

# COMMUNICATION & OUTREACH IN SAFETY NETS

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**Social  
Safety Nets  
Core Course**

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2014**



# CLICKER QUESTION



- **“The social safety net program that I work with:”**

Your answers:

- A. Has a logo/tagline with clear messaging
- B. Has an active communication strategy
- C. Has an active communications team
- D. All of the above
- E. None of the above



## OUTLINE



# WHY COMMUNICATE?



**Awareness**



↑ **Support**  
↓ **Opposition**



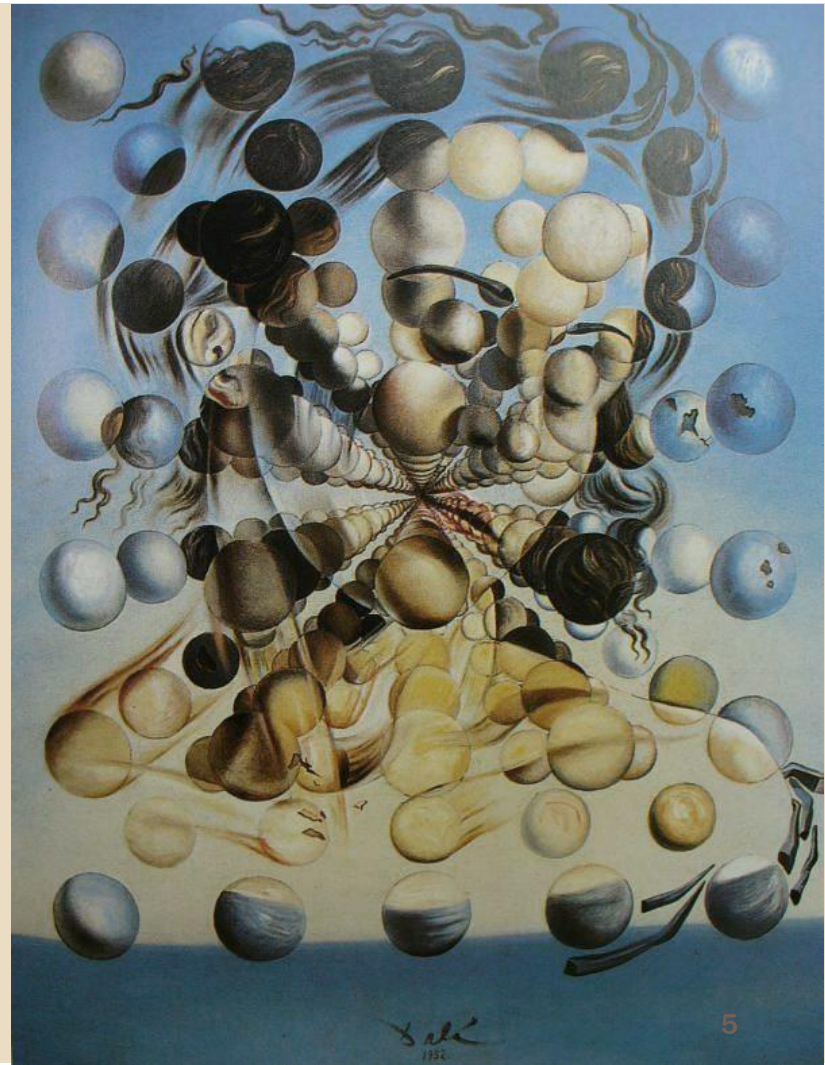
**Understanding**



**Participation  
& Outreach**

# RISKS OF MIS-INFORMATION (OR NEGATIVE “SPIN”)

- Can't assume people will understand
- Risk of Negative Spiral
- Lack of Credibility
- Reputational risk (stock & flow)
- Divisiveness, Politicization
- Reversal of reforms
- Program failure
- Unintended impacts (e.g., when “Winners Feel Like Losers” - El Salvador Subsidy Reform Example from Oscar Calvo)
- Be careful with FALSE Information (SMS text example in Brazil)



# COMMUNICATE ABOUT WHAT?

## SSN Program

- Objectives, Rationale
- Pilot, launching, expansion
- Program rules
- Changes

## Targeting & Registry

- “Identity” of its own
- Especially if it’s a “multi-use” registry
- How it works
- Who can register

## Policy Reforms

- For example if “coupling” SSN program with subsidy reforms or fiscal consolidation
- Rationale for reforms
- Compensatory measures

# BRANDING & MESSAGING

## Branding:

- ✓ Recognizable NAME!
- ✓ Logo
- ✓ Taglines
- ✓ The importance of product recall

## Build a narrative:

- ✓ Clear message!
- ✓ People remember stories not information
- ✓ Build a connection
- ✓ What does it mean for THEM?

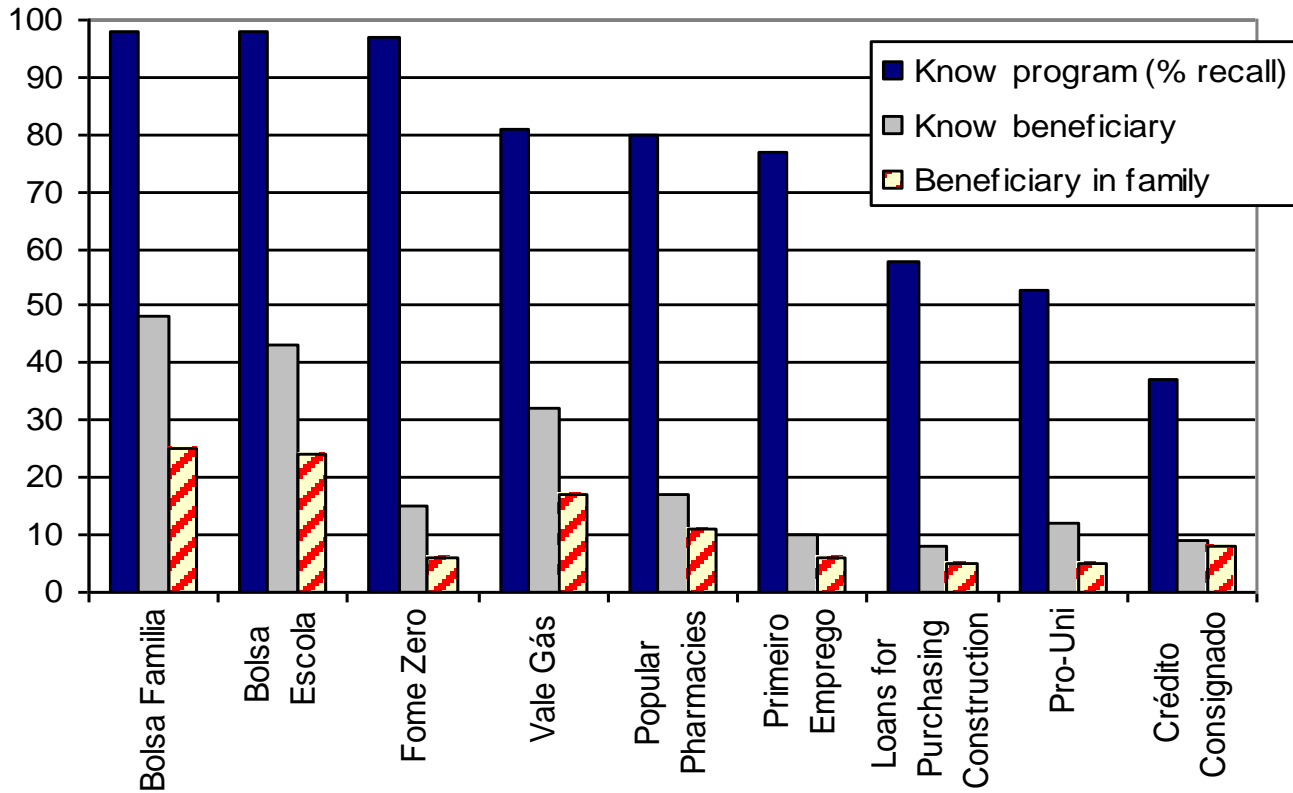
## Characterize the brand:

- ✓ Convey core values
- ✓ Such as: equity, inclusion, positive impacts, fairness, credibility, transparency, effective use of public resources, neutral (non-partisan, non-politicized), etc.



# IMPORTANCE OF “PRODUCT RECALL” (SOCIAL PROGRAMS IN BRAZIL)

Knowledge and Exposure to Social Programs in Brazil  
(IPSOS May 2006)







# BRANDING OF WHAT?

## PROGRAM, REGISTRY, & BROADER STRATEGY



**Multiple Logos on Payment Card:**

Federal Gov't Logo: "Brazil: A country for Everyone"

Bolsa Família Logo & Colors

Plus State Logo (state "top-up" benefit)

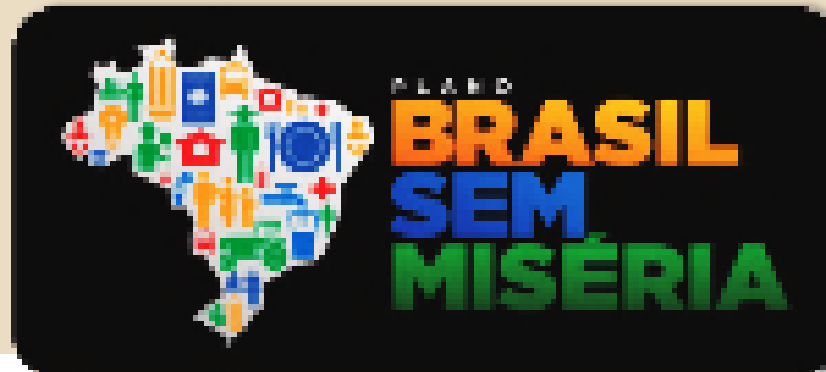


**Unified Registry:**

"Know Them to Include Them"

– "If we don't know them, we can't help them"

(President Lula, Dec 2010)



**Broader Social Policy**  
"Brazil without Misery"

# BUILDING A BRAND FOR THE SOCIAL REGISTRY IN THE PHILLIPPINES



## National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction (“NHTSPR”)

- Core social policy tool
- Main “spinal cord” of the CCT and other social programs / services
- Operated by the DSWD

## Communication Assessment showed:

- Confusion on the field of what NHTSPR means
- Limited to association with Pantawid
- NHSTPR as an acronym is difficult to recall

## New Brand needed to help with:

- Launching the next round of poverty targeting & registration
- Informing people, improving understanding and appreciation for what the NHTSPR really is
- Promoting unity and consistency nationwide

# BRAND FOOTPRINT:



## DESIRED IMAGE & MESSAGE OF NEW BRAND FOR THE “NHTSPR”

### What is the NHTSPR?

- Scientific, nationwide, specific database
- Internationally-accepted methodology
- Tool for social protection

### What does it mean?

- Champion of the Poor
- Reliable
- Non-partisan

### Characterize the brand:

- Balance of “authority” and “compassion”
- Taglines should not over-promise (emphasis on the TOOL vs the CCT program or specific benefits)
- Must not be partisan



# MARKET TESTING: BRANDING, MESSAGING & LOGOS



## ■ Visuals:

- Checkmark = symbol of accuracy & correctness
- House instead of tick-box

## ■ Tagline:

- “Correct Number, Correct Support.”
- Emphasis on accuracy & response
- Not over-promising
- Simple, easy to understand
- Universal

## ■ Visuals:

- Checkmark = symbol of accuracy & correctness
- Sun = offers hope, uplifting
- Nationalistic (colors of flag)

## ■ Taglines:

- “Correct Number, Correct Support.”
- & “Philippines’ national registry of the poor”
- Not over-promising
- Simple, easy to understand
- Universal





# MARKET TESTING: BRANDING, MESSAGING & LOGOS



*Giving a name and face to poverty.*

## ■ Visuals:

- House shaped by “caring hands”
- Prevalent color = red, a “feeling color” & from palette of DSWD

## ■ Tagline:

- Conveys “what it is” (NHTS)
- Caring message on purpose “Giving a name and face to poverty”



## ■ Visuals:

- Arrow = “Targeting”
- Dark blue & red = DSWD palette

## ■ Tagline:

- Conveys “what it is” (NHTS) but simpler acronym
- Conveys ultimate goal: aim to reduce poverty

# CLICKER QUESTION



- Which branding logo do you think is more effective?

A.



Tamang bilang. Tamang tulong.

**Listahanan**

NATIONAL HOUSEHOLD TARGETING SYSTEM

B.



*Giving a name and face to poverty.*

C.

Aim right to  
reduce poverty.



D.



Tamang bilang. Tamang tulong.

**TAMAPINAS**

TALAAN NG MAHIHIRAP SA PILIPINAS



# FINAL VERSION OF THE LOGO + LISTAHANAN VIDEO



Note change of tagline to read:  
**“List of Needy Families”**  
(rather than registry of the poor)



English version of Listahanan video (show this one)  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ck5IWlhu7wo>

Nice video link on targeting, MIS, Listahanan  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9J-\\_Ls5L7zE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9J-_Ls5L7zE)

# WHEN TO COMMUNICATE

## Before Implementation

- As inputs to design of reforms
- Build coalitions of key reformers
- Build broad public support
- Build understanding
- Prepare institutions, implementers (internal constituency)
- Pay attention to timing & sequencing

Continuously!

## During Implementation

- Continue the narrative - branding & messaging
- Promote outreach
- Support implementation
- Respond to applicants / beneficiaries
- Respond to media & promote visibility
- Monitor & evaluate

Repetition!





# COMMUNICATE BY WHO?

## ■ Who speaks on behalf of the Program?

- Politicians
- Ministry officials
- Official spokesperson / COMMs team
- Local officials as points of contact AND communicators
- Hotlines, official website

## ■ Clear protocols are useful:

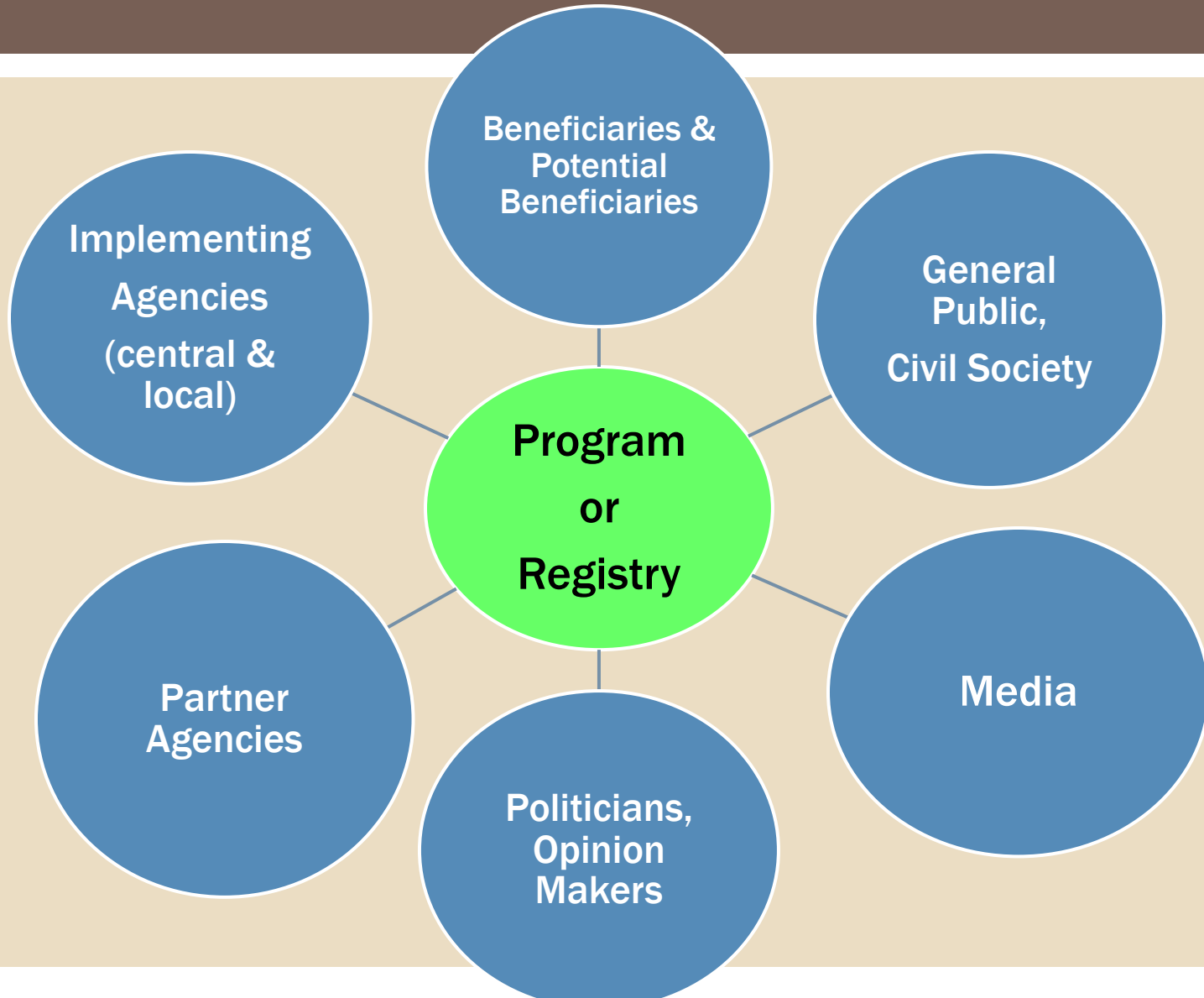
- Clear & consistent messaging
- “Talking Points” (including the “tough ones”)
- Official Use of Logos, etc.

## ■ Communications Teams (Philippines Example):

- “Social Marketing Services” (SMS) division in DWSD.
- Each project / program also has Comms specialist at national and regional levels
- Budget varies by project / program:
  - Budget for Targeting office = 2% of annual ops cost (\$46K / year)
  - Budget for Pantawid CCT = \$930K for 2014



# COMMUNICATE **WITH** WHO?



# COMMUNICATE WITH GENERAL PUBLIC & CIVIL SOCIETY

## Building support

- Build awareness!
- Promote Transparency
- Demonstrate results
- Engage citizens in discussions on poverty & social policy
- Equip citizenry to demand better governance
- Provide info on policies, rules, processes

## Supporting information

- Impact evaluations
- Testimonials of beneficiaries
- Transparency reports on use of public funds
- Targeting & program rules
- FAQs & Tough FAQs

## Communications Channels

- Mass media
- Social Media
- Community Assemblies
- Success / development stories
- Local / community points of contact



# USING SOCIAL MEDIA & WEBSITES TO SHARE INFO ON PROGRAMS (PHILIPPINES & SENEGAL EXAMPLES)



From the Philippines : Facebook page for LISTAHANAN

Transparency note:  
Link to media article on irregularities on CCT



From Senegal: Facebook page for Program of National Grants for Family Protection



# COMMUNICATING WITH OPINION MAKERS, POLITICIANS, “CHAMPIONS” & “ADVERSARIES”

## “Champions”

- Prez + Advisors
- Cabinet
- Governors & Mayors (supportive)
- Legislators & Committees (budget, social policy)
- Community leaders
- Religious leaders
- Popular personalities
- Other key public figure heads

## “Adversaries”

- Opposition political parties
- Governors & mayors (from opposition)
- Legislators (opposition)
- Community leaders
- Other public figure heads

## Messaging:

- Be seen as “pro-poor” – or as “champions of the poor”
- Support program as pro-poor
- Promote registry for transparency, fairness
- Secure their support for BUDGET!

## Channels of Communication

- Dialogue, face-to-face
- Invite “champions” to radio, TV programs
- Assemblies of beneficiaries & partners (from constituencies)
- Program caravans, study visits to successful sites
- Invite to media events, press releases



# COMMUNICATING WITH THE MEDIA

## Media Requires:

- Steady stream of info
- Significant interaction
- Prompt & accurate responses to their queries
- Materials (press kits, press releases)
- Media training helps

## Transparency

- Sharing info
- Openness when problems arise
- Explaining errors
- Promote evidence-based journalism

## Build Working Relationship with the Media

- Reach out to both supportive and adversarial media
- Invite press to key events (Program launches, anniversaries)
- COMMs team & spokesperson
- Maintain media contacts
- Provide materials & info
- Respond to queries (positive or negative)
- Invite to visits in successful areas
- Program caravans
- Meetings with beneficiaries



President Lula at launch of Bolsa Familia Program, October 20, 2003, Brasilia, Brazil

# BUILDING INTERNAL CONSENSUS: PROGRAM IMPLEMENTERS: ALL CENTRAL & LOCAL AGENCIES

## On message

- About objectives
- For country, poor
- For fiscal savings
- For efficiency, simplification
- Value of transparency

## On Mechanics

- Institutional Roles & Arrangements
- Own roles as “communicators,” points of contact
- Beneficiary interface
- Business policies & processes
- Information flows, ICT
- Piloting, training, roll-out

## Communications Tools & Channels

- 2-way communications (horizontal & vertical)
- Operational manuals
- Updates, announcements
- Electronic bulletins
- Regular reporting
- Seminars, training updates, training videos, capacity building
- Help-line for Technical Questions
- FAQs and tough FAQs



# CHANGING BUSINESS PROCESSES: LOCAL ROLES, TRAINING, CAPACITY



What do the changes mean for them?



This one from US

Photos from Azerbaijan



# CLICKER QUESTION



- **“For the social safety net program that I work with, the main channel for beneficiaries to communicate with the program (and vice versa) is through:”**

Your answers:

- A. Direct contact with program officials at home or in own community
- B. Direct contact with officials at local office
- C. On-line
- D. Through a hotline / call center
- E. Other?



# COMMUNICATING WITH (POTENTIAL) BENEFICIARIES

Who should I contact about the program?

How will the program help me?

How, when & where do I have to recertify?

What is expected of me & my family / children?

How, when & where can I apply for benefits?

What documents do I need to apply?

How & when will I be notified of the decision?

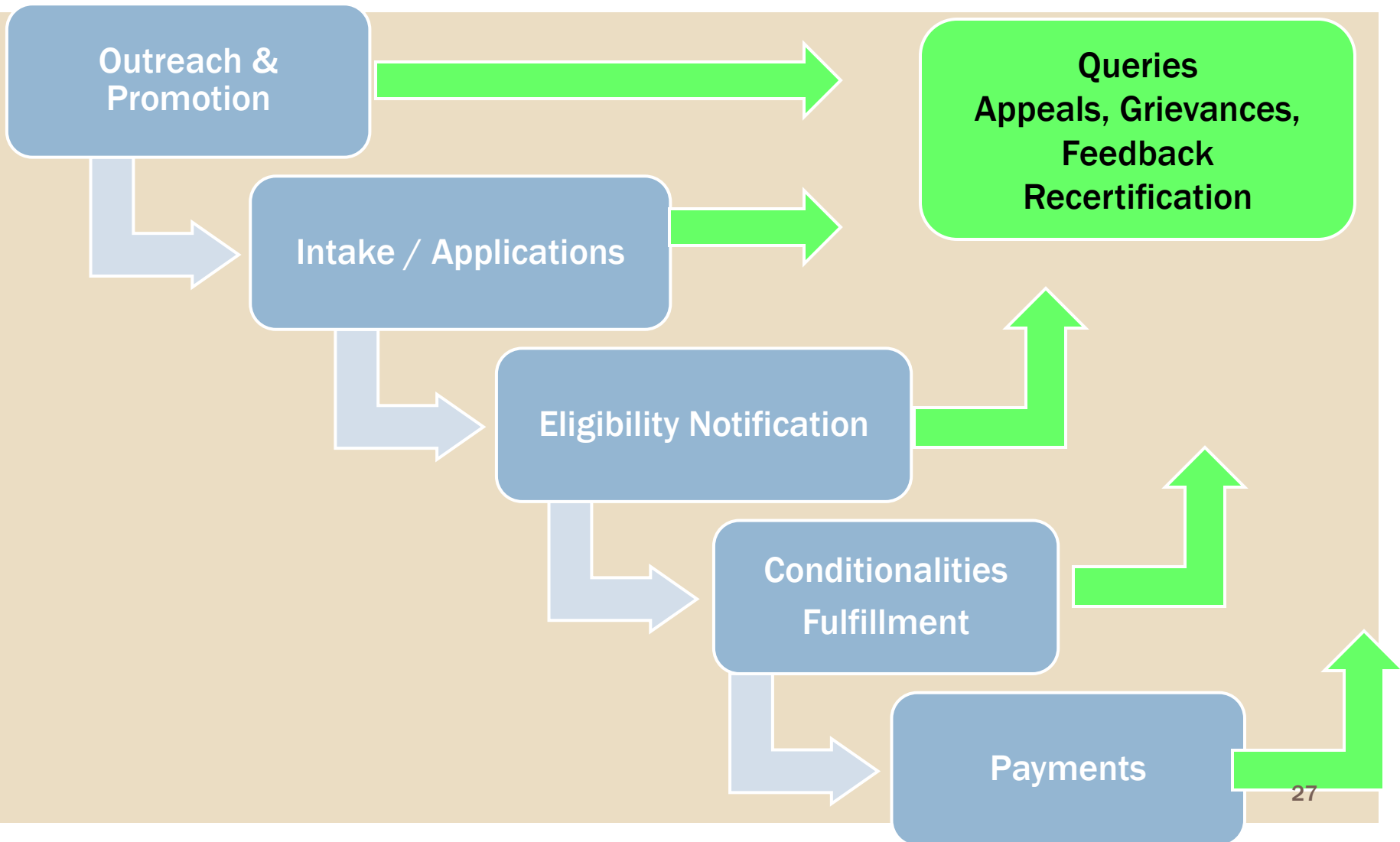
How & where can I appeal or file a complaint?

When & how will I receive the benefits?





# COMMUNICATIONS NEEDED FOR **ALL** CORE SSN BUSINESS PROCESSES THAT INTERFACE WITH BENEFICIARIES



# COMMUNICATIONS FOR OUTREACH & PROMOTION

## Eligible families may face barriers to inclusion:

Distance & remoteness, homeless  
(no fixed address)

Barriers to information: less education  
& access to ICT

Social exclusion: ethnic, linguistic,  
cultural, disability (deaf, blind,  
wheelchair), gender

## Strategies to improve take-up:

- Simplify Procedures!
- Open application process
- Advertising & public awareness campaigns
- Availability of promotional materials & application forms
- Websites, “FAQs”
- Social workers to assist applicants
- Translators & cultural adaptations + adaptations for disabled



# ACTIVE OUTREACH: EXAMPLE OF BRAZIL'S "BUSCA ACTIVA"



**Objective: Every extremely poor family must be part of *Bolsa Familia***

- Even with coverage of over 14 million families
- Evidence suggested many extreme poor families still not included - "Hard to reach"
- 919 thousand families have been located and added
- 600 thousand yet to be found (estimate)



# MOBILE OUTREACH TEAMS: GOING TO THE POOR TO REGISTER THEM (BRAZIL BUSCA ACTIVA EXAMPLE)

1,197 social  
assistance  
mobile teams

113 speedboats  
for the mobile  
teams



# COMMUNICATIONS ASPECTS OF APPLICATIONS, INTAKE & RECERTIFICATION

## Clarity on Process

- **Where, when, how to apply?**
- Notifications, announcements, ads, billboards!
- Inform on program & eligibility rules
- Explain that registering is no guarantee of benefits
- Inform what's expected for conditionalities
- Calendar & process for updating & recertification

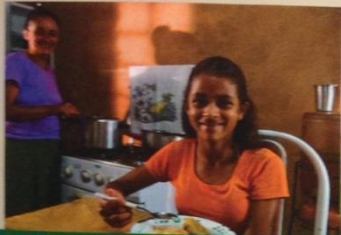
## Application Forms & documents

- PMT ≠ intake questionnaire
- Intake questionnaire = *communications device* (pre-test, **Albania example**)
- Keep it simple!
- Language & disability adaptations
- Clarity on needed documents
- Don't over-estimate patience or ability of applicants for complex on-line processes (**US healthcare.gov example**)
- Offer social worker assistance





# COMMUNICATION EXAMPLES FROM BRAZIL'S BOLSA FAMILIA - RECERTIFICATION



You, who receive Bolsa Familia, You must always keep your data up-to-date



Check the info on your receipt. If you have any doubts, contact the BFP coordinator in your municipality

www.mds.gov.br • 0800-7072003

Aplic: CAIXA



Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FnmKMehl1oM>

Families must update their registry information

## BOLSA FAMÍLIA

# Famílias precisam atualizar cadastro

### DA REDAÇÃO

A revisão cadastral do Bolsa Família termina no dia 12 de dezembro. Apenas os beneficiários que receberam avisos no extrato de pagamento do programa sobre a necessidade de atualização dos dados devem comparecer. No Pará, 24.183 famílias precisam atualizar os cadastros. A atualização cadastral é um dos mecanismos de

controle do Bolsa Família. Qualquer alteração - como mudança de endereço ou de renda, localização da escola dos filhos para acompanhamento da frequência escolar ou composição familiar - deve ser comunicada à gestão municipal. E, a cada dois anos, o responsável pelo benefício precisa atualizar ou confirmar seus dados junto à prefeitura, para que continue recebendo o pagamento do

programa. Até outubro, 674,1 mil famílias beneficiárias do Bolsa Família já haviam atualizado suas informações junto às prefeituras de todo o país. Esse total representa 53,7% do público de 1,2 milhão que deve passar pelo processo de revisão dos dados em 2014. Cerca de 580 mil famílias ainda devem atualizar seus cadastros em todo o país. "Quem não recebeu

aviso no extrato não precisa comparecer agora, porque está com o cadastro em ordem", destaca a secretária adjunta de Renda de Cidadania do Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome (MDS), Letícia Bartholo. (Com informações do MDS)

### A REVISÃO

**QUERER DEVE FAZER**  
Famílias com mais de dois anos sem nenhuma atualização no Cadastro Único, tendo como base o final do ano anterior.

**PRAZOS**  
Os responsáveis familiares têm até o dia 12 de dezembro de 2014 para procurar a gestão do Bolsa Família em sua cidade e fazer a atualização dos dados existentes no Cadastro Único.

**SE NÃO ATUALIZAR...**  
Quem não atualizar o cadastro até 12 de dezembro, dentre as famílias convocadas, poderá ter o benefício bloqueado. Se após 60 dias do bloqueio, ainda não fizer a atualização, o benefício será cancelado.





## CLICKER QUESTION



- **“How long does it take the SSN Program that I work on to notify applicants of eligibility decision?”**

Your answers:

- A. On the spot
- B. (About) 30 days
- C. (About) 3 months
- D. (About) 6 months
- E. No formal notification process

# COMMUNICATIONS ASPECTS OF ELIGIBILITY NOTIFICATION, GRIEVANCES

## ■ Notification: Good practices

- Let the applicant know WHEN & HOW they will be notified
- Inform them that registering is no guarantee of benefits!
- Formal letters of notification or other means (for eligible & non-eligible)
- Turnaround times / industry standards (e.g., 30 days)

## ■ Communications aspects of Grievances, Appeals:

- Letters & responses
- Turnaround times / industry standards for response
- Hotlines & trained staff
- Web-based grievance redressal system (Pakistan example)
- FAQs & info on websites reduce volume & answer common topics
- Clarity of procedures
- Local point of contact + central point of contact

# COMMUNICATIONS ON PAYMENTS



- Beneficiaries need to know **WHEN, HOW MUCH, and HOW** they will receive
- Regularity & predictability crucial
- “Know your benefits” online tools can help (Azerbaijan pensions example)
- Automated payments & reconciliation can also help
- Payments can also be “touchpoints” for communication of other messages:
  - SMS texts with other “awareness message” (e.g., conditionalities)
  - Awareness seminars same day as payments events
  - Messages on “debit card receipts”

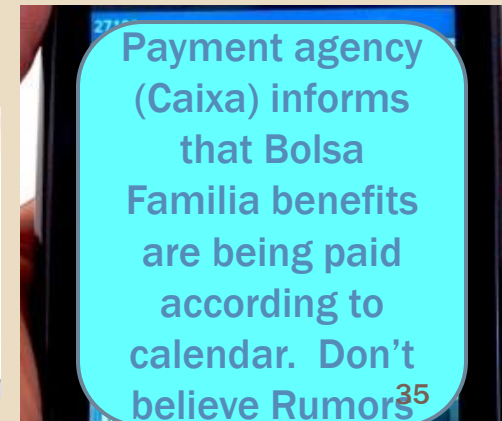


**Philippines  
Pantawid CCT**



**Pakistan BISP  
Payments**

**Brazil BFP**

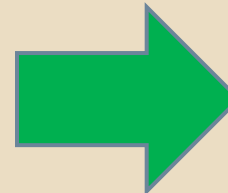
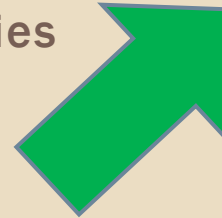
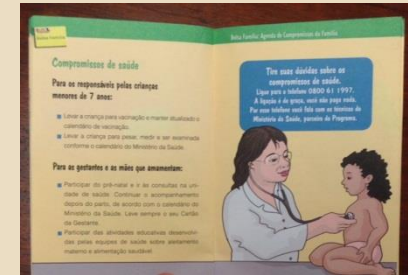
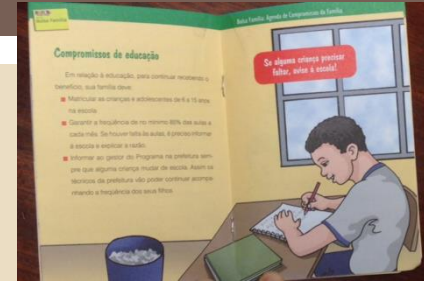
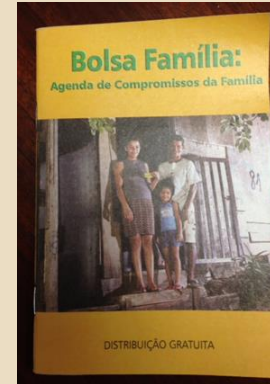


Payment agency (Caixa) informs that Bolsa Familia benefits are being paid according to calendar. Don't believe Rumors<sup>35</sup>



# CONDITIONALITIES (SOFT OR HARD)

- Awareness about conditionalities is KEY for CCTs (whether hard or soft)!
- Communications plays a central role
- From the beginning and continuously.
- Repetition of messages!
- Many ways to communicate:
  - Directly with beneficiaries & communities
  - TV & Radio spots
  - Websites
  - Printed materials (Bolsa Familia Booklet)
  - Press releases & news updates (Bolsa Familia announcements about certification of health conditionalities)



**novosite** on-line  
ONDE O OESTE DA BAHIA É NOTÍCIA

Inicio Notícias Enquete Top Vídeos Galeria de Fotos

Princípio > Notícias Destaque > Governo Federal > Bolsa Família: prazo para acompanhamento de saúde termina na sexta-feira (11)

**Notícias Destaque**

**Bolsa Família: prazo para acompanhamento de saúde termina na sexta-feira (11)**

09/07/2014 às 16:10 h 74 Impressão Compartilhar

**AGENDA DE COMPROMISSOS DA FAMÍLIA**

Famílias beneficiárias com crianças até 7 anos ou gestantes devem procurar as unidades de saúde do município.

Famílias beneficiárias do Programa Bolsa Família com crianças até 7 anos de idade ou gestantes, que não foram atendidas em Unidades Básicas de Saúde (UBS) ou em casa pela equipe da Saúde da Família, neste primeiro semestre, devem procurar as unidades de saúde do município até esta sexta-feira (11). Das 14,1 milhões de famílias que participam do programa, 11,5 milhões têm o perfil de acompanhamento da condicionalidade de saúde.

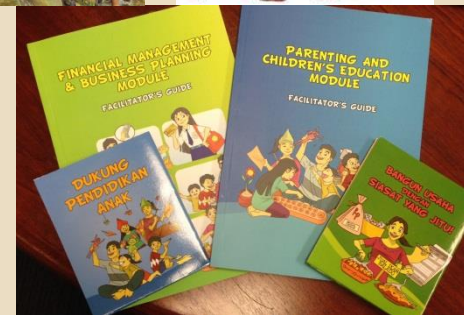
Nesse processo são verificados o calendário de vacinação das crianças, o peso e a altura para a avaliação nutricional e o acompanhamento do pré-natal das gestantes. As famílias devem levar o cartão do Bolsa Família ou o cartão de saúde.

De acordo com a assessora do Departamento de Condicionalidades do Ministério do Desenvolvimento Social e Combate à Fome (MDS), Juliana Agatte, a condicionalidade responsabiliza o poder público a ofertar o serviço de saúde para as famílias, em especial aquelas em situação de pobreza e em vulnerabilidade e risco social.

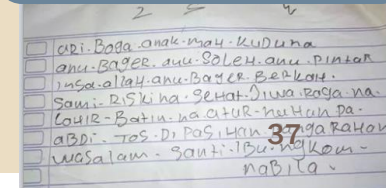
A gestão do acompanhamento das condicionalidades na área da saúde é de responsabilidade do Ministério da Saúde e realizada pelas equipes de saúde dos municípios e dos estados, com apoio do MDS. O resultado do acompanhamento é registrado no Sistema de Gestão do Programa Bolsa Família na Saúde uma

# CONDITIONALITIES & ACCOMPANYING MEASURES INDONESIA PHK FAMILY HOPE CCT EXAMPLE

- **“Classic CCT”** with health & education conditionalities
- Program also now adding **Accompanying Measures** to promote “graduation” agenda
- Incorporating the “Coaching Approach” via **Family Development Sessions** (health, parenting, economy, child protection)
- **Communications** aspects:
  - Community meetings with structured curriculum + training
  - Brochures, workbooks
  - Videos + cartoons (novela style with same characters)



**Thank you note from CCT beneficiary after first FDSession**



# CCT WITH ACCOMPANYING MEASURES

## NIGER EXAMPLE

### CCT:

- Monthly **cash transfers**
- **Behavioral Component:**
  - Positive parenting practices
  - Nutrition
  - Health
  - Psycho-social stimulation
  - Child protection
  - “Soft Conditions”

### Structured Implementation & Communications

- Monthly meetings by NGOs, community educators
- Home visits
- INTENSITY – 3 activities per month
- Animation Techniques

### Lessons Learned

- Structured content PLUS structured delivery – both matter!
- Participation & interest very high
- Quality focus is essential (continuous training, oversight)
- REPETITION of messages!



# NIGER VIDEO – COMMUNICATIONS TOOLS IN ACCOMPANYING MEASURES



Test  
questions  
after video!



**LINK TO VIDEO:**  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QR5009bqjHU>

# CLICKER QUESTION



- **“In the video on Niger’s CCT and Accompanying Measures, I saw the following types of communications tools being used:”**

Your answers:

- A. Home visits, discussions with social workers
- B. Training & community meetings
- C. Posters, workbooks, family booklets
- D. Small group activities & discussions
- E. All of the above

# SO MANY COMMUNICATIONS TOOLS

Spokesperson,  
COMMs team

Beneficiary  
Lists,  
Letters, Forms

TV Spots,  
Videos

SMS Texts

Local Offices,  
Points of Contact  
Communities

Printed  
Materials  
Brochures

Radio

Websites

Mobile Teams,  
Caravans  
(Outreach)

Posters,  
Billboards

Social Media  
(Facebook &  
Twitter)

Call Centers,  
Hotlines

Press Kits,  
Press releases,  
FAQs

Periodic Surveys:  
Opinion polls,  
Perceptions surveys  
Beneficiary Feedback  
Impact Evaluations



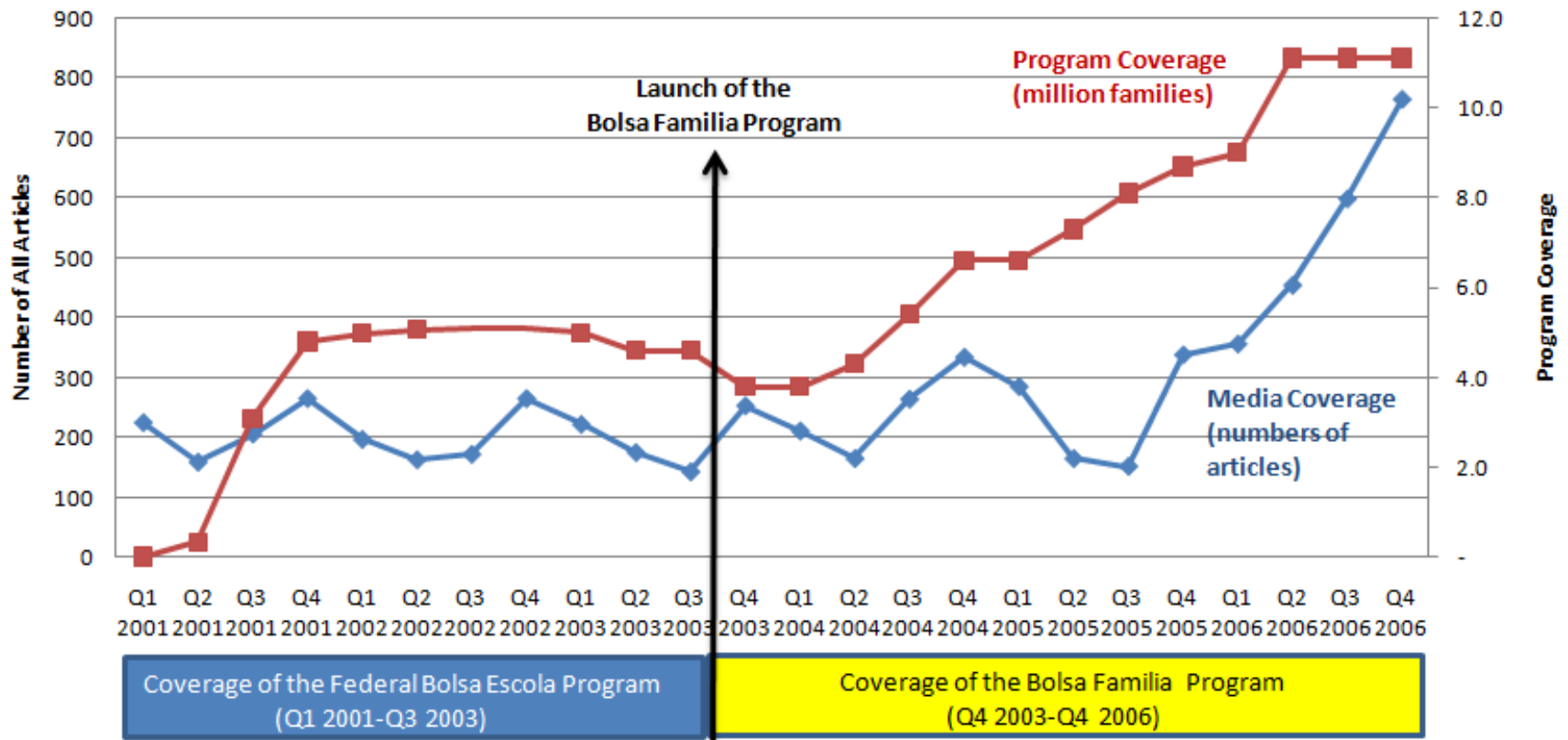


Thank  
you!



# COVERAGE & VISIBILITY IN THE MEDIA (EXAMPLE OF CCTs IN BRAZIL)

**Press Coverage and Program Coverage of CCT Programs  
2001-2006**

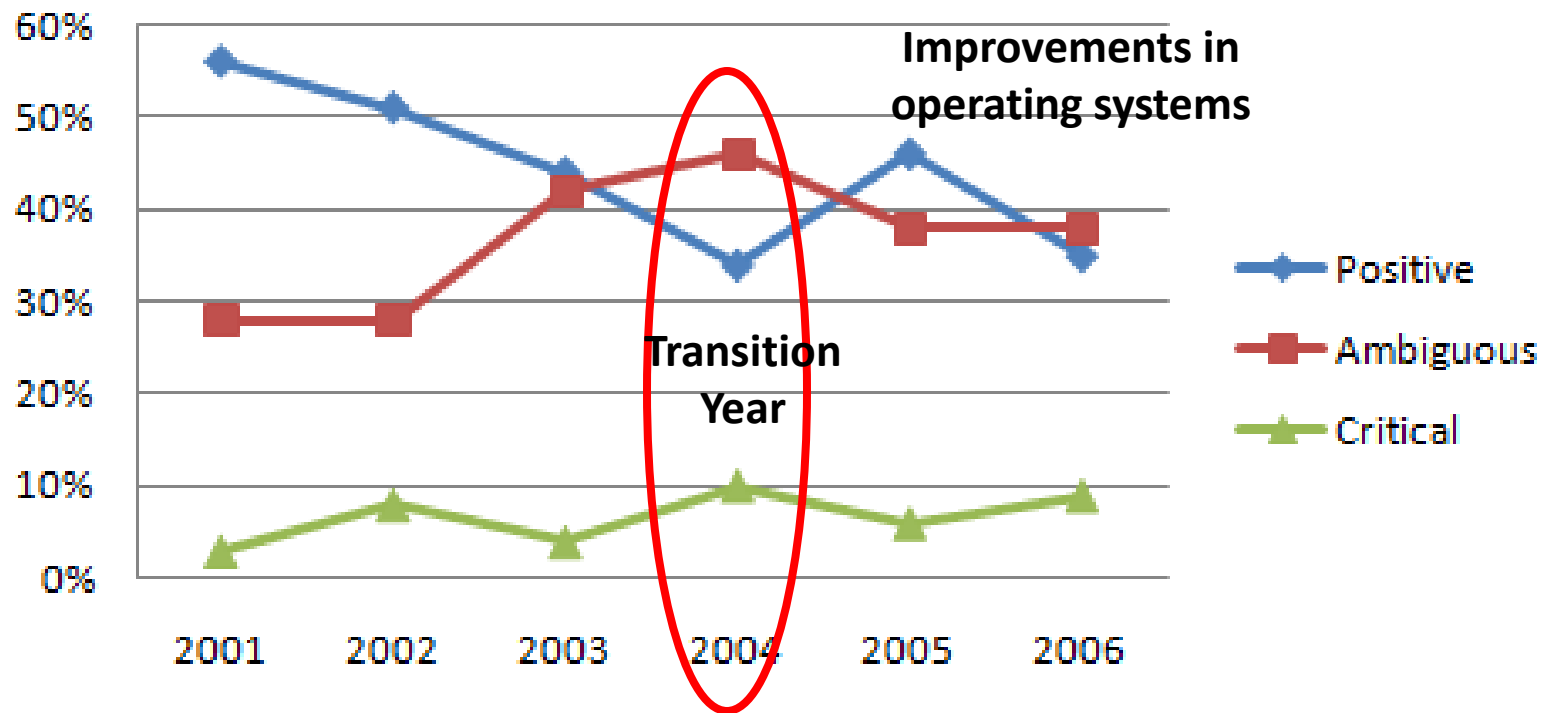


Source: Lindert & Vincensini (2010). "Social Policy, Perceptions and the Press: An Analysis of the Media's Treatment of Conditional Cash Transfers in Brazil." World Bank SP Working Paper.



# OVERALL "TONE" OF MEDIA COVERAGE (EXAMPLE OF CCTs IN BRAZIL)

**Evolution of Tone of Press Articles on CCTs over Time**  
% of Focused Articles, 2001-06  
(remainder is "no tone", not shown here for visual simplicity)





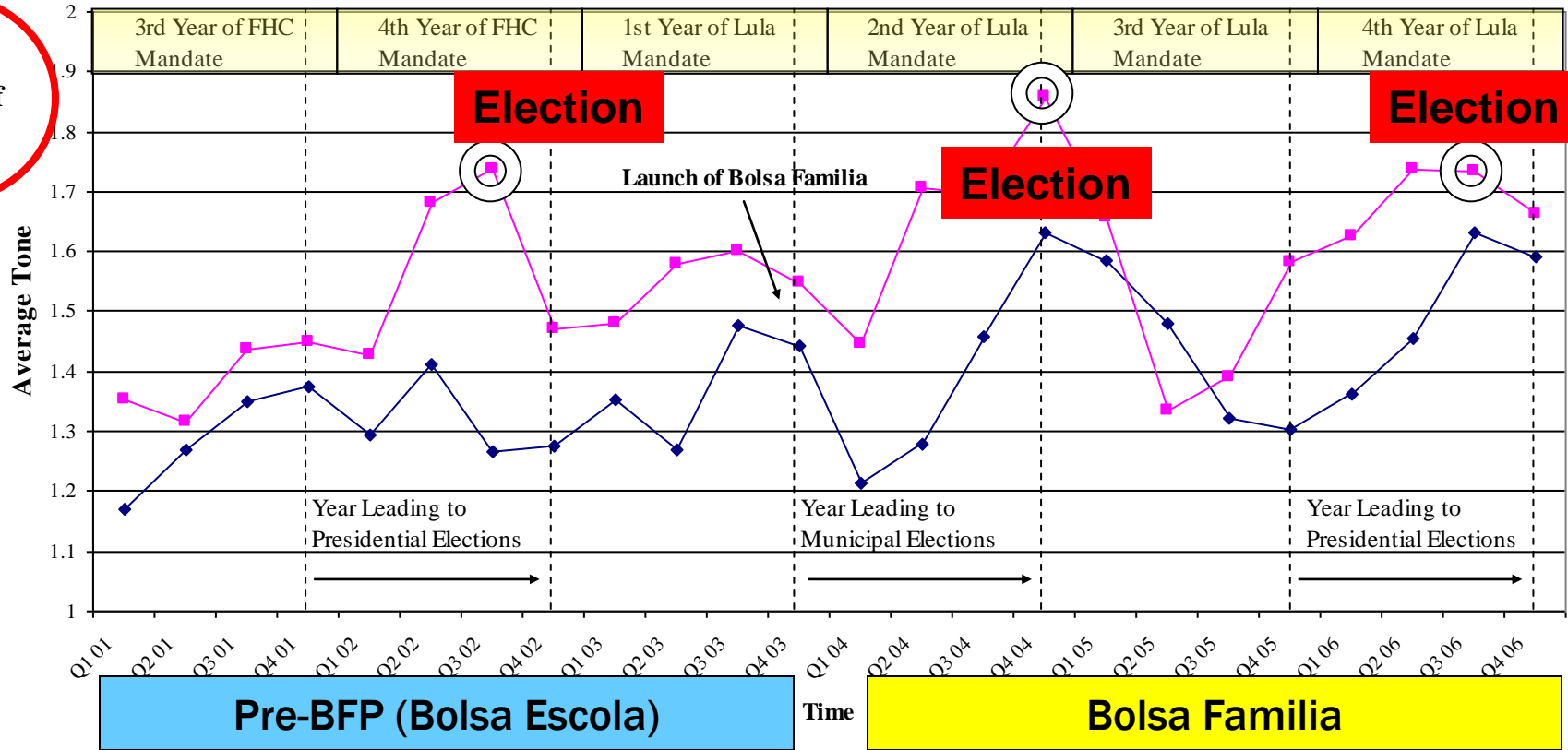


# EVOLUTION OF MEDIA TONE WITH POLITICAL CYCLES

Average Tone by Quarter and Political Events

- ◆ Mere Mention Articles
- Articles Focused on CCTs

More Critical of CCTs

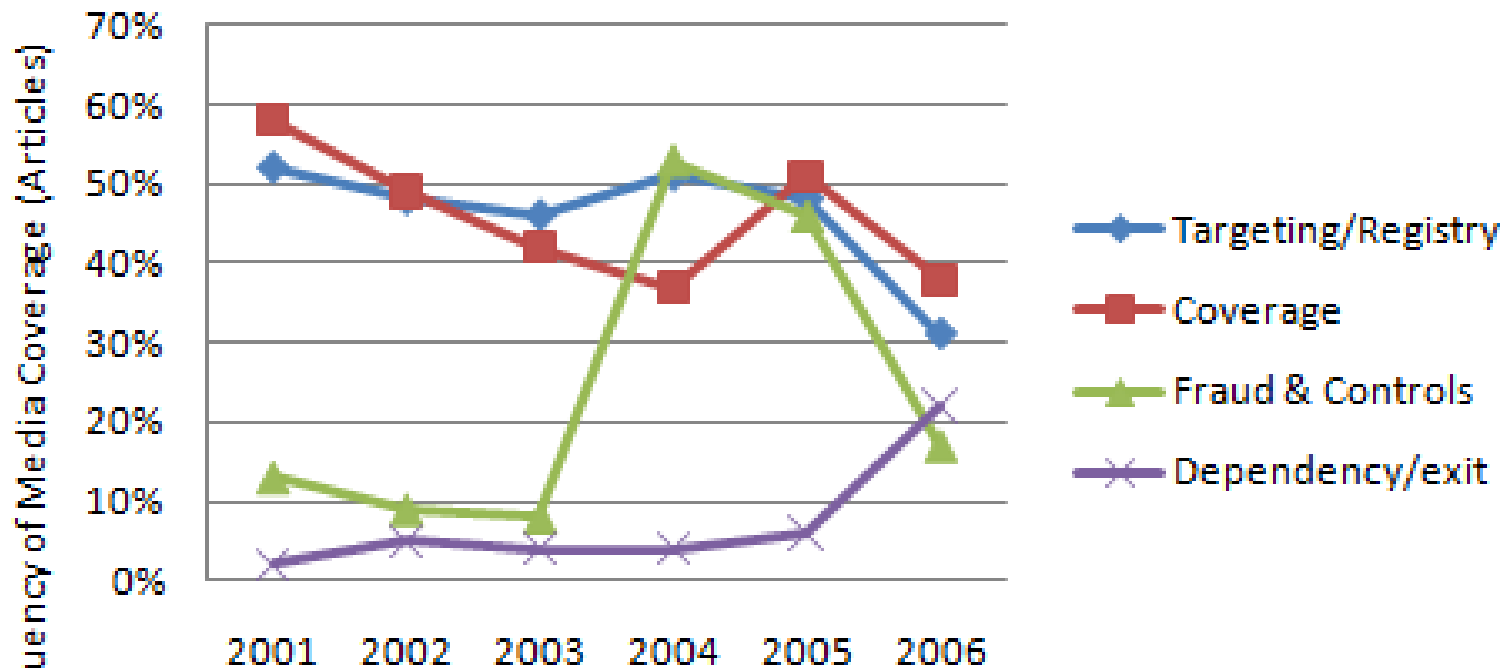


Source: Lindert & Vincensini (2010). "Social Policy, Perceptions and the Press: An Analysis of the Media's Treatment of Conditional Cash Transfers in Brazil." World Bank SP Working Paper.



# SSN TOPICS RECEIVING MOST ATTENTION IN THE PRESS: EVOLUTION

## Shifting Media Attention: Sequencing of First, Second Generation Issues



# TARGETING: WHICH ISSUE GETS MORE ATTENTION IN THE PRESS?

A poor family  
without benefits?

(Errors of Exclusion)

**OR**, an non-poor  
family receiving  
the benefits of the  
program?

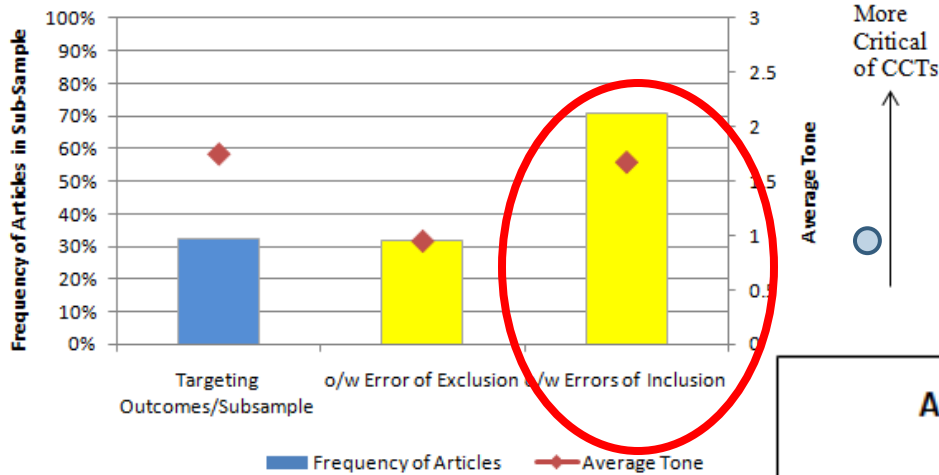
(Errors of Inclusion)



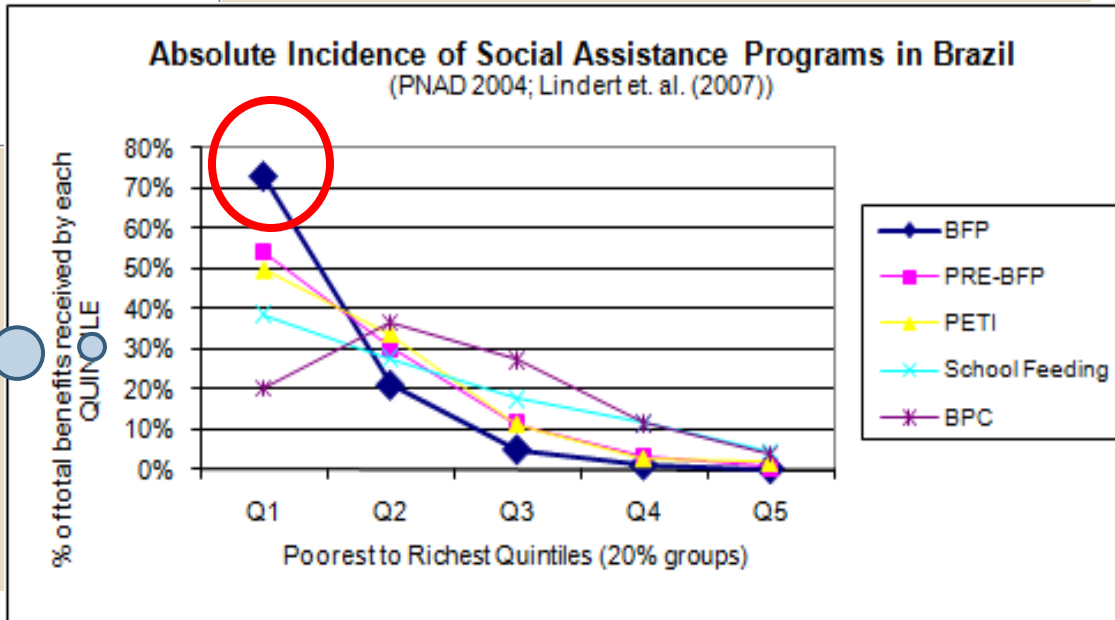
# ANSWER: ERRORS OF EXCLUSION GET MORE ATTENTION IN THE PRESS

## Frequency and Tone of Articles on Targeting Outcomes

Drill-Down Sub-Sample NOBS = 56



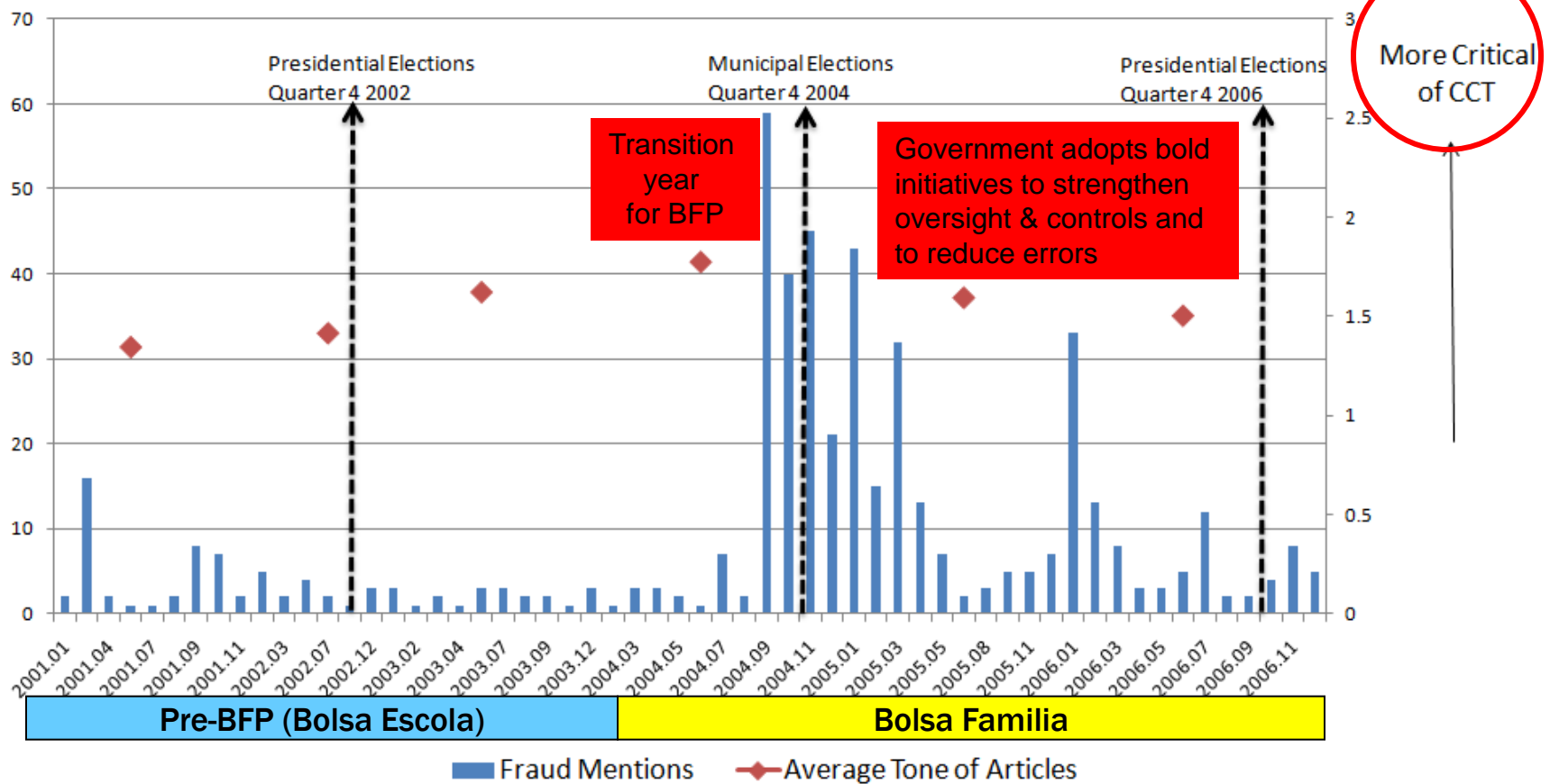
Errors of Inclusion receive far more press coverage (and more critical attention)



Despite the fact that the Bolsa Familia Program is very well targeted to the poor (low errors of inclusion)

# MEDIA REPORTING: POLITICAL LIABILITY OF UNCHECKED FRAUD & ERRORS (QUALITY OF IMPLEMENTATION MATTERS!)

Frequency and Average Tone of Fraud and Errors, Oversight and Controls



Source: Lindert & Vincensini (2010). "Social Policy, Perceptions and the Press: An Analysis of the Media's Treatment of Conditional Cash Transfers in Brazil." World Bank SP Working Paper.