

Public Health Education Campaigns In Singapore

By

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PUBLIC HEALTH EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS IN SINGAPORE¹

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An old Chinese belief says that :

"Saliva is good
Phlegm is not
When in doubt
Spit it out!"

It is conceivable that in Singapore, this saying would include these additional lines :

"In Singapore, however
You better watch out
'Cause a fine of 500
You'll have to shell out."

In Singapore, they take anti-spitting seriously. And anti-littering, and anti-smoking. Singapore is a veritable land of campaigns. And the wonderful thing about it is that in many instances, the campaigns do succeed.

As C K Lee, a prominent Singapore public affairs manager puts it : "Singapore is highly campaigned. Everywhere you see posters, banners, exhibitions and so on. And when you read the papers and watch TV, some leader or another is on some campaign platform, telling you something, even preaching, perhaps persuading, and there are all the subtle and not so subtle human interest stories that support the theme for the month or week. (Every) week, there (are) about 20 stories in

¹ Presented by Dr Victor T Valbuena, Senior Programme Specialist, AMIC at the Workshop to Develop Learning Modules on Social Marketing/ Public Education for Development, Philippines, May 18-26, 1987.

the Straits Times that can be identified with one public campaign or another."²

In this presentation, however, we will only focus on and attempt to describe some of the distinctive public health education campaigns in Singapore as case studies of social marketing/public education in the island republic.

National Health Campaigns, 1979-1985³

Since the late 1960's public health campaigns have been a regular feature in Singapore's campaign agenda. From 1968 to 1971 they dealt primarily with environmental health issues - littering, mosquito breeding, water and air pollution. After 1971, the newly established Ministry of the Environment (created as a result of the campaign) dealt with environmental issues while the Ministry of Health concentrated on personal health. In 1975 the two ministries teamed up on a joint campaign, "Better Food for Better Health", with the Health Ministry focusing on nutrition and hygiene and the Ministry of the Environment taking care of food hygiene and food standards. In 1976 a campaign to "Combat Infectious Diseases" addressed the problem

² Chang Kai Lee, "Social Marketing in Singapore." Paper presented at the AMIC - UKM Seminar on Social Marketing, Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia, May 26, 1983. P. 9.

³ This section is adapted from Linell Sweeney, "National Public Education Campaigns and Programs in Singapore : Case Studies." AMIC August, 1985, PP. 4-18.

of tuberculosis, cholera, typhoid, venereal disease, dengue haemorrhagic fever and malaria.

In 1979 the Ministry of Health shifted its emphasis to modern diseases related to harmful lifestyles. In the last twenty years, with urbanisation and modernisation, Singapore has rapidly raised its standard of living, emerging from a developing into a newly industrialising nation; - but it has not escaped the adverse effects of development. Along with rapid modernisation came changed lifestyles. It was in response to this that the 1979 "Combat Diseases due to Harmful Lifestyles" Campaign was created.

The 1979 campaign dealt with the most serious diseases related to lifestyles - heart disease, hypertension, diabetes mellitus, lung cancer and mental illness. Deaths from ischaemic heart disease, Singapore's top killer, rose from 605 in 1967 to 1,662 in 1977. Diabetes deaths increased from 114 to 377, and lung cancer deaths rose from 229 to 508 during the same period. The campaign against "Diseases due to Harmful Lifestyles", conducted from 28 September to 25 October 1979, had several main objectives. The goals were to educate the public on risk factors and on possible preventative measures for the diseases, to promote their early detection and treatment, and to remove social stigma of mental illness. The campaign objectives also included the reduction of incidence and relapse rates of the diseases by educating the general

public, those already afflicted with the diseases and their families.

The campaign target group was the general public with particular emphasis on youth. The Ministry hoped that reaching the nation's young people would serve as a preventative measure against future harmful life-styles.

The Ministry of Health did not plan to tackle the problem alone. In a well coordinated national effort a National Health Committee was established comprising representatives from the Ministry of Health, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministries of Communications, Culture, Defence, Education, Environment, Home Affairs and Social Affairs, the Housing and Development Board, Housing and Urban Development Corporation, Jurong Town Corporation, People's Association, Port of Singapore Authority, Public Utilities Board, Singapore Sports Council, Institute of Education, Nanyang University, Singapore Polytechnic, University of Singapore, Singapore Association for Mental Health, Singapore Cancer Society, Singapore Diabetic Society, Singapore Medical Association, Singapore Thoracic Society, Singapore Manufacturers' Association and the Singapore National Trade Union Congress.

This well organised infrastructure, with campaign activities arranged from both the Ministry to the "grassroots" level, greatly facilitated dissemination

of campaign messages, and permitted a more in depth interpersonal approach to educational efforts. The Ministry of Health staff maintained the central organising responsibility for the campaign.

Exhibition boards and demonstrations were used to inform the public on the five target diseases and associated lifestyles. A total of 57,935 people attended the exhibition held at the Singapore Conference Hall. This exhibition was consequently divided into small mobile exhibitions that were shown throughout Singapore. Members of Parliament and other community leaders were responsible for organising related activities in their own constituencies.

During the campaign, 177 talks, accompanied by slides or films were presented at schools, community centers, workplaces and national service camps. A total of 38,038 persons were present for these talks which were given by all organisations in the National Health Campaign Committee.

Although interpersonal communication was seen as most appropriate for campaign activities, mass media was also an important part of promotional strategies. The Training and Health Education Department of the Ministry of Health (T.H.E.) along with the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation (S.B.C.) produced a 45-minute documentary on schizophrenia. The program entitled

"Can't we come home?" was shown in both English and Chinese. Other televised campaign publicity included a 20-second commercial on smoking and lung cancer, as well as 15-second spots using slides with accompanying health announcements, which were aired intermittently throughout the campaign. Educational slides were also projected in 33 cinemas and on HDB flat walls. Cloth banners with campaign slogans were hung along main roads, and at the National Stadium campaign messages were flashed on the electric scoreboard during sports events. The Ministry of Health composed its own campaign song entitled "Change Your Lifestyle" which was broadcast over radio. Posters, pamphlets, stickers and coasters with "lifestyle" messages were developed as promotional items. The Telecommunications Authority of Singapore's telephone time announcement service carried the messages along with Public Utility Board bills, and all mail handled by the Postal Services.

Essay and poster competitions for school children and a "lifestyles" crossword puzzle competition in a local newspaper encouraged active participation in campaign activities. Public health educational seminars focusing on the five killer diseases were also designed for medical practitioners; 155 members of the medical profession attended a medical symposium at the REIC International House during campaign week.

The Ministry of Health conducted pre- and post-campaign surveys evaluating public awareness of the campaign as well as knowledge of hypertension, ischaemic heart disease, diabetes, lung cancer and mental illness. About 2/3 of the respondents were aware of the campaign and their main sources of exposure were posters (26%), newspapers (26%), television (21%), and radio (10%). Approximately 1/3 of the 1,285 people aware of the campaign felt that they had learned more about exercise, diet and relaxation techniques.

The Health Ministry did not expect to be able to assess campaign impact so soon; they were aware that behavior and attitude changes would take time ... so the National Health Campaign focusing on lifestyles was designed to be on-going for at least three years.

A problem for campaign organisers targetted by then Health Minister Dr. Toh Chin Chye was that "Cigarette smoking is one lifestyle which we can do without, but there is a lobby in the cigarette industry. It has vested interest among tobacco growers, the cigarette manufacturers, and even among chancellors of the exchequers who are more prone to weighing economic benefits than social costs. It takes courage for governments to examine social costs and come down on the side of the protagonists for maintaining positive health".

In 1980 the Ministry of Health launched a follow-up "Smoking and Disease" year-long campaign (Sept. 1980 - Sept. 1981) supporting World Health Day's 1980 theme "Smoking or health - the choice is yours". Smoking, with its links to lung cancer and heart attack, was considered a serious enough problem to merit its own campaign.

Rather than using both mass media and interpersonal communication methods, the Ministry decided to focus almost exclusively on the interpersonal approach. Mass media was considered important in creating awareness of the problem as it had in 1979, but health personnel felt that a "closer approach" was needed for actually changing attitudes and behavior. The target group was again primarily the country's youth. Posters, pamphlets, comic books and various souvenir items constituted publicity materials. The materials carried not only messages on health hazards to the smoker, such as "Don't smoke your life away", but also conveyed "passive smoking" messages: "I am a non-smoker, please don't pollute my air". Souvenir combs suggested, "Kiss a non-smoker and taste the difference".

The Public Utilities Board again printed bills and envelopes with campaign themes and the Telecoms telephone time announcement and National Stadium scoreboard carried alternating campaign slogans on the dangers of smoking to both smokers and non-smokers.

Some 120 buses displayed anti-smoking messages on side and rear panels; 63 mobile exhibitions covered 14 topics on various aspects of smoking, and talks concentrating on three of the topics - "Why smoking is harmful", "To smoke or not to smoke" and "how to stop smoking" - were held in schools, armed forces camps, Vocational and Industrial Training Board Institutes, constabulary camps, social welfare boys homes, and rehabilitation centres. Between September 1980 and August 1981 a total of 440 talks were given and attended by a combined audience of 79,468 people.

Just as the "harmful lifestyles" concept had been well coordinated nationally on the activities level, it was also coordinated on an ideological level so that Singaporeans would recognise the recurring key words. "Harmful lifestyles" was more than just a health issue; it was related to productivity, courtesy, and environmental conditions.

In 1982, the then Ministry of State for Defence, Dr. Yeo Ning Hong, speaking at a two-day seminar on physical fitness, stressed the necessity that Singaporeans be physically fit or they would cost employers and the nation a great deal of money due to decreased alertness, higher accident rates and lower productivity in general. He emphasised that being physically fit was an expression of courtesy and consideration for others and that Singaporeans could no longer have the attitude that their health was

their own business and that they could, therefore, do as they please. He warned that "In Singapore, we have the additional requirement that our population, especially the males, be physically fit. We have a citizen's army. The ordinary men in the street make up our defence capacity. This capability must not be eroded in any way even in peacetime. Otherwise the foundation of our economic growth will be weakened". Dr. Yeo continued that if Singaporeans didn't get enough exercise and didn't stay physically fit, they should be aware of the implications of their choice ... "Harmful lifestyles" had also become a question of national defence.

It wasn't until September 1983 that the Ministry of Health decided to use a combined mass media and interpersonal communication strategy again, with its year-long "Superman Anti-Smoking Campaign". Since it was modelled after a similar campaign in the United Kingdom, the Ministry of Health bought television spots and posters from the U.K., then adapted or reprinted them in Singapore. The Ministry remade the U.K.'s Superman television cartoon and paid royalties for its use.

The campaign's target group was 10-12 year old children, since health surveys in Singapore showed that 25% of smokers started smoking before age 15, and that 75% of those who experimented eventually became

regular smokers. The object was for the Ministry to get to them before Superman's arch foe NICK O' TEEN did. Posters were hung in schools, supermarkets and departmental stores urging children to join Superman in the fight against smoking; - "Never say yes to a cigarette" was the campaign message. Children were invited to send letters with name, address, class and name of school, and anything from a short note to an essay on how they planned to help Superman. In return, the Ministry sent them a pack - a comic book, poster, small badge and a certificate stating that they had joined Superman in the anti-smoking fight. A total of 3,400 school children pledged their support to the cause. An article in The Straits Times called the campaign "a burning success". The Ministry reached 8,707 primary school children in 115 talks and "Superman" slide shows in 26 schools; 25 exhibitions on "Smoking and Disease" designed for primary schools were seen by an estimated 31,600 students. In 1983, 55,000 Superman posters were produced along with 1,500 handbills, 50,000 Superman badges, and 50,000 certificates.

The Training and Health Education Department (T.H.E.) of the Ministry of Health developed a "Superman" talkscript entitled "Why do people smoke?", and created a slide show called "Change your Lifestyle - Stop Smoking", which was screened during the month of

February 1983, in 22 cinemas. Anti-smoking messages were placed in newspapers - 16 insertions in Nanyang Siang Pau, and 31 insertions in Sin Chew Jit Poh in December 1982 and January 1983. From January to December 1983, 23 insertions appeared in the Singapore Monitor. Television and radio commercials were aired throughout the campaign year, in addition to regular T.V., radio and press coverage.

In November 1984 the Ministry of Health conducted a post-campaign survey to assess campaign impact, and based on the findings, decided to continue the campaign.

What concerned the T.H.E. was that environmental factors are highly influential, such as parents, relatives or friends who smoke. What worried them more was that "the number of smokers wasn't really decreasing", according to Mrs. Chuo-Ng, Head of the Educational technology section of the T.H.E. Department. "Girls are smoking more. It's sad - the children smoking in the shopping centres and fast food restaurants". But there were plenty of young people who wanted to help combat the smoking problem (by the end of 1984, 12,000 children had submitted pledges of support). Mrs Chuo-Ng said that one concerned child called the T.H.E. Department asking to speak to Superman about anti-smoking.

Based on 1983 statistics, the T.H.E. Department of the Ministry of Health drew up a five year plan to

combat lifestyle-related diseases. The plan was later revised in 1984 when the second five-year plan was introduced. 1983 statistics established Singapore's top killer diseases at :

	<u>DEATHS</u>
ISCHAEMIC HEART DISEASE	2171
CEREBROVASCULAR DISEASE	1454
HYPERTENSIVE DISEASE	273
CANCER	2903
DIABETES	373

In 1983, the cardiovascular diseases (ischaemic heart disease, cerebrovascular disease, hypertension disease and others) accounted for 33% of total deaths in Singapore, and cancers were responsible for 22% of total deaths.

2% of Singaporeans over the age of 15 were diabetics; 60% of those with the illness were unaware of their condition.

10% of all 12 year olds and approximately 20% of all adults were overweight due to overnutrition.

Of patients hospitalised for mental illness, Woodbridge Hospital discharges and outpatient attendances doubled since 1973. There were 4,981 discharges from Woodbridge Hospital in 1983, 12,341 patients attending Psychiatric Outpatient clinics and 85,955 outpatient attendances.

For the 1984-1985 campaign, the Ministry of Health chose to focus on the following four areas :

- 1) No Smoking
- 2) Getting Enough Exercise
- 3) Balanced Diet
- 4) Stress Management

Grouped together they were called the "Healthy Lifestyles Programme". Two reasons for the change in semantics (from the "Harmful Lifestyles Campaign") were that changing the perspective and concentrating on "healthy" - lifestyles, though not fundamentally changing the issues, reflected a more positive approach, and the T.H.E. Department decided to no longer use the term "campaign" because of the continuing nature of the campaign and the number of national campaigns already in existence.

In April 1984 the T.H.E. Department was restructured and is now made up of five different units, each concentrating on specific (campaign) target groups in the community. The school health education unit works with primary through college level students. Another unit concentrates on patients in hospitals and polyclinics. The employee health education unit goes to office and factory workers in commercial as well as government firms. The community health education unit conducts programs for residents of HDB estates, as well as at community centres, and the dental health

education unit concentrates on dental health within the schools and the community. The new five-unit structure greatly facilitated interpersonal communication in the "health lifestyles" program.

The main target groups for the 1984 - 1988 five-year plan are mothers, school children, newlyweds, employees, patients and community groups. The goal is to modify risk factors and behavior associated with Singapore's most serious diseases.

Program activities in 1984 included 26 exhibitions on smoking attended by 34,148 people, 21 training sessions on smoking for teachers, and four exhibitions on nutrition reaching an audience of 31,645. Three exhibitions emphasised the importance of physical fitness and exercise and 1,645 people attended three exhibitions on mental health. A "healthy lifestyle" workshop was organised for the Republic of Singapore Air Force and participants decided to schedule a 1985 programme entitled

"Stay Flying and Fighting Fit".

Supporting the theme "Healthy people - our best resources", the Ministry of Health presented "Healthy Lifestyle" materials at the six-week National Exhibition (November/December 1984) commemorating 25 years of National Building.

Among other program activities were talks, films, slide shows, and "healthy lifestyle" health fairs. The

distribution of educational materials included pamphlets, posters, souvenirs, talkscripts, and an additional 45,873 "Superman" packs.

The Resource Branch of the Training and Health Education Department designed and developed its own materials. As well as developing television commercials, the T.H.E. Department created a "Change your lifestyle" jingle for radio and wrote eight articles for radio talks; and numerous magazine articles.

Although most of the publicity for the "Healthy Lifestyles" program is done through interpersonal means, the Ministry of Health does make use of mass media. The Singapore Broadcasting Corporation has helped the Ministry by doing several documentaries on mental health, heart attack, and on other pertinent health issues; the Ministry has used the S.B.C. commercial side for a 1985 television spot called "Take Care of Your Heart" in conjunction with the 1985 World Health Day message, as well as for highlighting certain activities such as "World Health Day", "Superman Anti-Smoking" and the "Stop Spitting Campaign".

National Smoking Control Programme, 1986

Continuing its Healthy Lifestyle Programme, the Ministry of Health on December 1, 1986 launched a

national smoking control programme with the theme "Towards a Nation of Non-Smokers".

An initial three-month mass media, educational and information campaign sought to discourage smoking and help smokers quit smoking.

The Ministry of Health announced that a social climate not conducive to smoking would be created to reduce smoking. It would also aim at youths to discourage them from taking up smoking.

Smokers would be provided with services to help them kick the habit. No-smoking areas in the working environment, fast food outlets, and other premises would be established.

Among others, these activities were envisioned to meet the three-fold aims of the campaign, namely :

- 1) to educate everyone on the hazards of smoking;
- 2) to persuade more smokers to drop the habit; and
- 3) to discourage young Singaporeans from taking to smoking.

The International Herald Tribune⁴, reporting on the launch of the campaign, said :

"From the country that pioneered campaigns to banish spitting and tardiness comes a new drive: to eliminate smoking.

⁴ Nicholas D. Krisfof, "Singapore Exhorting Its Smokers to Clear the Air," International Herald Tribune, December 2, 1986.

"A three-month campaign to blaze the way "toward a nation of nonsmokers" began this week with a thoroughness typical of Singapore.

"Fifty thousand posters will be circulated throughout the city-state, employers and restaurants are being asked to prohibit or discourage smoking, and volunteers will be stationed on the streets to hand fliers to smokers.

"The campaign says much about how government works in Singapore, and in much of East Asia as well. The authorities rely not so much on laws, such as new taxes or requirements that restaurants provide no-smoking areas, as on exhortations that people drop smoking for the common weal.

"Appeals to public-spiritedness that might provoke snickers in the West are the foundation of the campaign.

"More broadly, the campaign reflects the view that the role of government is not just to build highways or punish thieves, but to foster a way of life. Singapore, for example, has also engaged in campaigns to stop people from speaking in Chinese regional dialects and to make them more punctual for appointments.

"We tend to address questions on a national basis," said Dr Luisa Lee, a Health Ministry official who heads an interagency committee on the anti-smoking campaign. "We're more used to looking toward the national good. By and large, we're still very compliant."

"One of the national traits that the campaign is trying to reverse, Dr Lee said, is a shyness about complaining about smoke.

"Posters and television spots, for example, will encourage people to object when someone near them lights up.

"The campaign is trying to introduce a new gesture into Singapore body language : the fingers of the right hand extinguishing an imaginary cigarette into an ashtray represented by the palm of the left hand. The idea is to catch the smoker's eye, look reproachful and perform the gesture.

"No one expects smoking to vanish over the next three months, but organizers hope, with some follow-up efforts, to make a dent in the smoking population.

"The campaign is also unusual in that it does not seem to be a result of any public outcry about smoking. Rather, the idea seems to have sprouted in the Singapore government, leading rather than reacting to public opinion.

"With the strong association of lung cancer and tobacco smoking, there is an urgent need to focus our attention on modifying the habits of Singaporeans," Richard Hu, the health minister, said recently.

"He has hinted strongly that the three-month campaign will include new taxes and other financial measures to discourage smoking. But the focus of the campaign is normative.

"Government officials are already getting in touch with restaurants and private employers, asking them to ban smoking or at least set up nonsmoking areas. A television and radio blitz is to begin this month."

The campaign has a jingle, recorded to rock music both in English and Chinese. The song goes like this:

Hey there, Singapore, it't time to clear
the air!

Come on, all your smokers, show us that
you care!

We know that it's a problem, and quitting
can be tough,

But we're sick of the smoke! And we think
you've had enough."

A total of 42 organisations including ministries, statutory boards and private organisations agreed to take part in the programme. Programme implementation saw the execution of the following activities :

- 1) print media campaign including news, features, book reviews, letters, testimonials and ads related to the non-smoking campaign.
- 2) community media campaign including posters, billboards, streamers, exhibitions and community meetings with talks by prominent Singaporeans.
- 3) broadcast media campaign, principally carried through a commercial developed by an Australian advertising agency. (include PM Lee interviews on smoking!)
- 4) distribution of 64,000 "quit kits" for both smokers and "helpers". (The smoker's kit has pamphlets on ways to stop smoking while the helper's kit gives advice on how to persuade smokers not to light up.)
- 5) organisation of a Smoke-Free Week (Jan 11 - 17, 1987) to spread this message all over Singapore : "If you are a non-smoker, encourage relatives, friends and office colleagues to stay away from cigarettes between Jan 11 and 17 and longer if possible. And if you do smoke, give non-smokers an

opportunity to taste tobacco smoke-free air for at least this period. (Smoke-free walk by 1,600 persons!)

- 6) banning of smoking in government and statutory board offices, toilets, canteens and corridors, and sale of cigarettes in government canteens.

As in other Singapore campaigns, activities were monitored and public reaction assessed. Assessments pointed out increased awareness of the message of the campaign and a palpable public spiritedness about the need to discourage others from smoking.

After the initial three-month publicity campaign to spread the "Make Singapore Smoke-Free" the campaign to reduce the number of smokers was stepped up.

The Straits Times⁵ reported :

"The three-month publicity blitz to spread the "Make Singapore smoke-free" message has ended. But the campaign to reduce the number of smokers is in fact being stepped up.

"Laying out what the long-suffering non-smoker, smoker and tobacco industry can expect, Dr Kwa Soon Bee, Permanent Secretary of the Health Ministry, said yesterday :

"We will strengthen legislation relating to smoking advertising, labelling of health warnings on cigarette packs and prohibition of smoking in selected locations.

⁵ Shirley Tan, "Stiffer laws and more no smoking areas likely," The Straits Times, March 12, 1987.

"We will establish more smoking cessation clinics and non-smoking areas.

"Community-based programmes and mass media education will continue," he said at a ceremony where he gave plaques of appreciation to major participants in the National Smoking Control Programme.

His repeated use of "will" was a clear indication of the resolve of the Government to carry through its campaign even in the face of some hesitation in the private sector to follow its lead.

And Dr Kwa's use of "will" in connection with legislation points to a firming in the Government's stance on legislation since the programme was launched last December.

Finance Minister Dr Richard Hu, then also the Health Minister, said the Government was "considering" using legislation if persuasion and education failed to convince people of the benefits of not smoking.

Dr Kwa, who is also the Director of Medical Services, did not repeat Dr Hu's December remarks that the Government was considering banning the sale of cigarettes to people under 18 years old, and banning all sales of high-tar and high-nicotine cigarettes.

But smokers and tobacco companies cannot take comfort in this.

Already, legislation has limited the ability of cigarette companies to tout their products. However, the companies can still display their brands all over their company vehicles, sponsor events and give away promotional materials such as calendars, sports bags and T-shirts.

This too may change if shown to influence the young and others to pick up the habit.

Dr Kwa warned : "The programme will continue until we are satisfied that the young are not taking up smoking and that the smoking habit is limited to only a few people - the diehards who insist on deriving

pleasure from tobacco, but who will do so only in private.

"The programme will continue until we have checked the rising trend and reduce lung cancer, heart disease and other conditions related to smokers."

He told his audience - representatives of ministries, Government departments, private firms and groups, civic and community groups, and individuals who contributed to the programme - that public pressure has yielded good results.

And he gave some details of the impact of the programme. More than 20,000 requests have been made for Quit Kits. More than 70 organisations held educational programmes and another 82 are scheduled.

Why are Public campaigns successful in Singapore?

C K Lee⁶ maintains that there are a number of reasons, some historical, some cultural, and others attributable to strong, pragmatic, imaginative and successful leadership that may well explain the success of campaigns in Singapore. These reasons include the following :

1. Singapore is a young nation - both in its history as in the youthfulness of its people. It is a small city-state without any natural resource and the predominantly immigrant community had to live by its will from the very beginning. These factors have facilitated communications and positive reception.

⁶ Chang Kai Lee, op cit. PP. 3-4

2. Campaigns planners had the assistance of mass communication experts. These experts were probably responsible for much of the early strategy and effort to win the hearts and minds of Singapore for socially and partially desirable goals, including the creation of national consciousness and identity.

3. The creation of the People's Association in 1960 and the development of a network of community centres provided the early infrastructure for the effective communication of policies and social objectives to the masses and feedback.

The more recent addition of citizens' consultative committees and residents' committees are refinements of a dynamic infrastructure for the same purpose.

4. Another reason for success is the strong support of top political leaders, including the Prime Minister and the strong competitive environment which generate new ideas and support for campaigns. Singapore's immigrant and mercantile background probably foster social and political apathy and passivity which accepts and supports strong leadership, particularly one that has delivered its promises and earned the respect of the people.

However, C K Lee adds that apathy and passivity are undesirable and recent and current public campaigns are aimed against these.

5. In the early campaigns, the stick was offered along with the carrot or after it. The disincentives include, e.g., a fine of up to \$500 for littering and various tax and administrative inconveniences for the fourth child in the family.

6. Singapore public campaigns enjoy very strong support from the mass media. Part of the reason is the "Developmental Journalism" philosophy that has developed in Singapore. Another is the fact that TV and Radio are government-owned. In any case, campaign organisers acknowledge the vital role of the media and work closely with them to cover present campaign Activities and themes. Quite often media representatives sit on campaign committees.

7. Campaigns also enjoy much private sector interest and support. These range from sponsorship and funding to the organisation of mini-campaigns in the factory, coverage in employee journals, etc. Business associations, volunteer groups and individual companies provide platforms for speeches by elected and other leaders on campaign themes.

8. Campaigns are sustained over a number of years. In fact both the Courtesy and Productivity campaigns launched in 1982 are planned to cover 10 years.

Although the early campaign successes set the trend for others which followed over the years, they are now better coordinated, and more formal and sophisticated.

C.K. Lee points out that this is to be expected because with increasing affluence and literacy, Singapore aspirations and expectations have risen. They desire to be consulted more and want to be persuaded instead of being told what to do and what is good for them.