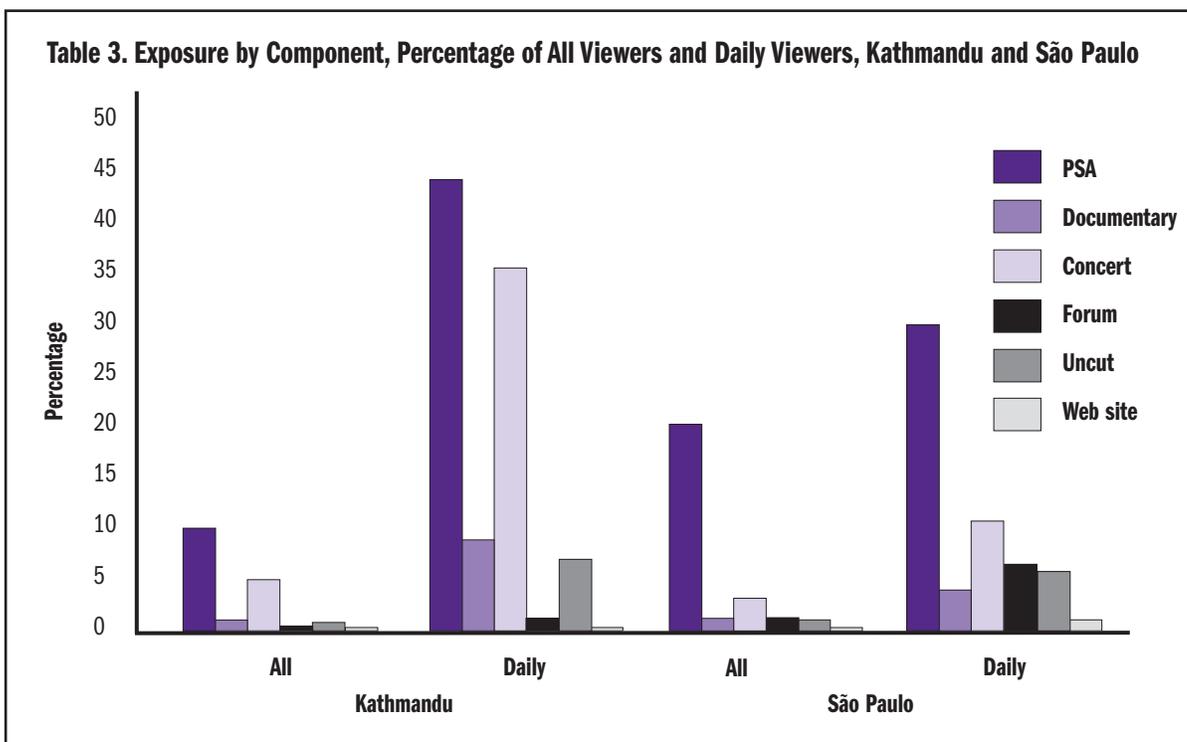
Table 2. Exposure to 2002 *Staying Alive* Campaign

	Percentage of Youth Exposed (ages 16-25)	Estimated Number Exposed
Kathmandu, Nepal	12	50,000
São Paulo, Brazil	23	400,000
Dakar, Senegal	82	220,000

youth saw, as shown in Table 3 (below). In both sites, daily viewers of MTV had far higher exposure to the campaign than did all viewers. In Kathmandu, exposure was highest for the PSAs and the concert program, where more than 40 percent of daily viewers saw the PSAs and about 35 percent saw the concert. Among all viewers, about 10 percent saw the PSAs and about 5 percent saw the concert. In São Paulo, the highest exposures were more concentrated on the PSAs, seen by

about 30 percent of daily MTV viewers and 20 percent of all viewers; about 12 percent of daily viewers saw the concert. In both countries, less than 10 percent of daily viewers and less than 5 percent of all viewers saw any of the other components.

In Dakar, more than 50 percent of youth saw the adapted campaign on three different media — television, radio, and celebrity events. About 15 percent saw the campaign in a newspaper and about 2 percent saw it on a Web site.



Chapter 5. Interpersonal Communication – Effects of Exposure

The *Staying Alive* campaign resulted in significantly more interpersonal communication on the subject of HIV/AIDS among those who were exposed to the campaign than among those who were not.

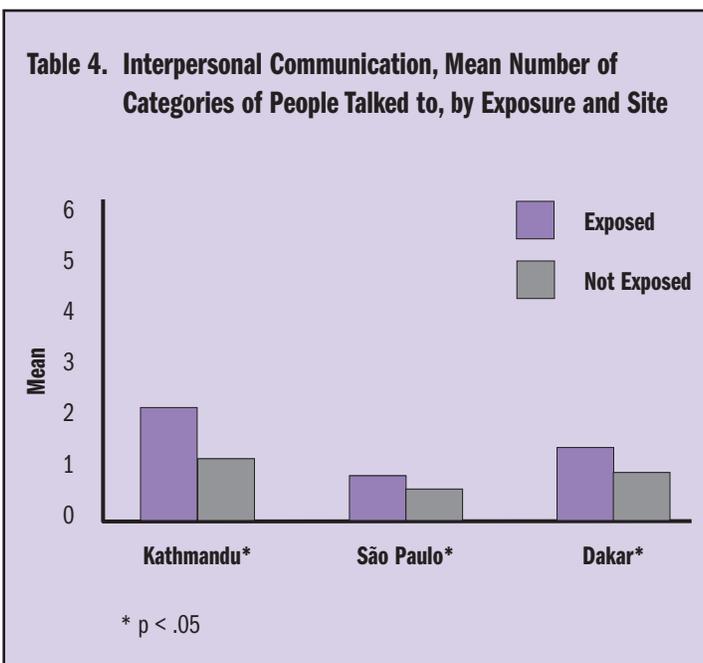
Interpersonal communication is a critical step in the social diffusion model of mass media campaigns.¹⁸ The social diffusion effects of a

media campaign can work through the stimulation of discussion by social networks. These networks can shift norms about appropriate behavior, increasing the likelihood of behavior change within the networks. A two-step flow of communication is critical for achieving desired changes in behavior: going from message exposure to interpersonal discussions.¹⁹

Data from the survey done after the *Staying Alive* campaign showed a positive relationship between campaign exposure and interpersonal communication. The survey asked respondents if in the last month — i.e., the time of the campaign implementation and possible exposure — they had talked about HIV/AIDS to any of the following: teacher or counselor, doctor or nurse, a sexual partner, friend or schoolmate, parents, and siblings. These categories represented various types of networks of interpersonal communication.

The responses were summed together. Those with higher scores talked to more types of people about HIV/AIDS. Table 4 (this page) shows the mean number of types of people talked to about HIV/AIDS by those who were and those who were not exposed to the campaign, by site. In each site, those exposed to the campaign had higher scores compared to those not exposed. These differences by exposure were statistically significant when tested in bivariate analyses and multivariate analyses (linear regression), controlling for characteristics that might also have affected interpersonal communication, such as sex, age, marital status, education, access to cable, amount of MTV viewing, Internet use, and sexual risk behavior.

Kathmandu respondents reported the highest overall levels, with those exposed to the campaign talking about HIV prevention to more than two categories of people in the last month. In Dakar, each respondent exposed to



the campaign talked to an average of 1.5 categories of people, and in São Paulo, about one category. In São Paulo, there was less discussion about HIV/AIDS among both those exposed and not exposed to the campaign.

“Friends” was the category named most frequently by respondents in each country, though the percentages ranged from 28 percent in São Paulo to 74 percent in Kathmandu and 59 percent in Dakar among those exposed to the campaign.



After the *Staying Alive* campaign, a survey showed a positive relationship between campaign exposure and interpersonal communication about HIV/AIDS with friends, family members, and adults such as teachers and health care providers. Kathmandu respondents reported the highest overall levels of all the survey sites. Shown here are two young men from Nepal.

Chapter 6. Changes in Social Norms

The *Staying Alive* campaign sought to influence social norms that would promote HIV prevention behaviors. The campaign addressed norms related to reducing stigma about condom use, being faithful to one partner, having more tolerance toward persons infected with HIV, and taking action in the fight against AIDS. Each component addressed different issues. The PSAs focused on reducing condom stigma, while the Global Forum, *Clinton Uncut*, the concert program, and the documentary had more emphasis on tolerance and taking action.

The social diffusion model depends first on exposure to a campaign resulting in interpersonal communication. The next step is to determine the degree to which the increased exposure and interpersonal communication affect social norms. The analysis of survey data found that both exposure to the campaign and interpersonal communication influenced norms related to HIV prevention. The exact nature of this influence varied among sites in ways consistent with the variations in local campaign implementation and culture.

Ten questions were included in the baseline survey that reflected beliefs about social norms addressed in the campaign. From these data, three scales to measure relevant norms were developed using a technique called factor analysis. These scales were:

- **Positive beliefs about HIV prevention behaviors.** This included survey items about the importance of using a condom, discussing HIV/AIDS with a sexual partner, and getting tested for HIV.
- **Egalitarian gender norms.** This included measures of equality related to decision-making and violence, through such questions as whether women should have sex whenever their partners want them to, whether men have a right to beat

Table 5. Positive Relationship of Social Norms to Campaign Exposure and Interpersonal Communication

	Kathmandu	São Paulo	Dakar
HIV Prevention Beliefs			
Exposure	✓	✓	✓
Interpersonal communication	✓	✓	–
Egalitarian Gender Norms			
Exposure	–	–	✓
Interpersonal communication	✓	–	–
Tolerance toward People Living with HIV/AIDS			
Exposure	–	–	–
Interpersonal communication	✓	–	–

their partners, and whether men should be the ones to decide whether to use condoms.

- **Tolerance toward people living with HIV/AIDS.** This included items about the respondent's comfort in completing routine tasks with persons living with HIV/AIDS, such as going to school with them or buying food from them.

A multivariate analysis tested the effects of both exposure and interpersonal communication on each norm scale using linear regression techniques, controlling for characteristics that might have separate effects on these norms — sex, age, marital status, education, access to cable, MTV viewing, Internet use, risky sexual behavior, and time of survey (baseline versus post-campaign).

The effects of campaign exposure and interpersonal communication on these norms are shown in Table 5 (previous page). For the HIV prevention beliefs scale, a positive relationship existed with both exposure *and* interpersonal communication in Kathmandu and São Paulo. These were the two sites where campaign exposure was

to the MTV content. Most of the exposure was to the PSAs, which focused primarily on condom use, and to the concert program, which promoted condom use, interpersonal communication, and HIV testing.

In Dakar, where campaign content was locally produced, campaign exposure was positively related to HIV prevention beliefs and equality of gender norms regarding sexual decision-making. In Kathmandu, only interpersonal communication showed an effect on gender norms.



Tolerance for people living with HIV/AIDS was higher among those with greater levels of interpersonal communication in Kathmandu. The fact that exposure did not have much effect on tolerance is probably because the scores on this scale were so high at baseline.

In Table 5, items without check marks reflect the categories where the campaign did not result in a change in social norms.

Chapter 7. Youth Perspectives – Impact of Global Images

Findings from focus groups in Dakar, Kathmandu, Nairobi, and São Paulo indicate that global images with a core set of HIV prevention messages can involve youth deeply in such universal emotions as blame, empathy, and a sense of responsibility. In all sites, the documentary component especially prompted strong responses across cultural boundaries to the complexities of the epidemic. Reactions to the shorter-form PSAs varied greatly by PSA and among sites. Different reactions by site often were relevant to cultural differences.

In the focus group research, the moderator first asked participants general questions about their knowledge and attitudes about HIV/AIDS. Then participants viewed each of the seven PSAs twice and discussed them with the moderator; they also viewed the documentary and discussed it with the moderator. The moderator posed questions about the materials including: What did you think about the materials? Were they realistic? Were they persuasive? Would your friends like them? Would you want to watch them again? A total of 41 different focus groups were held, including groups of young men only, young women only, and mixed groups. About 325 youth, ages 16 to 25, participated in all, with about the same number of males as females. Each discussion session lasted about an hour and a half. All were audio-taped and transcribed.

The documentary, with the in-depth profiles of three young people from Cambodia, Côte d'Ivoire, and Latvia, intensely engaged participants. Strong positive and negative reactions from the participants transcended geography. For example, everyone was deeply saddened by the story of Srun, the young Cambodian woman with AIDS, and angry with her husband for infecting and abandoning her. The story was often described as “touching” or “painful,” and many of the viewers admired Srun. One young woman from Kathmandu said, “I like the story because despite her knowing that she was going to die, she struggled hard to live. She was living on hope. She tried everything to live.”

The response to Oleg, the Latvian, was favorable in all sites. Though he had been infected through his own behaviors (injection drug use), his actions to turn his life around and help others won him support. A youth from Nairobi noted, “I was just moved by the way he explained how he was infected, how he used drugs, how he stopped. And then, finally he joined that organization to work voluntarily, counseling the youth, talking to the youth. He is always telling what he undergoes and this meant he had accepted himself the way he was.”

Isadore, the “womanizer” from Côte d'Ivoire, evoked strong, mostly negative emotions. Participants were angry with him for his behavior and some even went so far to say he would have deserved to be infected with HIV. Several respondents called Isadore a “slut” and described him as “shameless.” In Nairobi and Dakar, though, some of the young men expressed some sympathy for him. In Dakar, one respondent said, “Here, we are all like Isadore. . . . You don't listen to anyone who says that you should only have one partner. But we should try to change, frankly.”

A consistent theme during the discussions of these stories was that of blame and responsibility. Young people sympathized with characters who were either blameless

(Srun) or were sorry about their behavior and sought to change (Oleg). The participants criticized strongly those who hurt others (Isadore and Srun's husband).

In contrast to the documentary, youth sometimes criticized the PSAs, seeing the characters and settings as Western or European and different from their cultures. "I think that here in Brazil we have to use things from our daily lives, and not use European ones," a São Paulo participant said. "You have to use [scenes] from here, people on the beach, people at the dance club. When you are watching, it's clear that it isn't from here." A youth from Nairobi echoed that view: "They should actually be producing an advert that targets people around the area."

In addition, some did not find the PSAs realistic for themselves. In one PSA, for example, a woman finds the condom machine empty in a public restroom and then goes to the men's room to buy a condom. Respondents from São Paulo said, "Brazil doesn't even have condom machines in the bathrooms!" In Nairobi, one person said, "The one for the Ladies and Gentlemen was not real. There is no way a lady can go to the gen." Another added, "To begin with in Kenya, I don't think there are condoms in public toilets."

A few respondents saw the PSAs as broadening their views, even liberating to them to see how things might be. Regarding the condom vending machines, one respondent from Kathmandu said, "Just like the people in other countries, if we also buy condoms from a men's toilet without embarrassment as shown in this spot, we will be protected from the disease."

Many participants resisted the Western influence of the PSAs because they felt that what was acceptable in Europe or the United States would not necessarily be acceptable in their culture. A Brazilian woman said, "You see British films. In Europe they do things a little more openly, it's different." A respondent from Kathmandu said, "The [PSA] spots should be such that all family members should be able to watch together. They are suitable only for the Western world now." Others added that the public displays of affection and the degree of attention on condoms were just too inappropriate for their culture.

On the other hand, not all PSAs pushed the limits of acceptability. For example, most respondents felt that a spot in the drugstore where a young man was embarrassed about buying a condom was realistic and acceptable. One young man from Nairobi identified with the man in the PSA. "You want to buy, and you know going to buy is not easy because like where I come from it really is like that [in the PSA] because it is embarrassing. Many people where I come from are like that." A respondent in Dakar said, "You see people who want to have sex, but because of doubts or lack of confidence, they can't get condoms. In the end, they have sex without them."

Across sites, respondents interpreted the PSAs and the documentary stories in mostly similar ways. A few participants complained that they did not understand a particular PSA message, and some disagreements among the group members existed as to the intent of the various messages. But, in general, there was consensus.

The results from the quantitative survey point to greater effects of the PSAs, at least in Kathmandu and São Paulo, because that is where there was the greatest exposure. Given the intensity of emotional responses to the documentary, greater exposure to the documentary might have led to stronger exposure effects on the other social norm scales, including gender and tolerance — both important themes in the documentary.

In summary, the participants showed deep emotional involvement across cultures, especially in discussing the characters in the documentary. Some participants connected with some of the PSAs, even when the images were not realistic to their culture. The responses indicate that images that evoke universal themes can be relevant to the needs of young people regardless of where they live.



Chapter 8. Observations and Conclusions

The largest HIV prevention effort ever attempted globally, the MTV 2002 *Staying Alive* campaign, operated in the context of a growing global youth culture. As technology and advertising have increased in global outlets, youth have become one of the most receptive population segments to messages through music, advertising, and news outlets that cut across local cultures. Some have criticized the impact of a Western-influenced global culture because of the commercialization and impact on traditional values. Few analysts have viewed global media culture as an opportunity for using technology and the expanding global youth culture for positive purposes, such as reaching large numbers of people and changing social norms about HIV prevention.

The *Staying Alive* campaign had notable successes, measured in a number of ways. The data presented in this paper lead to these conclusions:

1. **A global campaign can reach substantial audiences at risk.** Television stations reaching almost 800 million homes (64 percent of the total television households worldwide) broadcast some segment of the campaign. MTV offered the campaign rights free beyond its own channels, which allowed producers in countries throughout the world to translate and adapt the programs for their audiences. Although the campaign probably bypassed many of the world's most vulnerable young people, it did reach a sizable and important segment of the youth population in many of the countries most affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Urban youth, who had more access to multiple media outlets, are also often at higher risk of HIV infection. In the three sites analyzed, from 12 percent to 82 percent of youth ages 16 to 25 were exposed to at least one component of the campaign, totaling nearly 700,000 youth. The campaign played in nearly 100 countries.
2. **A global media campaign can increase personal communication about HIV/AIDS across cultures.** Regardless of the specific content viewed, the media environment, or the cultural environment, exposure to the campaign in all three countries in the study led to increased interpersonal communication about HIV prevention, a first step in the process of changing social norms.
3. **Through increased interpersonal communication, the campaign influenced social norms about HIV prevention in a positive way.** Applying the social diffusion model to the research findings suggests that exposure to media messages about HIV/AIDS leads to increased interpersonal communication, which in turn may lead to a positive change in social norms about HIV prevention. The influence varied among the three sites depending on the cultural and social environments and the different ways in which the campaigns were implemented.
4. **Materials from a global, cross-cultural campaign about HIV/AIDS can tap into universal themes.** The focus groups showed that global images with a core set of HIV prevention messages can involve youth deeply and emotionally in such universal themes as a sense of responsibility, blame, and empathy. In all sites, the documentary stories evoked a deep response to the complexities of the epidemic that crossed all borders, especially regarding the theme of being faithful to a partner and not bringing infection into a relationship. Reactions to the PSAs varied greatly by

PSA and among sites. Different reactions by site often were relevant to cultural differences.

5. **The analysis provides further evidence that a global youth culture exists and can be reached by cross-cultural messages.** No previous evaluation of a global media campaign on HIV prevention had been attempted. Exposure to similar media content in diverse settings resulted in a similar impact on young people's beliefs about the importance of HIV prevention behaviors.
6. **Partnerships with radio broadcasting can expand the campaign.** By forging partnerships with radio broadcasters and broadcasters' associations, MTV was able to expand the campaign's reach to audiences with no television access and probably to some who had access to television but who listen to radio more than they watch television.
7. **Local support can expand a global campaign but needs to be targeted to areas where there is little access to the global media or where access is prohibitively expensive to most viewers.** The Dakar campaign illustrated how a global campaign can trigger great local interest in an HIV prevention campaign sustained for several months through many media outlets. Other situations in which local investments would be worthwhile include where HIV rates among the target audience are high, where there are strong local media, and where there are NGOs that can promote the global content or use it in their own programming.
8. **Adapting a global campaign to a local culture can expand the appeal of the campaign.** The focus group research indicated that many youth did not relate to some of the PSAs because they were too Western or European and not realistic for the youth. At the same time, the experience in Senegal showed that youth related to local programming and to the documentary, which included stories from developing countries.
9. **Programs developed for a global audience can spur additional programming and investments at the local level.** In Dakar, *Staying Alive* and funds from FHI/Senegal

prompted local NGOs, local media, and various stakeholders (celebrities, policy-makers, religious leaders, and others) to contribute large amounts of time and resources to the campaign. In Kenya, a local television station used the *Staying Alive* material to anchor new local programs about HIV and youth.

10. **Deciding whether to focus on long- or short-form programming is challenging.** One of the most debated topics with MTV producers and partners has been whether to do more long-form programming such as the documentary or short-form programming such as PSAs. The combined results of the focus group study and the surveys have provided data to MTV as they continue searching for a balance. Finding the appropriate images within the constraints of time, global



The *Staying Alive* campaign influenced social norms about HIV prevention in a positive way. Here, young adults from Senegal enjoy time together at the beach.

media demands, and other limitations can be challenging. Formative research in various cultural settings prior to the development of new global campaigns can help identify messages that are effective and those that are not.

11. **Local and global media campaigns need data on youth and media.** The surveys in the FHI analysis of the 2002 *Staying Alive* campaign collected a lot of data about the kinds of young people reached through various media outlets and about their media use and preferences. Such information is needed to develop the most effective campaign messages and to place the messages most effectively.

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