

# Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life Mass Media Campaign**



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**CADRE**



**BROTHERS  
FOR LIFE**

# Audience reception analysis of the national Brothers for Life mass media campaign



## Study conducted by:

The Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE)  
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## Written by:

Laura Myers, Helen Hajjiannis, Alice Clarfelt, Tshgofatso Bessenaar, Ts'elisehang Motuba, Rethabile Mashale, Nolwazi Mkhwanazi, and Kevin Kelly.

## Fieldwork team:

Tshgofatso Bessenaar, Helen Hajjiannis, Rethabile Mashale, Jacky Mendes, Nolwazi Mkhwanazi, Ts'elisehang Motuba, Laura Myers and Gcobani Qambela.

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# “Executive Summary”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



## Background

*Brothers for Life* is a national campaign that promotes the health and wellbeing of South African men with a focus on HIV.

Launched in South Africa in August 2009, the *Brothers for Life* campaign is the first social and behaviour change communication campaign to be introduced in the country that focuses on men aged thirty years and over; a hitherto largely overlooked target audience. Although this is the primary target group that *Brothers for Life* intends to influence, the campaign also targets younger men, women and girls, health care workers, and sexual and reproductive health policy- and decision-makers in pursuing its objectives.

Led by Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa (JHHESA), *Brothers for Life* is a collaborative partnership with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the US President's Agency for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), the National Department of Health, Sonke Gender Justice (SGJ), the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC), UNAIDS and over 100 partners. Funding for the campaign has largely been through USAID and PEPFAR, UNICEF and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). Other key stakeholders and partners include: SABC Education, SABC 1, e.tv and other media broadcasters. The creative conceptualisation of the campaign was done by the South African advertising agency Joe Public. Media strategy development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation was provided by Mediology.

The campaign had addressed the following key issues at the time when this audience reception study was conducted: promoting positive male norms and values; men's limited involvement in fatherhood and the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV; HIV risks associated with having multiple and concurrent partnerships; low levels of HIV testing and disclosure; the relation between alcohol and sex, including condom use in contexts of alcohol use; counteracting gender-based violence; and the value of and access to medical male circumcision. The campaign has aimed to address these issues through creating a movement of men who stand for and represent positive social and health values associated with being a man.

The campaign has been implemented through a multilevel approach using mass media, social mobilisation, advocacy, and partnership activation components; which have been shaped to work synergistically.

## Audience reception study

The current document was written by a team of researchers from Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE). It reflects the findings of a qualitative audience reception analysis of the mass media component of the *Brothers for Life* campaign.

The report is based on 18 focus group discussions among the primary target population (men aged 30+) and secondary audiences (women, younger men, policy and decision makers in all nine South African provinces during the period July to August 2011).

Participants were chosen to represent three locality types: urban, rural and peri-urban areas. Sites were chosen to ensure maximum variation with the aim of capturing perspectives from

as broad a range of the target audience as possible, given the limited scale of the study. Six of the communities were selected as research sites because Brothers for Life had particularly targeted those localities with a more concentrated presence of outdoor media, posters and events. The other sites included had not been particularly focused on, allowing some understanding of the dose-effects of the campaign.

Given this and the focus group methodology used, the study cannot be said to be nationally representative. Rather the qualitative study aimed to analyse perspectives on the effectiveness of the campaign in delivering its main messages and to understand the types of issues that shaped its reception; both from the point of view of the primary and secondary intended recipients.

## Key findings

Key findings of the audience reception evaluation are presented below.

### 1) The overall reception of the Brothers for Life national mass media communication campaign

Overall, the campaign was well received and welcomed by representatives of both the target and secondary audiences, including women and younger men. Focus group participants expressed that the campaign conveyed messages about unity, taking responsibility (particularly in relation to abuse and HIV and AIDS), and personal change; this was perceived to contribute to making the campaign *'refreshing'* and *'different'* and to set it apart from other initiatives. The campaign was seen to provide a space for men to discuss men's issues, to work together to fight HIV and to restore a sense of personal dignity and responsibility among men. Some men referred to the campaign as a *'new beginning'* because it challenged men to reflect on their behaviour and encouraged them to change for the better.

Participants attributed varied meanings to the term *'Brothers for Life'* (and *'I am that man and you are my brother'*), which many saw as a concept that unites people for change, friendship and service. The language of *'brothers'* appeared to resonate deeply, conjuring up a number of associations that implied a sense of connectedness among men.

Although some participants felt the campaign should address both genders as the key themes relate to women as well, the overall feeling was that the campaign was

appreciated for targeting men and was perceived as departing from other health campaigns that often target women. Throughout the discussion groups, female participants, reflected positive sentiments towards the campaign and the applicability of the intended messages relating to HIV prevention and intimate partner violence to them as well.

Participants reported hearing about Brothers for Life either through mass media, from community-based organisations, at clinics or through hearing other people talking about the campaign. The materials which participants were exposed to the campaign small media are brochures, posters.

The discussants recalled and remembered without being aided and tended to reflect upon the television public service announcements (PSAs). The next most remembered communications were different print and out-of-home media, especially billboards. Very few remembered the radio PSAs or talk shows. This cannot be assumed to reflect the relative appeal or traction of these products, because the campaign made relatively little use of radio.

The most remembered television PSA was the gender-based violence PSA featuring Patrick Shai (which was the most recent public service announcement); followed by the World Cup PSAs featuring well-known South African and international sports ambassadors. The taglines *'Yenza Kahle, do the right thing'* and *'be a Brother for Life'* were mainly what was recalled from the radio PSAs.

### 2) Key strengths and weaknesses of the Brothers for Life campaign and what audiences/listeners liked and disliked about the campaign

An aspect of the campaign which stood out was the use of different people, including celebrities, sports figures and ordinary people to communicate campaign messages. The Sports Ambassadors featured in the World Cup campaign were said to make the campaign more appealing, especially to men, who expressed having an existing respect and admiration for many of the sports figures that endorsed the Brothers for Life campaign and expressed that they enjoyed encountering them in this context.

The Brothers for Life logo appealed to many participants who reported that they found it to be a fitting representation of the ideas that the campaign encompassed, a symbol that represented unity, support, brotherhood and partnership. The concepts of *'a new man in South Africa'* and *'a Brother for Life'* were well-

liked and seen to encourage men to make responsible choices and to help each other. Most participants understood the slogan ‘Yenza Kahle’ (‘do the right thing’) to mean respecting self and others, encouraging positive behaviours, reducing HIV risks, stopping abuse and violence and encouraging health-seeking behaviour.

The strategy of using authentic personal testimony, as was utilised in the gender-based violence PSA, was highly effective. Participants appreciated that a well-known personality, Patrick Shai, told his personal story of transformation and strongly resonated with the message he conveyed, which many took as an indication that people have the ability to change and transform themselves.

In terms of dislikes, participants in some rural and peri-urban communities were more likely to report that the campaign was not as visible in their communities as they would like it to be. Focus group participants from localities in which the campaign had a stronger presence demonstrated greater recall and message comprehension.

Another reported concern related to the language in which PSAs were presented. Although a few people recalled having heard radio PSAs in isiZulu, Sesotho or Setswana during the aided recall discussion, the general perception was that the campaign utilised English over other South African languages, and some thought that the translation of slogans and other narrative into local languages may have enhanced the campaign’s reception.

### **3) The relationship between general objectives of the Brothers for Life campaign and actual audience engagement – message ‘take out’ and ‘unintended’ meanings arising from the mass media materials**

Messages from the gender-based violence (GBV) theme were remembered by almost all participants, many of whom thought that GBV was the main message of Brothers for Life. It should be noted that this message was the most recently flighted message prior to the evaluation research being conducted and therefore was more top of mind than messages that had been circulated earlier in the campaign.

But this should not override the perception of the PSA’s authentic, realistic, relevant and emotive message. This greatly contributed to its recall, identification value, internalisation and the positive response it received in the focus groups.

Other themes that were commonly recalled (unaided) were positive male norms, partner reduction, and male involvement in PMTCT and parenthood. Many participants understood that one of the intentions of the campaign was to positively shift existing gender roles and to encourage men to help each other in being responsible partners and taking action to prevent HIV. Most research participants expressed interest in the phrase: ‘there is a new man in South Africa’. The concept was generally seen as a way to encourage men to be more sensitive, responsive to the needs of those around them, supportive and responsible within their households and communities. Some understood the ‘new man’ concept as a call to action, a call to change and a call to change others around them. Although some participants described the existence of rigid gendered spaces that are influenced by culture, an openness to shift such gendered practices was apparent.

Participants liked seeing the intervention of the Brothers for Life in the television PSAs about multiple and concurrent partnerships and PMTCT and said that this element made the messages more powerful. The message about choosing a single partner was understood by participants, although there was some confusion about what constituted the definition of ‘partner’.

Participants recalled that the PMTCT PSA carried a message that men should support their pregnant partners, go with them to the clinic, be active parents, and that they should be tested together. The element of partner communication was perceived as a main thread in taking action to protect the unborn child from HIV infection.

Other Brothers for Life themes related to alcohol, condom use, and HIV testing. These messages were not as readily recalled as gender-based violence, PMTCT, and partner reduction messages; although this may partly be a result of when they were flighted.

Another perspective that emerged was that the messages conveyed in the World Cup PSAs lacked the kind of rich content that was described in the gender-based violence television PSA, for example. The alcohol theme was often discussed in connection to condom use as participants perceived them to be closely related. Overall, alcohol appeared to be one of the better understood themes of all the brief messages delivered by the ambassadors during the World Cup campaign.

### **4) Audience perception of and identification with the campaign, and instances of related behaviour and attitude change**

Behaviour change theories have over the past few years undergone a conceptual shift that recognises that behaviour and identity are socially embedded, and that to bring about change, such change needs to be located at a collective, social level through forms of dialogue that generate 'critical consciousness'. The Brothers for Life campaign has had a significant influence on behaviour, particularly with regard to gender-based violence, and to a lesser extent HIV testing, partner reduction, condom use, alcohol abuse and male involvement in PMTCT. Key concepts in behaviour change and health communication theory are foregrounded in this discussion and a framework is provided for the thematic presentation of the evaluation findings in the methodology section of this report.

Self-reported behaviour change was most often situated between conceptualised and actual forms of action as participants spoke about a particular call to act associated with a message that strongly resonated with them. Strong identification with Patrick Shai's story (as presented in the televised PSA) led to several reported instances of behaviour change and also to key moments of critical dialogue that interrogated social norms around men and violence, emotional identification and internal resonance and transition, and the emergence of an actionable social identity as a man who is a provider and protector and who takes responsibility and, though aggressive by nature, is able to control his urges.

It was observed that the social identity that emerged was not transformative in the sense that it perpetuated the notion of men having power over women and did not interrogate all gender inequitable attitudes and practices. The construction of a positive male social identity as a man who is a provider and protector of women and children and has aggressive tendencies represents a normative version of masculinity. However, the emergence of this 'new man' nevertheless coincided with a significant shift towards attitudes and practices that are respectful of and considerate towards women, recognising them as fellow human beings who should live lives free of abuse.

Participants provided personal testimony of how they were emotionally touched by Patrick Shai's story as it related so closely to their own experiences of being victims and/or perpetrators of abuse.

The strategy used in the World Cup PSAs generally yielded less identification and internalisation in comparison to the Shai one. The latter was longer and featured emotive, authentic storytelling, which resonated

deeply with participants. The Sports Ambassadors who were positively associated with the Brothers for Life campaign.

The extent to which the Brothers for Life campaign opened up communicative spaces for dialogue over key issues such as gender-based violence and multiple concurrent partners is a significant indicator of its success. Participants spoke about how they communicated about the campaign in peer groups and how sometimes this led to action being taken, for example by preventing another peer group member from abusing his girlfriend. Some participants spoke about how they discussed the campaign with their intimate partners or how it had prompted them to communicate better with their partners or vice versa (also, and pertinently, acting as a deterrent to violent behaviour). Finally, there were key examples of explicit educational action, whereby participants spoke about how they felt inspired to tell others about the campaign, or about how they had learnt about Brothers for Life through the communicative actions of others.

To conclude, this evaluation demonstrates that utilising a multi-level integrated approach to communication, the Brothers for Life campaign is unprecedented in its targeting of men aged 30 and above. The mass media campaign has had widespread reach and been welcomed by men and women across the country as a much needed intervention in the health communication landscape of South Africa. Having captured the attention of primary and secondary audiences, the campaign has strategically engaged audiences at individual, interpersonal, community and societal levels.

The depth and breadth of the campaign is unprecedented in South African health communication that targets men. The campaign's strategy of inviting men to become Brothers for Life and in so doing, interrogating their own values and adopting attitudes and behaviours that will create 'new men' in South Africa, is a critical step in shifting male normative behaviour that so often underlies risky sexual behaviour, violence against women and children, and low health-seeking behaviour typical of South African men.

Finally, a number of recommendations are presented that relate to gender-equitable messaging, creation of spaces that are conducive to critical dialogue, personalisation of messages, the selection of ambassadors, social mobilisation activities, localisation of materials, advocacy for male-friendly health services, and future research.



# “Introduction”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



Brothers for Life is a national campaign aimed at reaching men thirty years and over, with information and messaging that promotes the health and wellbeing of South African men with a focus on HIV.

Launched on the 29th of August 2009, the campaign is the first of its kind in South Africa to specifically target men thirty years and older, as most HIV prevention campaigns have focused on a youth audience. The campaign aimed to reach secondary audiences of women and younger men as well.

The campaign was conceived by Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa (JHHESA) after considerable engagement and review of epidemiological data of HIV prevalence and its patterns in South Africa. Extensive formative research was undertaken that included a review of the existing literature and studies on men's health and specific male populations considered most at risk, including findings from the National Communication Survey, the HSRC HIV/AIDS Survey, four community based surveys conducted in four districts. The campaign was also informed through an extensive consultative processes, involving national and provincial government, key stakeholders in government and civil society, as well as consultation with community leaders and men in general, in order to ensure that the campaign represented the views and needs of South African men within the existing socio economic and political milieu of the country. The importance of the approach taken to the development of the Brothers for Life campaign is highlighted as not only was it evidence-based, it was also consultative and relied on utilising existing partnerships and platforms for maximum impact and coverage.

Led by JHHESA, under the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme, the Brothers for Life campaign is an initiative undertaken in partnership with the SANAC Men's sector, the Department of Health, USAID/PEPFAR, UNICEF, UNAIDS, Sonke Gender Justice, SABC Education, SABC 1, , e.tv, other broadcasters, the Daily Sun and more than 100 other civil society partners working in the field of HIV prevention and health. The creative conceptualisation of the campaign was done by the South African advertising agency Joe Public. Media strategy development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation was provided by Mediology. The campaign is supported financially mainly through the United States Agency for Independent Development (USAID) and the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), with some additional funding provided by UNICEF and the Danish International Development.

The campaign seeks to promote positive behaviour and asks men to stand up and take action to prevent HIV and AIDS and gender based violence. Based on the theory of positive normativity, the approach to the campaign is to focus on encouraging and reinforcing positive behaviours, rather than an approach that is judgemental, and which focuses on negative behaviours<sup>1</sup>. Positive messaging is used relation to male behaviours, attitudes and norms, and social modelling is used through drawing on positive male role models to promote the norms and values of the campaign. Issues addressed through the campaign include 1) behavioural HIV prevention (reduce number of concurrent sexual partners, consistent condom use, responsible drinking), 2) HIV testing, 3) male involvement in pregnancy, childbirth and fatherhood, 4) men's sexual and reproductive health, including male circumcision, and 5) a focus on gender-based violence.

This document comprises of a desk review and inputs by key programme staff that was conducted to understand the full campaign strategy, its implementation and its overall reach through the various approaches that were utilised to influence men's health in South Africa.

The second part of the document comprises an audience reception analysis undertaken in 18 sites. This reception analysis uses a qualitative methodology comprising focus group discussions during which participants were asked to unaidedly recall what they can remember of the Brothers for Life mass media campaign messages, symbols, format and ambassadors without any visual or auditory aids.

This was followed by an aided recall of specific Brothers for Life mass media materials during which each group was shown two Brothers for Life mass media materials to discuss if they had seen the materials before, what messages they took from them, if any, and other perceptions about the specific material.

The purpose of this review is to inform the evaluation of the Brothers for Life programme in South Africa and the future design of the programme moving forward in the future.

<sup>1</sup> Delate (in Palitza, 2011)

# “STRATEGIC DESIGN OF BROTHERS FOR LIFE”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



## 1.1. Campaign objectives

The Brothers for Life campaign objectives build on the South African Department of Health's National Strategic Plan (NSP) key interventions (2007-2011) and the more recent NSP (2012-2016). In this way, the Brothers for Life campaign, along with other major interventions being undertaken under the banner of the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme, build on and support national priorities. The development of messages and activities of the Brothers for Life campaign were guided by the NSP.

**Table 1: Campaign objectives and the National Strategic Plan on STIs, HIV and TB**

Campaign objectives	National Strategic Plan 2007-2011
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce ideals and values of the campaign and positive male behaviours that other men aspire to.</li> <li>• Promote male involvement in the prevention of mother-to-child transmission and generally, the role of men in parenting.</li> <li>• Promote the uptake of HIV testing and medical male circumcision services among men.</li> <li>• Promote the responsible use of alcohol.</li> <li>• Promote male health-seeking behaviour.</li> <li>• Discourage violence against women and children.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Accelerate programmes to empower women and educate men and women on women's rights and human rights.</li> <li>• Support national efforts to strengthen social cohesion in communities and to support the institution of the family.</li> <li>• Introduce programmes to mitigate the impact of alcohol and substance abuse.</li> <li>• Develop a comprehensive package that promotes male sexual health and which addresses gender and gender-based violence.</li> </ul>

## 1.2. Campaign audiences

The primary target audience of the campaign are men aged 30 to 54 years.

Secondary audiences include women, younger men, national, provincial and district decision-makers, labour formations, traditional leaders, health care workers (HCW), parliamentarians, members of provincial legislatures, members of the sporting fraternity, community leaders, religious leaders, leaders in emerging and big business.

## 1.3. Campaign Themes

**The Brothers for Life campaign focuses on the following themes:**

- Positive male norms and values
- HIV Counselling and testing medical male circumcision<sup>2</sup>;
- The linkage between alcohol, sex, the inconsistent use of condoms and HIV
- Correct and consistent condom usage,
- Male involvement in the prevention of mother-to-child transmission (PMTCT) and parenting;
- Partner reduction;
- Discouraging gender-based violence.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of this research, the medical male circumcision component of the campaign had not been launched yet in the mass media.

Each campaign foci carried relevant key messages, outlined here:

### Male norms<sup>3</sup>

- There is a new man in South Africa.
- A man who takes responsibility for his actions.
- A man who chooses a single partner over multiple chances with HIV.
- A man whose self-worth is not determined by the number of women he can have.
- A man who makes no excuses for unprotected sex, even after drinking.
- A man who supports his partner and who protects his unborn child.
- A man who respects his woman and never lifts a hand to her.
- A man who knows the choices we make today, will determine whether we see tomorrow.
- I am that man. And you are my brother.
- Yenza Kahle. Do the right thing.

### Prevention of mother-to-child transmission

- Be a man who protects his unborn child from HIV<sup>4</sup>.
- There is a new man in South Africa. A man who is proud to be called father and not just by name. A man who stands by his pregnant woman, goes with her to the clinic, and protects his child from HIV. There is a new man in South Africa. A man who chooses to do whatever it takes for the wellbeing of his family. I am that man and you are my brother. Yenza Kahle. Do the right thing<sup>5</sup>.

### Gender-based violence

- Be a man who respects his woman and never lifts a hand to her.

*'I used to beat up my wife. I beat her up for my own infidelities. I beat her up for my own insecurities. I would say, 'I want to beat you so hard that you scream, you cry, louder than my mum'. I wanted her to love me but how can you say that someone loves you when they are afraid of you. That's when I realised that I needed to change. Enough was enough. It was not about what anybody else said, it was about me, and with me, it had to stop' (Patrick Shai)<sup>6</sup>.*

- You can change. Stop gender-based violence<sup>7</sup>.
- Stop gender-based violence helpline 0800 150 150.

### HIV Prevention and HCT

<h4>Multiple and concurrent partners</h4> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be a man who chooses a single partner over multiple chances with HIV.<sup>8</sup></li> </ul> <p>Sports Ambassador: Matthew Booth</p>	<h4>HIV Counselling and testing</h4> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the game of life, know your HIV status.</li> <li>• Be a man who is not afraid to know his HIV status so that he can protect his health and that of his partner.</li> </ul> <p>Sports Ambassadors: Teko Modise, Graeme Smith, John Smit, Anthony Johnson, Ryan Giggs</p>
<h4>Alcohol</h4> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the game of life, drink responsibly.</li> <li>• Be a man who chooses to be responsible with alcohol even when he drinks.</li> </ul> <p>Sports Ambassadors: John Smit, Teko Modise, Ryan Giggs</p>	<h4>Condoms</h4> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the game of life, always play it safe.</li> <li>• Be a man who takes no chances and always uses a condom.</li> </ul> <p>Sports Ambassadors: Teko Modise, John Smit, Graeme Smith, Patrice Evra, Thierry Henri, Lionel Messi</p>

<sup>3</sup> The manifesto poster, radio and television advertisements introduced audiences to the values represented by the Brothers for Life campaign. These are the values that the campaign encourages men to embrace.

<sup>4</sup> This message appeared on outdoor media.

<sup>5</sup> This was the full advertisement on PMTCT and the role of fathers in parenting, which was broadcast on radio and on television.

<sup>6</sup> This was the full advertisement on gender-based violence which was broadcast on television.

<sup>7</sup> This message, including details of the Stop GBV Helpline appear at the end of the gender-based violence television advert, as well as on all GBV outdoor mass media.

<sup>8</sup> In the radio and television advertisements which began with "Be a man who..." the message was followed by the Sports Ambassador saying his name and if an international soccer star stated: "I am \_\_\_\_\_ and I support Brothers for Life", whereas South African Sports Ambassadors stated: "I am \_\_\_\_\_ and I am a Brother for Life".

## 1.4. Campaign identity

The campaign aims to ignite a social movement of men in South Africa that adopt healthy and responsible health practices, and has sought to achieve this through using a semiotic approach that draws upon representation of men in South Africa.

### The Brand Name – Brothers for Life

The use of the word ‘brother’ within the brand name, creates within the minds of South African men, deep seated values of brotherhood, for which there are many words used in various South African languages, for example, ‘mfo’, ‘mfowethu’, ‘bru’, ‘bra’, ‘brada’ ‘boet’ and ‘brother’. The campaign uses this spirit of brotherhood that exists strongly among men in an effort to get men to positively influence each other as men, partners and as leaders.

### The Brand Logo



The concept of brotherhood is further reinforced through the use of the brand logo that depicts a commonly used handshake amongst men that is done in the shape of the red ribbon that firstly establishes the campaign within the realm of HIV. The representation within the campaign advertisements convey to men the importance of the decisions they make and how these decisions impact on their future and that of their families and dependents.

### The Brand Slogan – Yenza Kahle, Do the right thing

The campaign’s taglines of ‘Yenza Kahle, do the right thing’ and ‘Be a brother for life’ were conceived as a call to action among men, intended to have a mobilising outcome.

## 1.5. Representations of male identity and key messages in the Brothers for Life Campaign

The Brothers for Life campaign has made extensive use of representations of men “doing the right thing” to position a “new” male identity that embodies the

values that the campaign was aiming to address. This representation drew on men who were identified within communities that embodied the values that the campaign was seeking to address and celebrities that were identified who embodied the values of the campaign.

The use of role models within the campaign aimed

to increase people’s knowledge, establish favourable attitudes, and address social norms in relation to the key thematic areas that in turn would impact upon the desired behavioural outcomes.

### Manifesto: Using community ambassadors to promote positive male norms

In July and August 2009, the Brothers for Life ‘Manifesto’ advertisement was conceptualised by the South African creative agency Joe Public with technical support from JHHESA and input from partner organisations. The intention of the manifesto was to promote the values that the new Brothers for Life brand was seeking to promote, while mobilising men and communities to take action and become part of a new movement of men.

It was decided that the advert would be filmed in different communities across seven provinces. The producers sought to find ordinary men in those communities who were perceived to embody the stated values of the manifesto and who were already making a positive difference in their communities.

Women in the communities that were visited were asked to identify exemplary men who espoused the values described in the manifesto, such as: men who did community work, who helped women and children, who were married or in monogamous long-term relationships, or who were responsible role models in other ways.

A number of men including doctors, teachers, community workers, local chiefs, husbands, fathers, and some with disabilities were nominated by their communities to be a part of the Brothers for Life manifesto advert and to make the pledge on television. The ‘new man in South Africa’ thus became a symbol for a man who takes responsibility for his actions, who realises that in every situation he has the capacity to make the right choice when it comes to the sexual and reproductive health of himself and his partner.

The journey to film the manifesto took ten full days of shooting in over 30 different locations across 7,800



kilometres. Ultimately, three versions of the manifesto were broadcast, which featured the same words but different formats. The first featured the community ambassadors saying lines from the manifesto; the second was narrated by the actor John Kani and visually depicted the community ambassadors; and the third was a 'silent' advert conducted in sign language.

The television campaign was complemented with an outdoor campaign that used ordinary men with snippets from the manifesto that promoted messages around partner reduction, PMTCT and gender-based violence.

#### Messages included:

- Be a man who chooses a single partner over multiple chances with HIV;
- Be a man who protects his unborn child from HIV;
- Be a man who protects his women and never lifts a hand to her.

### Promoting male-to-male dialogue in addressing multiple partners and male involvement in PMTCT

Messages around multiple partners and male involvement in PMTCT were promoted through a male-to-male educational communication format, with men providing advice to other men concerning a problem issue.

In the case of the multiple partners scenario an older male meets with a younger female and then buys her a gift. He is then depicted leaving his family behind with the intention of meeting his younger partner to provide her with a gift in exchange for sex.

During the meeting with the young women the narration scene freezes and a group of men approach him to talk to him about the importance of having one partner and supporting his family. The advertisement ends with the character joining the 'brotherhood of men'.

In the advertisement around PMTCT a man leaves his partner at a clinic, while he goes for a haircut and to socialise with his friends. His pregnant partner takes an HIV test and learns that she is HIV positive. She tries to call her husband who does not take the call. He is approached by 'the Brotherhood' and encouraged to support his partner to prevent their child from contracting HIV.

### Social influence: The role of sports and entertainment ambassadors in promoting HIV prevention, HCT and action against gender-based violence



Sports and entertainment ambassadors

The FIFA Soccer World Cup which was hosted by South Africa in June 2010, provided an opportune moment to promote the Brothers for Life campaign in ways that allowed for the campaign to be linked with the premium event, but which was sustainable after the World Cup, and which linked into on-going national efforts around HIV and AIDS.

The campaign achieved this through involving local sports ambassadors drawn from soccer, cricket and rugby. South African sports personalities included Matthew Booth and Teko Modise who played for the national football team, Bafana Bafana; John Smit who was the then captain of the South African Rugby Team and rugby players Tiger Mangweni and the national cricket captain, Graeme Smith. The inclusion of sports stars from rugby and cricket enabled the appeal of the campaign to extend beyond football and therefore have greater appeal to a broader range of South Africans.

The messages from the local sports ambassadors were complemented by international stars whose involvement was secured in partnership with UNICEF. These football stars featured well-known soccer personalities from FC Barcelona and Manchester United, including Footballer of the Year, Lionel Messi and current Manchester United captain, Patrice Evra; Thierry Henri, Mame Diouf and Ryan Giggs that would be easily identified by locals and visitors visiting South Africa during the World Cup.

These ambassadors were depicted in a number of high-profile public service announcements / advertisements that were developed in the UK (Manchester United), Europe (FC Barcelona) and South Africa. The public service announcements were broadcast on television and radio during each match of the World Cup and regular television broadcasting. The messages promoted during and after the FIFA World Cup included partner reduction, consistent condom usage, HIV counselling and testing and GBV.

Television and radio advertisements were accompanied by the simultaneous release of strategically placed and highly visible outdoor media, which included billboards, building wraparounds, street-pole posters and taxi and bus advertising. The popular soccer website, KickOff, also gave prominence to the campaign on its site promoting the messages that the campaign was intending to promote using the soccer sports stars. In addition to the Sports Ambassadors, a number of entertainment celebrities also provided their support to the campaign.

The role of the sports ambassadors extended beyond just their use in television adverts and outdoor media.

In support of the South African Governments HIV Counselling and Testing campaign some ambassadors publicly underwent HIV counselling and testing at public events. John Smit visited a local school in KwaZulu-Natal and a workplace to encourage young people to prevent HIV, while urging workers to follow his example and get tested as part of a workplace based event. Graeme Smith tested on World AIDS Day at an event organised by the Western Cape Provincial Government. Teko Modise, Matthew Booth; and actor Patrick Shai, tested during a community dialogue that aimed to engage men around violence against women in Gauteng. Many of the ambassadors such as John Kani penned their personal stories in newspapers and magazines to add their weight in promoting the values that the campaign aims to promote.

In addition to promoting HIV counselling and testing, John Smit mobilised the Springbok Rugby Team to take a stand against Gender Based Violence. A partnership with the South African Rugby Union saw all the captains of the Sevens Rugby Team also sign a Brothers for Life Jersey that promoted action against gender-based violence. HIV counselling and testing was also promoted during the International Rugby Sevens Tournament with testing provided by the Eden District Department of Health.

### **Telling the personal stories of men and linking men to services: gender-based violence and medical male circumcision**

The **gender-based violence campaign** and the campaign to promote medical male circumcision draw upon telling the stories about the personal journeys of men in relation to these two issues.

The gender-based violence advert featured the story of Patrick Shai who talks about his personal journey as a man who previously abused his partner and then changed. The narrative of Shai challenges a number of male norms in that he cries while he recounts the acts of violence, thereby challenging the notion that men do not cry. The notion of change was reinforced through the creative execution of the advertisement when Shai walks down a corridor into the light, while removing the jacket that he has been wearing.

This campaign was linked to the Stop Gender Based Violence Helpline Number that is operated by LifeLine and managed by trained counsellors who counsel callers and refer them to services. Training was provided to the counsellors in advance in providing counselling to men.

The following table shows the caller rate to the Stop Gender-Based Violence Helpline. The period September – October occurred prior to the campaign launching and November 2010 – January 2011 occurred during the campaign period. The table demonstrates that during the campaign the call rate by men to the National Helpline increased by just fewer than 20%. It is also noteworthy that after three months of the campaign the call rate by men surpassed that of women.

	Sept 10	Oct 10	Nov 10	Dec 10	Jan 11
<b>Male</b>	31%	33%	46%	42%	51%
<b>Female</b>	69%	67%	54%	58%	49%

The **Male Circumcision Campaign** is the most recent campaign launched in February 2012 in partnership with the Department of Health and SANAC this campaign draws upon the personal story of a man who has decided to undergo medical male circumcision.

In the narration of the advertisement Sandile Mdluli talks about his decision to undergo medical male circumcision, the health benefits of medical male circumcision and the need to delay sex for six weeks following circumcision.

The medical male circumcision television campaign is supported with the manifesto advertisement to reinforce messages of positive male norms, so as to promote a comprehensive HIV prevention response.

Outdoor media is strategically placed in high volume traffic areas around the MMC sites featuring three creative executions one that aims to emphasise that medical male circumcision services are performed by trained and friendly health care workers in an effort to counteract the negative impressions that men have of the public health care system.

The television and outdoor media advertisements are linked to an SMS Global Positioning Service (GPS Service) that refers clients to three or more sites, closest to their location. The database features all MMC service providers including government, USAID and CDC sites. The following table illustrates the number of individual queries made to the SMS database.

Pre-launch	Feb 2012	March 2012	April 2012	Total
1063	2119	7001	3821	14004

## 1.6. Communication strategy and reach

The *Brothers for Life* campaign has four elements which work synergistically and in parallel with one another so as to achieve the aims and objectives of the campaign. These are: 1) mass media; 2) social mobilisation; 3) advocacy activities, and 4) partnerships and referrals.



**Table 2: Four components of the Brothers for Life campaign**

<b>1. Mass media</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Television public service announcements (PSAs) also known as advertisements</li> <li>• Radio PSAs</li> <li>• National and community radio talk shows and drama series</li> <li>• Daily Sun monthly full-page feature articles</li> <li>• Outdoor media</li> </ul>	<b>2. Social mobilisation</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community partnerships including the establishment of Men's Groups.</li> <li>• Community outreach through community dialogues, door to door campaigns, outreach in taxi ranks, shebeens, workplaces and areas where men meet.</li> <li>• Training and workshops in the <i>Brothers for Life Toolkit</i>.</li> <li>• Men's sector capacity development and Support</li> </ul>
<b>3. Advocacy</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Media advocacy utilising radio, television and print media</li> <li>• During 2011, focus on availability and quality of services for men</li> <li>• Provincial men's sectors focus on gender-based violence and medical male circumcision</li> </ul>	<b>4. Partnerships and referrals</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mass media partnerships with SABC and other media owners</li> <li>• National and provincial level partnerships with the Department of Health and the Men's sector</li> <li>• Partnerships with and referrals to community and faith-based organisations, AIDS Helpline, GBV Helpline</li> <li>• Community-based services</li> </ul>

A brief synopsis of each of these elements is provided below, to provide an understanding of the synergies and scope of the different strategic components of the campaign; although this study focuses on the mass media component.

**Training**

## Mass media

The mass media component comprised a mix of television, radio and outdoor media.

Advertising was the preferred medium as this allowed for the messages to be circulated across multiple channels and to be used during popular programming that is viewed by men, thereby expanding the overall reach of the message. Advertising keeps the messages top of mind therefore reminding the intended audience of the need to practice the desired behaviour; while at the same time reinforcing the behaviours amongst those that are practicing the behaviours.

Media owners in South Africa provided added value to that invested by USAID/PEPFAR as part of their corporate social responsibility efforts, thereby, enabling the campaign to have added visibility and extending its potential reach and impact.

### 1) Television

The Brothers for Life media messages were primarily broadcast on the following television channels on SABC 1; SABC 2; SABC 3; e-TV with a limited broadcast on the pay for television DSTV channels.

**Table 3: Mass media rollout by message and time period September 2009 to September 2010**

Focus	Sep 09	Oct 09	Nov 9	Dec 09	Jan 10	Feb 10	Mar 10	Apr 10	May 10	Jun 10	Jul 10	Aug 10	Sep 10
Male norms	X	X	X	X									
PMTCT				X	X								
MCP						X	X			X	X	X	X
HCT	X	X	X	X						X	X	X	X
Condoms										X	X	X	X
Alcohol										X	X	X	X
GBV	X	X	X	X									X

**Table 4: October 2010 -September 2011**

Focus	Oct 10	Nov 10	Dec 10	Jan 11	Feb 11	Mar 11	Apr 11	May 11	Jun 11	Jul 11	Aug 11	Sep 11
HCT	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
GBV	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					
MCP		X										
Male norms												
PMTCT												

Table 5: October 2011 to April 2012

Focus	Oct 11	Nov 11	Dec 11	Jan 12	Feb 12	Mar 12	Apr 12	May 12	Jun 11	Jul 11	Aug 11	Sep 11
HCT												
GBV			X	X								
MCP												
Male norms		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				
PMTCT												
MMC					X	X	X	X				

## 2) Radio

In partnership with the SABC the campaign was launched on radio in 2009 through the broadcast

of the Manifesto advert. This provided a platform for a discussion on prime time radio talk show facilitated by some of the leading DJ's on some of the country's leading radio stations (Metro FM; 5FM and several local language stations) of what it meant to be a man in South Africa.

In partnership with ABC Ulwazi, the Brothers for Life radio talk shows were initially broadcast on 40 community radio stations and the largest SABC radio station, Ukhozi FM. Radio producers and 'DJs' from the community radio stations were trained on how to address gender-based violence through their radio shows.

In 2011, in partnership with SABC Education and SABC Radio, the Brothers for Life Radio talk shows were broadcast across the 11 local language radio stations in 10 South African languages. The talk shows focused on men's health and men's responsibilities in improving their family's health. A producers briefing workshop took place prior to the commencement of the radio talk shows to orientate the producers around the issues that the show was intending to address. Radio briefs and a list of experts were developed by JHHESA and Sonke Gender Justice and provided to the producers of the shows as a means to guide the discussion.

The Brothers for Life Men of the Year was also introduced as part of the talk show. This invited listeners in communities to nominate men from their communities that embody the values of Brothers for Life, who were selected as Men as the Month. Together with SABC Education and with sponsorship from Mango Airlines, a Man of the Year event was hosted during which each man's contribution to his community was acknowledged by prominent South African leaders.

## 3) Print media

A partnership was formed with the Daily Sun, a popular local tabloid publication that boasts a daily readership of 5.5 million according to the latest AMPS figures<sup>9</sup>. This publication enables the campaign to use this popular medium to expand on the messages in the mass media and provide greater context to the promotion of male sexual and reproductive health.

Eleven features covering the following topics were published during 2011: child sexual abuse, condoms, TB and HIV, promoting healthy lifestyles, fatherhood, family planning, sexual and reproductive health, PMTCT, gender-based violence, medical male circumcision and the Brothers for Life '*men of the year*'.

Other print media included articles, opinion editorials by some of the ambassadors, press releases on topical issues in newspapers such as: Sunday Times; City Press; Isolezwe; Citizen; Business Day; Sunday World; Die Burger; Die Volksblad; Beeld; Sowetan; Kick Off Magazine and Leadership in HIV.

<sup>9</sup> Personal communication, Willem Steenkamp from Marcus Brewster, 4 May 2012.





Man of the Year Awards ceremony

#### 4) Outdoor media

The campaign has since its inception used a number of billboards of various sizes that were put up across South Africa. The outdoor media was strategically located within areas and spaces where there is high traffic volume, such as in high commuter areas such as taxi ranks, markets in communities, alongside busy motorways. During the FIFA World Cup the use of billboards was expanded to include arrival and departure airport terminals to reach both international and national travellers. A number of prominent buildings were wrapped in high volume pedestrian areas that also featured the campaign messages. The messages of the outdoor media campaign reinforced those being broadcast through television. HIV prevention, HIV counselling and testing and gender-based violence have been themes that have been consistently addressed through the use of the outdoor media using a variety of formats.

#### Social mobilisation activities

In order to link the mass media campaign to community level initiatives, the social mobilisation component of the campaign utilises community dialogues, community outreach through peer educators to engage men on the key issues of the campaign.

Community peer educators wear the Brothers for Life T-shirts that allow them to be easily identified with the campaign.

All events are branded with the Brothers for Life branding that allows for audiences to know what the event stands for and represents. The interpersonal component of the campaign has been implemented through working with existing partners who work in the field of HIV prevention and health.





A Brothers for Life training toolkit was developed and is the main instrument used in engaging community audiences. The toolkit addresses topics ranging from reproductive and sexual health, parenting, child sexual abuse, gender-based violence, alcohol, managing relationships and healthy lifestyles.

Five thousand copies the guide were produced, and over 4000 have been distributed through various trainings since 2010. In 2010 a video was developed of dramatic representations of the key themes of the guide by DramAidE that are used to spark conversations in workshops and other settings. In 2011, with funding from SIDA, CADRE developed an additional module of the toolkit that focused on child sexual abuse and HIV.

In 2012 a flipchart was developed that is used by facilitators to engage with men around male sexual and reproductive health, including medical male circumcision.

Other mobilisation tools that have been developed include: the Manifesto brochure, brochures on HIV, gender-based violence, PMTCT, and MMC. Posters developed include male involvement in PMTCT, multiple and concurrent partnerships, and HIV counselling and testing. Condom holders, bracelets and tee-shirts to be used as prizes ;.

Master trainings are undertaken on the use of the Brothers for Life tools and resources. To date 3,566 people have been trained drawn from various partner organisations, provincial SANAC men's sector, and government partners ,including Departments of Health, SAPS, and some municipalities, on how to reach men in their communities and workplaces through using the tools and resources.

Trainings were also conducted in large institutions such as the Department of Correctional services through the Footballers for Life programme and sonke gender justice.

Following the trainings partner organisations have conducted other social mobilisation activities through door-to-door outreach, community dialogues and other local events. In 2010, the campaign conducted 69 community dialogues about gender-based violence that reached some 22,000 people.

The purpose of these dialogues was to provide communities with a platform to better understand the drivers of gender-based violence, violence against children, what they can do to address this and to identify

which resources exist in their communities to help reduce the violent incidents.

In 2011, Brothers for Life facilitated 40 community dialogues about MMC that reached 4,556 people. These events provided communities with a platform to better understand issues relating to men's health, the benefits of medical male circumcision, and a space for traditional and medical health professionals and service providers to interact.

Also in 2011, 25 community dialogues about the prevention of mother-to-child transmission were facilitated, which reached 1,113 people. These dialogues were all held at clinic premises to encourage men to be familiar and comfortable with the clinics and services offered.

## Advocacy Activities

Besides the media-based advocacy (in print media, television and radio), the campaign used other forms of advocacy to target different levels of government, traditional leaders, civil society, faith-based and opinion leaders within communities around social constructions of masculinity and male responsibilities.

Since 2009, the secretariat of the SANAC Men's Sector has been hosted by the Sonke Gender Justice Network with funding through the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme through Brothers for Life Campaign since 2009. In 2010, in partnership with the SANAC Men's Sector and provincial governments, JHHESA and Sonke Gender Justice held a series of Provincial Men's Sector Summits in all provinces. The aim of these summits was to strengthen the Provincial Men's sectors' responses to HIV and AIDS in their localities using Brothers for Life as a mobilisation tool. The Brothers for Life platform provided an opportunity for the somewhat fragmented men's sector to refocus its direction and develop an implementation and resource mobilisation strategy.

In 2011, with the support of Brothers for Life, the Men's Sector held a consultative meeting with traditional leaders on the promotion and communication of men's health and medical male circumcision in South Africa. The purpose was to create an opportunity for dialogue between the men's sector and traditional leaders around MMC. The meeting was meant mainly to pave the way for a good and supportive working relationship between traditional leaders and the Department of Health, as the rollout of MMC increases nationally.



## 1.7. Key campaign achievements

**Key campaign successes and achievements from the time of the launch on 29 August 2009, to the end of August 2011, include:**

- The campaign is endorsed by the Deputy President of South Africa, Kgalema Motlanthe and the Minister of Health, Dr Aaron Motsoaledi.
- The campaign was listed as a Best Practice Model in working with men in the Country Progress Report on the Declaration of the Commitment on HIV/AIDS 2010 Report, released by the National Minister of the Department of Health, Dr Motsoaledi.
- The campaign has been recognised globally and locally for its contribution through a number of awards, attached as Annex 2.
- In two years, the mass media component of the campaign has reached over 30 million people per year with messages that promote and entrench positive male norms in relation to behaviour and health.
- The campaign has been supported by a number of positive role models in South Africa and internationally.
- Social mobilisation activities have reached over 400 000 men with Brothers for Life messages.
- Since the launch of the gender-based violence campaign, there has been a 13% increase in calls from men to the Stop Gender-Based Violence National Helpline.
- Over 50 000 units of material have been downloaded from the Brothers for Life website.
- In 2011, the South African national broadcaster and Brothers for Life hosted the first ever recognition of male community builders in South Africa with men who were nominated by their communities and who hailed from all parts of the country.

Though the partnership with UNICEF, the Brothers for Life campaign has expanded internationally into Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

# “ METHODOLOGY AUDIENCE RECEPTION ANALYSIS”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



## 1.8. Objectives of the study

The objectives of the evaluation were to:

- explore the relationship between general objectives of the Brothers for Life campaign and actual audience reception and engagement;
- explore the reception environment of the Brothers for Life national mass media communication campaign;
- explore what audiences/listeners think of the campaign (likes and dislikes);
- determine message ‘take out’ and any ‘unintended’ meanings arising from the language, photographs, voices, and visuals.
- explore audience perception of and identification with the people used in the campaign;
- identify key strengths and weaknesses of the Brothers for Life campaign;
- develop recommendations for the campaign.

## 1.9. Site and sample selection

The evaluation was conducted in 18 sites, with two sites in each of South Africa’s nine provinces. The principle of maximum variation was applied in selecting sites, involving a mix of urban, rural and peri-urban areas with the aim of incorporating as wide a spectrum of participants as possible. Six of the 18 research sites were selected from a list of places in which Brothers for Life presence was known to be more concentrated in terms of outdoor media, posters, and events.

The Brothers for Life campaign primarily targets men aged 30 years and over across South Africa, with secondary audiences of women and young people. It was deemed important to have some groups which involved only males, and then to separate these into 18-29 year old males (four groups), males aged 30 years or older (five groups), mixed groups of males and females 18-29 years old (five groups) and mixed groups of males and females aged 30 years or older (four groups). The reason for distinguishing certain groups as ‘male only’ and ‘mixed groups’ was that it was expected that the male-only and mixed groups may generate different perspectives on the gendered issues at stake. The age distinctions in groups were decided on the basis of needing to gain an understanding of whether and how the reception of the campaign differed for primary and secondary audiences.

Having decided which type of groups would be conducted in each site on the basis of the intention of including maximum range of participants across all sites, research assistants were engaged in each site to recruit participants. They were required to identify prospective participants in each site fitting the criteria for participants in that site in terms of age and gender; with the requirement that they should aim to recruit participants to cover the range of social groupings within the community.

Identified individuals were requested to complete a questionnaire (see Appendix 3). The purpose of the questionnaire was to 1) identify which participants were eligible to participate in the interviews, 2) gain an understanding of the general levels of exposure to Brothers for Life in each community and 3) enhance the credibility of the unaided recall findings.

A purposive sampling approach was used because the evaluation needed to include participants who had a prior exposure to the Brothers for Life materials. Eligibility to participate in focus group discussions was assessed on the basis of exposure to Brothers for Life media and all participants were required to have seen, heard or read about two or more Brothers for Life mass media materials. The questionnaire



also asked about their levels of exposure to the campaign, which messages they recalled and the media channels through which they had gained access to the campaign.

A total number of 250 individuals were approached. Of these 132 fitted the minimum selection criteria and were selected to participate in the focus group discussions. This included 103 males and 31 females. Their ages ranged from age 18 to 57 years. Five percent were between the ages of 50-59, 8% were between 40-49 years old, 36% were between 30-39 years old, 48% were between 20-29 and 3% were between 18-19 years old.

**Table 6: Distribution of locality types, age categories and gender of participants**

Province	Locality type	Age category	Gender
North west	Peri-urban Rural	30 + 18-29	Males and females Males
Gauteng	Peri-urban Urban	18-29 30+	Males Males and females
Free State	Urban Rural	18-29 30+	Males Males and females
Eastern Cape	Urban Rural	30+ 18-29	Males Males and females
Northern Cape	Peri-urban Urban	18-29 30+	Males and females Males
Western Cape	Peri-urban Urban	30+ 18-29	Males Males and females
KwaZulu-Natal	Peri-urban Rural	18-29 30+	Males Males and females
Limpopo	Urban Rural	30+ 18-29	Males Males and females
Mpumalanga	Peri-urban Rural	25-30 30+	Males and females Males

## 1.10. Data collection methods

Data collection for the evaluation of the Brothers for Life mass media materials took place between July and August 2011. A total of 18 focus group discussions were conducted across the country. The focus group discussions were divided into two parts. The first part focused on the unaided recall of Brothers for Life mass media materials including the campaign messages, symbols, format and ambassadors that could be remembered without any visual or auditory aids. Participants relied on their memory to recall and describe the Brothers for Life materials and content.

The second part of the focus group was dedicated to aided recall of specific Brothers for Life mass media materials. Each group was shown two Brothers for Life mass media materials to discuss if they had seen the materials before, what messages they took from them, if any, and other perceptions about the specific material. The table below shows which materials were evaluated in relation to the locations where the discussion groups were conducted.

Every mass media material was discussed a minimum of three times, as indicated in the table below, to ensure that views about each material and accompanying message were included from urban, peri-urban and rural localities.

Discussions were conducted in the participants' language of preference; languages included isiZulu, Setswana, isiXhosa, Sesotho, siSwati and English. Translators were used in contexts where the researchers did not speak participants' preferred language. Participants were given incentives as a token of appreciation for their time and to cover transport costs.

**Table 7: Mass media materials tested with each group**

	Focus group one	Focus group two	Languages
Eastern Cape	1. PMTCT [TV] 2. GBV [Radio]	1. HIV Testing and Alcohol by Teko Modise and John Smit [TV] 2. Manifesto John Kani [TV]	English Xhosa
North West	1. MCP [TV] 2. Brothers for Life manifesto [Radio]	1. PMTCT [Radio] 2. MCP and Condom Use Ambassadors [TV]	Setswana English
Gauteng	1. Patrick Shai GBV [TV] 2. Billboards	1. Manifesto [TV] 2. PMTCT [Radio]	IsiZulu English
Western Cape	1. GBV radio 2. PMTCT[TV]	1. MCP and Condom Use Ambassadors [TV] 2. Billboards	Xhosa English
Free State	1. MCP and Condom Use Ambassadors [TV] 2. HIV Testing and Alcohol by Teko Modise and John Smit [TV]	1. Manifesto John Kani [TV] 2. MCP [Radio]	English Sesotho
Mpumalanga	1. PMTCT[TV] 2. MCP [Radio]	1. Manifesto [TV] 2. Patrick Shai GBV [TV]	English IsiZulu
Limpopo	1. Manifesto John Kani [TV] 2. Manifesto [Radio]	1. MCP [TV] 2. Manifesto Original [TV]	Sesotho Sepedi English
KwaZulu-Natal	1. Patrick Shai GBV [TV] 2. Billboards	1. Brothers for Life manifesto [Radio] 2. HIV Testing and Alcohol by Teko and John Smit [TV]	IsiZulu English
Northern Cape	1. HIV Testing and Alcohol by Teko and John Smit [TV] 2. MCP [Radio]	1. MCP [TV] 2. Patrick Shai GBV [TV]	Setswana English

## 1.11. Data Analysis

Focus group discussions were recorded with the participants' permission. Recorded interviews were translated into English when necessary and transcribed verbatim by a trained transcriber. Transcribed data was then coded with NVivo9, a qualitative data analysis software programme. Codes were created to capture relevant discussion themes and transcripts were then read and clustered according to these codes. Two researchers coded the transcripts in order to avoid much variation in coding. Coded data was reviewed and formed the basis for the findings sections.

Findings were analysed and discussed in relation to health communication theory, taking into account new models of development communication that are based on dialogue, information sharing, participation, local ownership, empowerment and social (rather than individual) change, recognising that an individual's

attitudes and behaviours are socially embedded.<sup>10</sup> Albert Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) draws attention to key concepts and processes including self-efficacy as a precondition for effective behaviour change and the observational learning or modelling of behaviours through observing others.<sup>11</sup>

The approach to data analysis was informed by the notion that the meaning of the campaign is constructed through a dynamic process of negotiation that occurs at the audience level and their interaction with the message, conceptualising the viewer as an empowered 'decoder'.<sup>12</sup>

According to this principle, foregrounded by theorists such as Stuart Hall and Albert Bandura, the 'text' is never simply passively accepted by the audience, but rather the reader or viewer interprets the meanings of the text based on their individual cultural background and life experiences.

The *Brothers for Life* campaign aimed to change social norms that underpin certain behaviours that are conducive to HIV risk and gender-based violence. The analysis of data from the 18 focus groups was thus conducted in relation to three overarching themes, exploring if and how participants:

1. *interrogated existing understandings of themselves and their social world;*
2. *developed new conceptualisations that are conducive to healthier behaviours;*
3. *whether these processes occur alongside the opening of social spaces for critical reflection and dialogue.*

The analysis aimed to determine if and how the campaign promoted a sense of personal power to act and change and whether this is related to the acquisition of a particular behaviour. How audiences chose to utilise the campaign in their on-going social interactions and in contexts of interpersonal communication was also explored. With regard to influence on behaviour, the following framework contains the analytic questions that were used to interrogate the data:

## 1) Changed behaviour

- What were the actual examples of enacted behaviour change in response to the campaign?
- What were the examples of conceptualised behaviour change?

- To what extent is the form of conceptualised or enacted behaviour change accompanied by a sense of self-efficacy?

## 2) Social norms and critical dialogue

- What were the norms discussed in relation to unhealthy or violent behaviours?
- What kind of critical reflection of these norms took place?
- Did critical reflection challenge behaviours and lead to action?

## 3) Identification, resonance and internalised meaning

- How did participants personally identify with the campaign, how did they relate it to their own lives?
- To what extent did the campaign promote internal dialogue and reflection on own behaviours and past experiences?
- To what extent did internal dialogue bring about external action / changed behaviour?

## 4) Power and social identity

- How has the campaign engaged men to think about positive social identities?
- How has the campaign generated new language and social meaning around healthy attitudes and behaviours?
- How have participants felt empowered to act in new identity roles?
- Has thinking about power and social identity as a 'new man' been accompanied by a change in behaviours or actions?

## 5) Contexts for interpersonal communication

- Where, with whom and how did participants communicate about the campaign and messages?
- To what extent was interpersonal communication accompanied by conceptualised or actual behaviour change?
- To what extent did participants create new spaces for interpersonal communication to pass on the message / educate others about the campaign?

<sup>10</sup> Beltrán (1993a, 1993b), Díaz Bordenave (1994, 1998), and Fox & Coe (1998) in Figueroa et al (2002)

<sup>11</sup> Bandura (1976, 2001)

<sup>12</sup> Bandura (1976); Hall (1980)

## 1.12. Limitations

The fact that the research was conducted two-and-a-half years after the campaign's initial launch meant that participants were more likely to recall and be influenced by material that was broadcast more recently, such as the gender-based violence PSA. It was in some respects inevitable this would be the case given the period of time covered. To mitigate this, unaided as well as aided recall was employed in the research. The aided recall used materials to prompt more in-depth discussion where level of detail was lost to memory. However, this problem was likely not completely mitigated and interpretations relating to impact of exposure to particular media products are made with due caution.

A related point is the duration and concentration of exposure to different communication products. It was difficult to determine the influence of '*dose effects*' relating to the different components of the overall campaign as well as individual variability in exposure. To take these into account a prospective tracking study would have been required.

Further exacerbating the problem of assessing what was more and less effective in the campaign, is the difficulty of distinguishing the particular contribution of the different media to recall and change. The themes of the campaign did not all receive the same level of coverage across different media and the use of multiple media in conveying particular themes made it difficult to discern the effectiveness of particular messages and meanings associated with media outputs. On the other hand there were some products which stood out from the rest and it is made more notable that they did so among a wide spread of outputs.

During recruitment, recruiters were directed to identify 15 individuals at each site from which 6-8 focus group participants were to be selected. Whereas the selections were made following the methodology described above, of those selected to participate some did not attend, sometimes skewing the balance of participants in particular groups. In retrospect it was realised that individual interviews may have allowed for deeper

introspection regarding the interplay between the campaign ideas and the lived realities of the men and women who participated in the research.

Finally, it must be recognised that the objectives of the study and the qualitative data gathered do not reflect the prevalence of different responses to the campaign. The study was designed to explore the range and typology of responses and to some extent the mediators and meanings of responses. It would take a prospective, longitudinal study to track and show the behavioural outcomes of the study.

# “AUDIENCE RECEPTION FINDINGS”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign





### 1.13. Overall impressions of the campaign identity

Participants reported hearing about Brothers for Life either through the mass media, from community-based organisations, at clinics or through hearing other people talking about the campaign.

When asked to describe the Brothers for Life campaign, many participants said that it symbolised ‘oneness’, ‘ubuntu’, and ‘unity among men’. It was also described as ‘informative’ ‘innovative’, ‘enlightening’, ‘empowering’, ‘different’, ‘educational’, ‘clear’ and ‘understandable’. Some perceived the campaign as ‘eye-opening’ and described it variously as ‘a great start’, ‘a new dawn’ and ‘refreshing’.

*“I liked it the first time I saw it because it motivated me that men are being encouraged... it also encouraged me.... I think it was done very, very well (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo)”.*

Most focus group participants expressed that the campaign conveyed messages about unity, taking responsibility (particularly in relation to abuse and HIV and AIDS), and personal change; these messages were perceived to make the campaign ‘refreshing’ and ‘different’ and to set it apart from other initiatives. The campaign was seen to focus on men and encourage them to talk about their problems. Some men referred to the campaign as a ‘new beginning’ because it challenged men to think about their behaviour and encouraged them to change for the better.

*“It draws something out of your mind when you see that man standing there and sending the message through. It makes you think, ‘am I really doing what I’m doing in my house’? So this man is giving me a warning that I must change, then there’s a message that goes around and gives you courage, and then you feel like maybe you can just go and hug your wife and try and say ‘sorry baby for what I have done’, and so on (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).”*

*“The overall message for this thing.... it’s all about responsibility, because when I have been talking to a certain guy during last month regarding this Brothers for Life, we ended up saying that whatever you do to anyone, irrespective of whether it’s a man or a woman, you must think first and say they will be doing the same unto you (Male, 30+, rural, Free State)”.*

There was a general feeling from the participants that men tend not to talk to each other openly about their problems and that the campaign provided an invitation and a platform for them to do so:

*“It is a very different campaign; it is talking about brothers.... When I am with my other brothers, I might be able to talk but when there is a woman I am going to feel shy, but it’s a good campaign. To me it’s a very good campaign (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape)”.*

*I remembered thinking okay, this is refreshing, especially on this kind of mass media level, because that sort of approach of men talking to other men about being responsible, it’s not something you see all the time (Female, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).*

Men in the Eastern Cape described how the campaign provided a space to discuss men’s issues and to work together to fight HIV as well as to restore a sense of personal dignity and responsibility:

*M2: “To me it [the main idea] is one of space, open a space for men to discuss men’s issues, to resolve those men’s issues in a right manner.... Understand each other at*

*work, community, at school, everywhere, so that those who have ideas which we share together, we can come up with one conclusion”.*

M4: *“It’s being a team. It’s like a team of soccer players when we play against another team. As a team we must stand together....”*

M4: *“Yes, we want to win this battle.... The big battle is HIV and AIDS....”*

M3: *“But also to me, by adding this, not talking like for instance about HIV and AIDS only, but we are trying to get our dignity first, and then we know that we are the men and we are supposed to protect our wives, children, our families all together, then once we know ourselves, then everything can be easy (Males, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape).*

Several discussed how they thought the main message of the campaign was around violence and intimate partner violence in particular. Other words given to describe the campaign included ‘*phakamani* (stand up)’, ‘*tshwaranang* (support each other)’, and ‘*masibambane* (stop abuse)’. When asked to summarise the campaign’s message, a female participant explained how she thought the campaign communicates that it is never too late to change:

*“I think it’s never too late for a person to change, no matter what they may have done in the past but it is not impossible to change from one person to the other (Female, 18-29, rural, Limpopo)”.*

*“I can only say it’s an anti-violence campaign, the way I see it, that I would really want to be part of (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape)”.*

A male described the importance that reflecting on one’s problems can have in preventing abuse:

*“If I don’t get a chance to talk to other males maybe when I get home then I will beat my wife. If I get angry with somebody at work when I get home then I beat my wife, something like that. So it [the campaign] gives us an opportunity to start opening up about issues;...[to] start learning, to start changing our lives. [To] get involved in life and start to involve our wives in our lives because most of us we don’t, you see. So that’s why I like the whole idea, I think it is already making a difference in other men out there (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo)”.*

*Brothers for Life* was also seen to focus on being trustworthy and on reducing concurrent sexual relationships. Many participants expressed that other main messages from the campaign related to responsible alcohol use and condom use:

M6: *“Okay, fine. Not to abuse, and another thing is for us to be responsible when you are drinking alcohol, you must draw the line”.*

F7: *“About sex, play safe, use condoms (Male, and female, 18-29, rural, Limpopo)”.*

Other particular aspects that stood out to focus group participants included the Patrick Shai PSA about gender-based violence, the campaign logo and the use of multiple mass media materials. For many, the Patrick Shai PSA encapsulated the ideals and values of the *Brothers for Life* campaign. The PSA was perceived as ‘*real*’ and ‘*different*’ in that the character delivers a message to audiences through telling his own story. Some research participants appreciated the campaign for communicating a sincere message about intimate partner violence:

*“[It is] lovely because it’s there to help, when you hear anyone on Generations for example saying ‘no, you shouldn’t beat your wife’, like Khaphela, it’s like ha ha ha. He is saying something deep but, who cares, they are acting. But when you get it in this form, in a way it’s a different context (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal)”.*

Most participants who had seen this PSA perceived it to be authentic, describing it as ‘*emotional*’ and ‘*genuine*’. Many mentioned that seeing Patrick Shai cry was what made the advertisement stand out for them. The use of a strategy that was perceived to be authentic, largely because of its realism and emotiveness and how these aspects engendered identification with Patrick Shai, appeared to have enhanced message recall and message retention:

*“It stands out for me because it seems so real... how can I put it? It seems too real, like somebody I know, and then the fact that he cried, it seems as if he was talking from experience. He has done it. It seems so real and it’s touching (Female, 30+, urban, Gauteng)”.*

*Let me say from all the adverts that I have seen, it’s only the one of Patrick Shai [that stood out]. Why? Because he was crying. If he didn’t cry I was not going to give it attention. It’s because like M3 was saying, we don’t know if he is acting or what he is doing, but because of crying, you just say, ‘hey why is this guy crying’, you see. It’s the only reason I can relate to him (Male, 18-29, urban, Northern Cape).*

Seeing a man display such emotion struck many people in the discussion groups, some of whom explained that was because it was not commonly done in everyday life. Shai’s personal story of change and redemption was central to the appeal of this PSA, which is discussed

in more length in the section on male identity, with some key examples of how the story resonated with participants captured here:

*“Patrick Shai speaks about his personal life and he also supplies information about what kind of person he was and that he has changed (Male, 18-29, rural, North West)”.*

*“...the first time I saw that thing I was like wow, this guy has got guts, coming on television and saying all those things, you know that takes a lot of guts. So I think if you put like people explaining their personal situations, changed men like that one, I think maybe all of the guys in this room they will remember, all of them they will remember the one with Patrick Shai because.... he was talking about a personal story, something that he did, something that he had to overcome... with Patrick Shai it was something that he dealt with, that he did and he is exposing it. So I think a lot of men who were in difficult situations could relate to that, that is why I think it is more impactful that the other ones (Male, 30 +, urban, Limpopo)”.*

*“The advert for Patrick Shai hit people on the chest just like this, why... Patrick Shai when he talks about that advert, you can just take two minutes out of your busy time just to listen because he was sincere and attentive...(Male, 18-29, rural, North West)”.*

This was the most discussed PSA from the campaign, in part due to its apparent authenticity, but also because it was the PSA that was broadcast most recently, therefore making it the most likely to be recalled.

Another aspect of the campaign that stood out was the use of different people to communicate the messages, including celebrities, sports figures and ordinary people from different walks of life:

*“I personally liked that miner guy and the wife. I think it gives a message to a different group of people.... most of the things that are on TV are for people who are already aware of things that are going on and stuff, and then forgetting about the people who are maybe in the locations.... I’m thinking in their mind, you have to put yourself in [their shoes and see] what they’re thinking. (Female, 18-29, urban, Western Cape)”.*

When asked about the first time they saw a Brothers for Life PSA, some of the research participants stated that they misunderstood the campaign in thinking it was directed at celebrities and sports stars:

*“When I saw Brothers for Life for the first time, I saw lots of celebrities.... and thought it was for famous*

*people, celebrities and sports people (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape)”.*

*“For me it was a little confusing, from soccer stars, to an actor. When I saw the one with soccer stars talking about Brothers forLife, I thought that it was only about sports and not about the community of individuals, I thought it is just promoting sports, only to find out after a few months when they showed actor and actresses, then I started to get confused, I didn’t know what Brothers for Life was, really. So that is what was confusing me (Male, 18-29, rural, North West)”.*

### **‘Brothers for Life’**



The Brothers for Life campaign, with its associated logo and taglines of ‘Yenza Kahle’, ‘a new man’ and ‘be a brother for life’ were developed and extensively pre-tested to ensure that they reflected the key norms and values of the campaign, primarily, the values and spirit of ‘brotherhood’ and a call to action to men to stand up and join the movement.

In the South African context, ‘brother’ has wide resonance among men, expressed in various languages, including words such as ‘mfo’, ‘mfowetu’, ‘bra’, ‘bru’, ‘brada’, ‘boet’ and ‘brother’. Using the spirit of brotherhood that exists strongly among South African men, the aim was to positively influence each other as men, partners and as leaders.

Participants attributed varied meanings to the term ‘Brothers for Life’ (and ‘I am that man and you are my brother’), which many saw as a concept that unites people for change, friendship and service. The language of ‘brothers’ appeared to resonate quite deeply, conjuring up a number of associations that implied a sense of connectedness among men.

*“I think it’s a very good idea because it shows that if you are my neighbour, you are my brother. I must not let you do something wrong and I’m sitting here and I say ‘okay, that is not my problem, that is your problem’ (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape)”.*

*"In terms of Brothers for Life for me, I would say that word, I think it deals with your best friend, someone who is always there for you. When you know you are in need of something, you can say you are my Brother for Life; we have been through thick and thin. Someone, even if you know that you did bad things, he's not going to snitch. Yah, just like that. He's your Brother for Life (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State)".*

In general, participants understood 'Brother for Life' to mean a variety of different things, the most pertinent being someone who helps and cares for another:

*"It means you have to help each other in each and every situation. To me it's something like that. It's like you have to help each other. If you take someone as your brother, then it means you have to help each other (Female, 18-29, urban, Free State)".*

*"Brothers for Life is just taking care of what he actually said, it's taking care of each other, looking after your woman, that type of thing (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape)".*

Brothers for Life was largely associated with reinforcing positive behaviour change among men. Positive associations with Brothers for Life included that a 'brother' is someone you can trust, who is nonviolent towards women and children and practices more gender equitable attitudes and behaviours. The campaign was said to create unity among men who 'do the right thing':

*"When somebody mentions Brothers for Life, the first thing that comes to mind is one, trust, somebody who won't mislead you, somebody who will tell you if you are wrong and if you are right. For me, Brothers for Life is like, we as men, let's stand up and be men, do the right thing. Stop this thing of being like a woman's place is in the kitchen or what, stop abusing children, stop abusing women, let's do something good, it's change, we can change this world for our kids to be a better place, you understand? (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape)".*

*"I think that Brothers for Life means we can do things together. We can share our problems, and speak out and then we become Brothers for Life (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, Peddie)".*

*"When I think of Brothers for Life, when I hear about Brothers for Life, to me it's a new step of a new life to a*

*long journey. That's what I'm thinking about, because mostly the Brothers for Life for me, it means whenever I see somebody I must know that I see myself (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape)".*

Other associations with Brothers for Life highlighted the need for men to join together and act in a united way to reduce their (and their partners') HIV risk, stop abuse and make a difference to other men:

*"I think the advert with the man and the young girl in the car shows that to be a Brother for Life is like [that]. It shows that you don't have to only care about the people that you know. You can also care about strangers who are putting their lives at risk; those are people you can also advise and help guide in the right direction (Female, 18-29, urban, Free State)".*

*"What it actually means for me is I help you, you help me, and since I am helping you, I feel like I am helping my brother and I want you to grow (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal)".*

*"Yeah, no abuse. If you say Brothers for Life, there is no abuse but on the same path we are encouraged to do the right thing towards our fellow partners or whoever, we don't abuse kids, we are all like straight (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape)".*

Although there were positive associations and feedback about the use of Brothers for Life as a campaign name, some participants had reservations about the use of the term. A few concerns arose that the term 'Brother' could box all men without acknowledging their heterogeneous nature or appeal to a specific age group, at the exclusion of others.

*"I think the use of the word brother sort of just puts everyone or males in a box, and it says you are all in this box, whether you are doing this or you are not doing this, we are together so you want to end this you must do this together, you are Brothers for Life, we are in this box forever, so if you don't do this for an individual, no one else will see that hey, we need to change (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal)".*

*"I was going to add on that the brothers thing sort of like specifies a certain range. I mean, when you're a brother, it means you are in the youth, sort of, but I also feel it captures the youth in particular, but also any male species who is still active, in general (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape)".*



**'Yenza Kahle. Do the right thing'**

# Yenzakahle!

## Do the right thing

The slogan 'Yenza Kahle, do the right thing' yielded mixed responses from the different focus groups. The isiZulu phrase literally means 'do it well'. In this context, most participants understood it to mean: respecting self and others, encouraging positive behaviours which are shared with other people, reducing HIV risks, stopping abuse and violence and encouraging help-seeking behaviour:

*"Respect yourself. You behave, and you have to stop your friends. Act in the right manner with maybe your colleagues and you try to teach him also to Yenza Kahle and show him that you Yenza Kahle (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape)".*

*"I think it's quite an advert, all of those we just saw there. They are reaching out to us, especially with the concept Yenza Kahle. I think it doesn't mainly stay on abuse per se, physical abuse or emotional abuse, it's trying to say let's protect ourselves and let's do the right thing. Use a condom so that there will be fewer risks (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng)".*

*"For me Yenza Kahle is saying to you, maybe if you were an abuser and you need help, speak out and talk to people. Yenza Kahle you see, do the right thing maybe now you are doing the wrong thing maybe you are scared, you are keeping it inside and you don't want to talk to people. So for me Yenza Kahle is do the right thing, go and find help outside and talk to people, you see do the right thing (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape)".*

In the context of the campaign, 'Yenza Kahle, do the right thing' was understood as a call to take action to change one's own negative behaviour and end forms of abuse, while also making it acceptable for men to seek help and encourage other men to 'do the right thing':

*"Brothers for Life, you know it is one kind of saying that yes, you can abuse and I am here to alert you of something that you don't know, because we are*

*Brothers for Life, it touches you when you say brother for life, you now ....if you are highlighting to a person the wrong things that the person is doing, when you end up saying I am your brother and I love you and we will be Brothers for Life, I am here to stay and I am here to show you the way (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo)".*

There were some reservations expressed about the slogan, with a few participants negatively associating the slogan with parental control and being told what to do:

*"It's not motivating enough.... It's what your mother told you your whole life (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape)".*

Others felt that the use of the isiZulu phrase excluded other less dominant African language groups and that the words should have been translated into other languages to reach a wider audience, possibly in a more directive way:

*"I wanted to say those four adverts are making us realise that... we have to change. They are teaching us, but the one thing that is for sure, even when we are listening to the radio... You can still hear 'Yenza Kahle, do the right thing', whereas maybe as a Sotho you can hear Etsa hantle. In Sotho, Yenza Kahle will never mean the way it means in Zulu or Xhosa, because in Sotho it will be saying Etsa Hantle. It means you have to beat her, but beat her hard. Continue what you are doing, but properly or smartly... Maybe it should change in a way that maybe it would say 'fetola ma itswaro a hoa' (change your behaviour) (Male, 30+, rural, Free State)".*

In keeping with this concern, some participants felt others with less education might misinterpret the tagline 'Yenza Kahle' as encouraging the kind of behaviour that the campaign is trying to end; especially if they were not conversant in English. The English phrase 'do the right thing' moderated the Zulu phrase 'yenza kahle' (do it well), giving it a moral quality; and without the accompanying English phrase it was felt that the term could be misinterpreted.

*"If people who are not educated enough, maybe from the villages, they might misinterpret that Yenza Kahle in a way of saying okay, do it, but do it, you know... Kahle (well). It might be misunderstood, if you say Yenza Kahle and then maybe someone doesn't know English, he hears Yenza Kahle, he says okay, beat her, but beat her not hard (Male, 30+, rural, Free State)".*

*There is this one where the guy is a sugar daddy to the girl, but after it played, there*



*is this message – Yenza Kahle, do the right thing. Other people, would not understand the English like people who are living in this modern town. People who are from the country or the farms would still say oh, are they encouraging us to still do this. Really? (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

There was some discussion about this and it was felt that the phrase ‘do the right thing’ corrected any misapprehension that might have occurred about what ‘Yenza Kahle’ referred to, but it remains a question whether those who did not understand the English component could have misinterpreted what the advert was promoting.

In summary, it was evident among participants that ‘Yenza Kahle, do the right thing’ effectively carried the intended message in the context of its communication. However, some reservations were expressed about possible misapprehension of the intended meaning were listeners to translate the isiZulu expression into other African languages and the loss of the intended meaning of the slogan when the English component was not understood. This is plausible, although it must be noted that the respondents themselves grasped the intended message as it was intended.

## Logo



The brand symbol of the Brothers for Life campaign is depicted to the right. The symbol was intended to communicate a handshake in the form a red AIDS ribbon. The logo stood out to participants who reported that they found it interesting and a good representation of the ideas that the campaign encompasses, perceiving to be a symbol that represented unity, support, brotherhood and partnership:

*The logo, the hands. Yeah, that handshake actually even in real life is very strong. It actually communicates a lot if two people are holding each other like that it's a breach of something else. Usually people do it when they are forgiving each other you know, and you can squeeze each other nicely, you can feel each other (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

*"It's Brothers for Life itself... The hands are not only about forgiveness, but when you look at those hands, clinging together, it's a unity of purpose and there is strength in those hands, which clearly shows that there is determination and there is willpower to do things together (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo)".*

The visual style of the campaign was also mentioned as something that stood out and set it apart from other campaigns. The characteristic black and white images were described as having a ‘timeless’, sentimental quality that appeared to be well-liked by those who discussed it.

*"I got attracted most of all to the black, if you saw the ads, most of them had a black background and the red was striking. For me, I felt that was kind of different when I first saw the ads, because it was always black and red, black and red, black and red and someone in the front or a female figure or a male figure. That stood out for me (Female, 18-29, urban, Western Cape)".*

*"In fact, when you said Brothers for Life to me - nothing. There was absolutely nothing, until I clicked on those red hands, like you said Brothers for Life, and then you said you do know it. So it's like they need to up their game (Female, 18-29, urban, Western Cape)".*

## 1.14. Levels of exposure

### Recruitment form data

During recruitment, each of the 250 individuals approached completed a recruitment form to determine their familiarity with and exposure to the *Brothers for Life* campaign. This questionnaire asked if they 1) had seen any *Brothers for Life* adverts on television. If yes, which one? 2) Had heard any *Brothers for Life* adverts on the radio? If yes, which one? And 3) had seen any *Brothers for Life* print media materials? If yes, which one?

Of all the 250 individuals approached, only 31 reported that they had never seen or heard of *Brothers for Life*, leaving 87% of individuals who were approached having seen or heard of the *Brothers for Life* campaign. All participants approached in the Western Cape, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces reported having seen or heard about the *Brothers for Life* campaign. Limpopo recorded the highest number of people who said they had never encountered campaign materials.

Across the sample, the PSA that was most frequently recalled on the forms was the gender-based violence television one with Patrick Shai, followed by the television PSAs from the Sports Ambassadors component. The most recalled Sports Ambassador was Teko Modise (in eight of the nine provinces), followed by Matthew Booth (in five of the nine provinces).

The radio PSAs appear to be less frequently recalled by research participants, which is explained by the fact that television received significantly greater campaign coverage compared to radio. Among people who were exposed to the radio campaign, it was evident that the SABC national radio stations were heard more frequently in comparison to community radio stations.

The questionnaires indicated that there was strong overall agreement that the *Brothers for Life* campaign was informative, clear and easy to understand. Most participants rated the campaign as good or excellent. The general comments indicated that participants thought the campaign was doing an excellent job in South Africa, that more men should join the campaign, and that it should be launched worldwide.

### General feedback about audience consumption

Focus group participants reported the same sources of exposure and provided some general feedback regarding the different types of media products that the campaign utilised. The materials that discussants recalled and remembered without being aided were

overwhelmingly the television PSAs, followed by different print and out-of-home media, especially billboards; very few remembered radio PSAs or talk shows. The same was found in the exposure information gathered from the recruitment forms.

#### 1) Television PSAs

The most remembered television PSA was the one that was most recently broadcast (about gender-based violence), followed by the Sports Ambassador PSAs. The one featuring Teko Modise was recalled in particular. In a few instances, *Brothers for Life* PSAs were confused with other television PSAs that relay similar messages, such as the 'HIV-free generation', the anti-crime campaign, 'Shout', and 'Scrutinize'. It was suggested in one focus group that *Brothers for Life* should emulate the comedic element of *Scrutinize*. Participants in three groups compared the messages in two *Brothers for Life* PSAs to similar messages found in *Scrutinize* about alcohol and partner reduction.

*"Can I just ask, that advert of Scrutinize, is it part of Brothers for Life? ....It is also almost saying the same things because it is speaking about having multiple girlfriends or boyfriends. I think I can remember the one thing that I usually tell my guys like, if we can just work together, if we ultimately walk together, our job will be half done, like this campaign of Scrutinize it is the same, it has the same message of the pipeline [sexual network] maybe it's going to be shown to us on TV about having too many boyfriends will lead to unprotected sex, if we just look at the heading, it is part of that (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape)".*

Three participants recalled how *Brothers for Life* was featured in a storyline on the soapie, *Generations*; the way in which the story was able to connect with what viewers had already connected with other campaign materials was appreciated.

#### 2) Radio PSAs and talk shows

When participants were asked to recall whether they had heard anything about *Brothers for Life* on the radio, most could not remember clearly if they had. A few individuals specifically recalled hearing the *Manifesto*, gender-based violence, and HIV testing PSAs. The taglines 'Yenza Kahle, do the right thing' and 'be a Brother for Life' were mainly what was recalled from the radio PSAs. Others recalled hearing messages discussed on MetroFM and FiveFM; other radio stations that were mentioned were Kaya FM, Motsweding FM, TUT FM and Umhlobo Wenene FM. A few participants remembered having heard radio PSAs in other official languages such as isiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana during the aided recall discussion.

Participants from Mpumalanga reported having heard the most PSAs on Ligwalagwala FM, while those in the Western Cape reported the least exposure to the radio PSAs and activations. During aided recall, more participants described recognising some of the PSAs. Overall, there was very little recall of the radio PSAs and their specific messages. Participants said that the radio PSAs were not aired regularly which made it difficult to remember them.

*“So, it’s not being aired regularly, even on radio stations. It’s not even aired regularly. We can hear it once a month, and sometimes, I don’t know what happened on that day (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State)”.*

Some thought that the radio PSAs did not communicate the campaign messages as powerfully as the television ones did, given that the audience cannot ‘see’ the speaker:

*M2: “You can hear it but, it doesn’t have the same pull as the one I saw on TV. It doesn’t have the power”.*

*M7: “It doesn’t have the power.... You can hear the way he is talking, I am a changed man, he is just saying the three words.... It is short (Males, 18-29, rural, North West, aided recall)”.*

Others in the same group described how a radio drama about Brothers for Life might have been a more engaging alternative to the thirty second PSAs that were broadcast:

*M3: “I used to hear adverts such as this one but I wasn’t taking them to heart”.*

*M9: “...My sister I think it would have been best if they had made a play on a radio and not an advert, because they don’t understand the advert and they were going to do a follow up had it been a story”.*

*Facilitator: So it must be made in to a story?*

*M9: “Yes”.*

*M6: “That is why in the beginning I said if they made a drama series on TV, and you will even hear older people saying ‘hey at 13:00 there is that story playing on Brothers for Life’ they will listen to it the whole week (Males, 18-29, rural, North West, aided recall)”.*

There was a general criticism expressed that SABC radio stations do not reach everyone and that community radio stations were underutilised. Participants in the Northern Cape and Free State expressed that the use of SABC-driven radio stations left many people unexposed to the Brothers for Life campaign.

*Brothers for Life is only advertising with SABC, eTV, and other independent stakeholders, but they forget that we have community radio and community TV. So, maybe if they can advertise with them the entire, the broader message will be accepted by the community at large, really. I told you that here where we are, people are very ignorant. Maybe it’s because they are not having more chance to listen to what Brothers for Life is about, or to hear what it is about, because we have community radio here locally (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

**“No woman  
will be raped  
in my name”**

### 3) Outdoor media

Most participants reported having seen Brothers for Life billboards in their communities. Some said that they had seen outdoor media prior to viewing television PSAs, but had not taken much notice. Participants were most likely to recall having seen them in cities, such as Kimberly, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Durban—sites which had been identified by the campaign for concentrated outdoor media.

*“Just last week I was in OR Tambo coming back from PE, so I saw a Matthew Booth and a Ryan Giggs billboard talking about HIV and AIDS and stuff like that (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State)”.*

Participants from a number of rural and peri-urban research sites reported that they had never seen a Brothers for Life billboard in their area, but had seen it in a nearby city or town. For example, peri-urban participants in the Northern Cape reported that the campaign itself felt ‘far’ from them, but they still remembered seeing a John Smit billboard in Kimberly, demonstrating that central locations can reach target audiences in disparate communities.

*“For me Brothers for Life [is visible] especially in places like Kimberley. It should be more visible and mobile, we don’t have billboards or pamphlets about Brothers for Life [here]. There are places like Teptu, I don’t think people of Teptu know about Brothers for Life because there is no electricity in Teptu and there are no campaigns like [there are] in Kimberley.... People of Brothers for Life should have campaigns in Teptu and Leratong Park. They should be visible and mobile in such places (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape)”*

Participants in rural KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and North West, however, reported having never seen billboards in their areas. This is accurate as Brothers for Life outdoor media had not been erected in those particular communities.

The billboards that were most commonly recalled were the PMTCT and the ones featuring the Sports Ambassadors, such as John Smit, Matthew Booth, Lionel Messi and Graeme Smith. The Brothers for Life logo was also remembered.

*“Lionel Messi, where he was saying as men, we should be responsible, support our families and not abuse our wives and children. We need to love them and also protect ourselves from HIV/AIDS, protect ourselves from drugs and all the diseases that are there (Male,*

*25-30, peri-urban, Mpumalanga)”.*

More often, participants recalled the brand, the logo and the person featured on the billboard, rather than the specific message.

*“When we saw the billboard, we just get the logo and the person. The message, we don’t read it because we already know what Brothers for Life is for. We just look and see oh, it’s Brothers for Life [laughter] (Male, 30+, rural, Free State)”.*

*My sister, we do see them on Billboards but if you are driving you won’t be able to read the rest of it, you will just see Brothers for Life campaign but, you won’t see the information as clearly as you would if you were watching TV (Male, 18-29, rural, North West).*

Outdoor media is a supportive medium that works synergistically with other elements of the multi-media campaign; billboards are often remembered subliminally and reinforce televised messages through the recognition of the brand. One participant described the value of being able to continually viewing a billboard’s message in comparison to attending an event:

*I have a problem sometimes we bring DJ’s it’s a once off, they come and entertain and they go, that billboard will be there for seven months or for eight months and we will read it every day, it will be there (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape).*

Two people from the Free State recommended that there should be more outdoor media in peri-urban localities, including shebeens, as they felt alcohol and partner abuse are serious issues there:

*The billboards should be visible, more especially in the township, because most of the abusers, the alcohol and everything, it’s happening in the township. They do happen in the towns, but not as much as is happening in the township. Like now as we are speaking, there is someone who is making something in the township. That one I am 100% certain about (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State).*

*Like they are talking about the beer, for me to advise the guys who are doing the billboards for Brothers for Life, I would advise them to put those billboards in the tavern or whatever, in a club, so that while you are still drinking, maybe someone has said ‘I am going to beat my wife’, you just [ask], ‘are you a brother...?’ (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State).*



#### 4) Newspaper supplements

*me grab it and use it or to put it aside to say I will read it, it is just a leaflet to say they are putting their adverts in (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

While specific messages were not recalled, the *Brothers for Life* logo was still seen as an effective and attention-drawing aspect of the print media products.

*The thing is when we see Brothers for Life, it has a beautiful logo, those hands shaking, we just say 'okay, Brothers for Life and then you page over, you don't read. That's the thing; you can see there is that thing (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape).*

### 1.15. Influence on male identity

This section considers how the Brothers for Life campaign as a whole impacted upon male identity, in targeting men as decision makers. Findings captured here reflect the extent to which the campaign influenced existing understandings of what it means to be a man and established versions of masculinity that are conducive to health-seeking and gender-equitable behaviours.

Social identity theory provides a lens through which it is possible to attain a deeper understanding of how social norms influence behaviour and allows for an understanding of the socially embedded construction of identity.

Social identities are *'fluid, personalized social constructions that reflect socio-historical context'*<sup>13</sup>. Social identity is an individual's self-concept derived from perceived membership of social groups<sup>14</sup>. Group membership creates in-group categorization and enhancement whereby individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem from their in-group through a comparison with an out-group<sup>15</sup>.

Within South Africa, normative masculine identities can legitimate gender-based violence, multiple concurrent partnerships and disincentivise health-seeking behaviour. Recent work on the gendered context of HIV and AIDS strongly indicates *'the association between hegemonic masculinity, in particular but not restricted to South African youth, that is predicated on prodigious demonstrations of success in acquisition and control of women sexual partners, and hence is sexually risky and often very violent'*<sup>16</sup>.

Given the centrality of male identity to sexual and reproductive health in South Africa, any campaign that attempts to raise consciousness about SRH issues



Very few participants reported seeing the *Brothers for Life* inserts in the *Daily Sun* newspaper. Of the few participants that had seen the inserts, they remembered seeing the logo and the ambassadors. Other participants recalled seeing *Brothers for Life* inserts in City Press, Sunday Times and the Sowetan newspapers.

*It was just in an advertisement. Just the two hands together, no writing (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).*

*I saw it on Daily Sun....it was Mathew Booth and Patrick Shai and Silver Tshabalala (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo).*

*I normally read Sowetan or City Press and there also you will see a poster for Brothers for Life (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo).*

Of those participants who had seen the newspaper inserts, some participants expressed that the inserts lacked creativity and mass appeal.

*When you buy a newspaper you can see a leaflet talking about Brothers for Life, but there was nothing attractive, to me I could see that it is Brothers for Life what is it that it's all about, it doesn't bind me to say let*

13 Howarth (2002)  
14 Hogg & Vaughan (2002)  
15 Turner & Tajfel (1986)  
16 Morrell & Jewkes (2011)



should open spaces for dialogue that simultaneously facilitates an empowering process of negotiating and re-framing social identity<sup>17</sup>.

The following discussion on normative masculinities, identification, internalised meaning, and the emergence of new social identities aims to capture the impact of the Brothers for Life campaign on male identity and associated behaviour change. Moments of critical reflection on social norms and identities as they related to issues such as gender-based violence and also (to a lesser extent) HIV testing and partner reduction are discussed. The emotional dimensions of how the campaign impacted its audience by generating a process of internal dialogue, reflection and transition are also discussed. Finally, the emergence of positive, health-enhancing social identities is considered as a significant impact of the campaign.

### Critical dialogue on normative masculinities

The *Brothers for Life* campaign was a catalyst for complex, in-depth reflection and dialogue over normative masculinities and the health-limiting and gender inequitable behaviours that they can lead to.

Male and female viewers were prompted to think about the social context and norms that underpin certain behaviours, with gender-based violence being the most common topic of discussion, followed by alcohol abuse and HIV testing and counselling. On the whole, the engagement with norms that limit positive relationship behaviours such as being non-abusive and loving towards one's intimate partner, was empathetic. There was an understanding that men are under significant pressure to conform to certain identities, even by their own partners. There was also some appreciation of the social drivers of health-damaging behaviours such as alcohol abuse, which was attributed to male unemployment, leading to disempowerment and depression. At the same time, damaging behaviours were held up to scrutiny, and critical engagement was accompanied by a call for men to recognise their capacity to change, stop abusing their partners and to be pro-active in taking care of their health.

Many participants engaged in critical reflection over the normative attitudes that not only legitimate the abuse of women, but go so far as to encourage it. The norms that legitimate abuse were often depicted as belonging to a male social group to which participants also belonged. Participants spoke about the legacy of patriarchy from previous generations and were aware of how men are brought up with values which legitimate certain behaviours such as acts of violence against

women. One participant critically engaged with the way in which men have been socially conditioned, stating that the campaign is successful precisely because it opens up spaces for communication and dialogue over key issues, so that they can learn from each other and find 'the right direction':

*I think the campaign stands a better chance of transforming how men think, and also transforming us as men in terms of the way, the way in which we socialise. You see, we are coming from patriarchal society where men are the ones who show the direction and unfortunately some of the things that we learned from our forefathers and uncles are not the right things. Look, when engaging men in a forum like this where people can even talk and influence one another positively by so doing I think the generations to come will then learn better things from us because we will be socialised and we will be coaching each other in the right direction and therefore we stand a chance of influencing the younger generation to do things right especially not resorting to violence (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

Normative masculinities that legitimate women abuse were also said to be perpetuated by women, who would expect their boyfriends or husbands to beat them as being evidence that they are not 'boring' or 'softies' and also that they love them. In one focus group discussion, men and women discussed expectations of violence in relationships. In this conversation, participants demonstrate an awareness of the social nature of these behaviours – 'they call it culture, but... that's how we are socialised':

*M2: By the way, we have been socialised in places where culture is put in a strange way, sometimes to suit these abusers.... They would say if you don't hit your wife, that's not the right way of raising a family. You need, even when there is nothing wrong, you need to give her a slap or two, kick her, or punch her [laughter].*

*Facilitator: Did you say that was socialising, or cultural?*

*M2: That is our... somehow, it... it's a combination of both. People call it culture, but I'm not sure if it is culture. They call it culture, but again, that's how we are socialised, because everybody will tell you, if you've got a girlfriend they would say yah, once in a while you must slap her, even when there is nothing wrong. And again, we have been socialised in such a way that sometimes women also come to the fore and say 'hey, this one is very boring, he's like a priest. He doesn't even hit me' [laughter]. Strange as it is,*

<sup>17</sup> Freire (1970); Campbell & Scott (2011); Howarth (2002)

*there are women who say that where I work, people who are learned. I am talking about people who are learned who would say 'but this one is boring, he's always quoting Shakespeare, quoting the Bible, he doesn't even slap me or kick me around'.*

*Facilitator: Okay, so a lot of people were nodding and saying yes. F5, do you want to add? No? Do you know someone, have you heard that before, that it's a sign of a man loving a woman if he hits her?*

*F5: Yah [F3 agrees].*

*Facilitator: You were also nodding, M7.*

*M7: Yah, I mean it's a fact [laughs].*

*F3: I mean when we were still growing up, like that sense of if a guy is hitting a woman, 'yah, he hit me because he loves me' [chuckles].*

*Facilitator: Did you grow up with that kind of thing, or was it something you heard?*

*F3: Yah, I grew up with that kind of thing.*

*F4: And then even we ladies, some of the ladies, they will just say like 'just hit me and then it will be over'. They think maybe when somebody hits you then that's it, it's done. That is how a problem is solved, yah.*

*M7: Well, the situation, I have been in a situation like that, where you will find a female, or a lady will provoke you, and when you don't do anything about it – actually, I didn't do anything about it – and she will go to her friends and say 'that one is a softie', and it's offensive to me. But then I say to myself I did the right thing. I walked, I walked away (Males and females, 30+, urban, Gauteng)*

In another focus group discussion participants reflected on the difficulty of being 'a good guy and taking care of women'. It was said that you will be mocked if you are a caring man, thought to be stupid. One participant described how 'Africans' have a perception that legitimates violence as a way to 'get love', and are scornful of those men whose caring practices contradict this:

*I think the impact of this is very crucial, because thinking how we have grown up, I think this thing can work out in wise communities because there is a great change there. But coming to the Africans, it seems as if the African women are used to being beaten. If they are not beaten, they cannot hear, that lady [chuckling], or what must be done, really. That's what I have learnt*

*myself while growing up, because when you are a good guy and taking care of women, they are mocking you always. They say 'hayi, that's stupid', what-what, but the boy who is beating her always, he is getting love from these people who are still crying about the bad treatment we are giving them (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

As participants critically engaged with social norms around masculinity that perpetuate gender-based violence, they also reflected on men who experience violence at the hands of their female partners. Several participants stated that this kind of intimate partner violence was not socially acceptable and that if they were to speak out about it they would be ridiculed. In one discussion, participants spoke about how they would be beaten up if they reported being abused by a girl and would be told to return and stand up for themselves as men:

*M1: I think you are fortunate that you were not raised like me, in your case they used to beat you for... I mean revoke you for being beaten by a girl, in our case they beat you for being beaten by a girl. If I were to report, they would beat me up, I mean I was in trouble because from childhood I was taught to fight for myself and not to report any person who beat me, so in your case we will beat you for being beaten by a girl.*

*M5: Yeah, go back and show yourself that you are a man, I should go straight there and say 'girl you don't know me' (They all laugh).*

*M1: Then she beats you again (Males, 18-29, rural, Limpopo).*

In some cases men might be told that they should go back and be violent towards their female partners because 'you can't be beat by a woman'. This was said to perpetuate the cycle of violence. One participant stated that his mother would have told him that, and went on to say that he likes the *Brothers for Life* campaign because it targets the whole family:

*While I was growing up, when it comes to life orientation when a young man has been beaten up by a girl, you know what happens, my mother would say, 'you are stupid man, you can't be beat by a woman, go back and hit that girl' you see, that mentality of saying that, it starts there and that is why I am saying with that one I am happy because that old man is involving the whole family, it doesn't revolve only to men, even the whole family has to work. As a real man, I like it, you should go and tell them that they should play it more (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo).*

There was some critical reflection about why men abuse alcohol, and it was generally perceived that men drink because they have difficulties in life, with alcohol abuse being attributed to youth and those who are economically disadvantaged. One participant described how men, including himself, would go out drinking to drown one's problems and stated that the Brothers for Life campaign was a motivating factor to act differently because it opens up the possibility of choice. Choice in this context connected with feeling powerful:

*It gives you power in a way that 'okay, I can go out, I can go out with so and so and I can have like.. buy cases of Black label or some Hansa or whatever they drink, and then hopefully tomorrow everything will be better'. If you've got problems that is what you are thinking, you are like, 'hey that chick dumped me, let me go to the shebeen and hang with the guys and get drunk'... With such campaigns I think it gives you a choice and maybe when you start to have choices that is when you start to become powerful because you are no longer like if you don't have choices (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

Some participants critically reflected on the social norms and attitudes that act as barriers for men accessing HCT services. This was also accompanied by an emphasis on the importance of men overcoming normative attitudes which disincentivise health-seeking behaviours, such as accessing HIV testing and other health services. One participant spoke about how he had decided not to be afraid and tested when he contracted TB, acknowledging that men often refuse to test because of fear and need to be targeted by HCT programmes:

*[The campaign is] talking to men because it's them who don't want to go test. Especially us men, I don't know how many times I have heard at home people telling me that their wives have tested and are negative but the men refuse to go test and are scared. And the brother said it that we shouldn't be afraid.... I once fell ill with TB and I asked that they should check me and then I came to [name of place] and asked them to check again, because I wanted to fight what I was ill of. I didn't want to fight something that I didn't know, because I'm not scared. I will get tested when something is bothering me so I can fight with it, because everything is a cough to me, nothing is more important or serious (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal).*

Some participants reflected on the fact that women were more likely to test and talk openly about their status. Men, by comparison, were said to be far less likely to test and more private about their status if they are HIV

positive. One participant stated that testing should not just be something that only women do and that 'we need to crush this point' and that men need to start being pro-active. This indicates a critical understanding of the gendered nature of certain health behaviours and a call to change this so that men start to take action about their health:

*It is true that males are scared, they only go when they are sick flat on the bed. They are scared, they wouldn't just get up and go test, but the female will go and get tested (Female, 18-29, rural, Limpopo).*

*Let me comment, you see women end up being a comparison, they say there that you should know your HIV status and if they say men don't talk too much, saying that they have gone there to go test, but with women especially if she found that she is HIV negative then she will talk too much about it. She will tell the entire street, but if it's positive then she will keep quiet. With us men, even if we go and we find out that we are negative, we keep quiet because we know that it's my life, people don't have to know. Even if I'm positive it's my life. What I'm trying to say is that we should crush this point because we shouldn't be saying its men only, we should all know our statuses whether male or female (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo).*

## Identification, resonance and internalised meaning

In this section attention is given to key moments where participants demonstrated a particularly strong identification with the *Brothers for Life* campaign, how it resonated with them personally and how this led to internal dialogue and the development of new attitudes or impetus to change behaviour. Findings indicate that many participants were touched emotionally and cognitively by the campaign. This often coincided with internal reflection on one's identity as a man and past behaviours, a critical appreciation of what needs to change, and a reported state of personal transformation towards a better lives and relationships. Sometimes moments of identification and resonance were associated with a particular symbol or message (such as the campaign T-shirts) and sometimes with an individual story or character, most notably Patrick Shai.

Observational learning, 'modelling' and perceived self-efficacy are important preconditions for behaviour change<sup>18</sup>. This section on identification, resonance and emotion is informed by this theoretical background, as it attempts to capture the impact the campaign had on individuals. The moments of identification related

# “No child will be harmed in my name”

by evaluation participants are indicative of a deep and complex level of engagement with what it means to be a man, including the normative pressures and expectations on men and shared experiences of growing up with (and being traumatised by) exposure to violence.

Overall, there was strong identification with the story of Patrick Shai which triggered the emotional and psychological processes of retracing personal experiences of witnessing, experiencing or perpetrating abuse. Patrick Shai's story was often interpreted to be one of emancipation: of confronting painful past experiences, asking for forgiveness and moving forwards to a new, positive, non-violent future. Participants were often moved by the outward expression of emotion in the Patrick Shai PSA, taken to be especially meaningful in social contexts where men do not freely express their emotions or talk about traumatic experiences of being exposed to domestic violence as a child. This PSA was thus a catalyst for deep internal dialogue around formative experiences of manhood that can lead to health-damaging attitudes and behaviours in later life, enabling people to identify patterns of behaviour that they have possibly inherited from their fathers and providing them with an opportunity to take action and stop the cycle of abuse.

One participant explicitly stated that the Patrick Shai PSA had encouraged him to think critically about behaviour and experiences of abuse and how he could change. He stated that the PSA ‘takes people back’ to their past experiences of emotional and physical abuse and in this way is very effective. This participant would have liked to see an ‘ordinary’ person in the role of Patrick Shai, although this does not seem to detract from his

impression of its impact:

*According to me, I think it works because that advert with Patrick Shai, to me it brought some critical thinking. It made me think. So then after that, I think that I should at least change because maybe I was hard on those people.... like it changed different people's lives. Then it means what M1 was saying about removing Patrick Shai and putting someone like me. Not a celebrity. An ordinary person like me. At least it will touch the hearts of more people. The moment we see that advert, it takes some people back. Some people were abused, they may not have been abused physically, but they were abused emotionally. It's the same thing, that is why I agree with it (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State).*

Showing male emotion, particularly a man crying on television strongly resonated with several participants. There were frequent references to being ‘touched’ by Patrick Shai's story and this in turn led to a deeper engagement with and internalisation of meaning around experiencing and perpetrating violence, confronting one's past, and moving towards a positive future. One participant stated that seeing a man who cries publicly was something new and moving, precisely because it was very unusual. He went on to talk about how he was motivated to change and be a responsible husband and father:

*Once you see that programme where that man cries, it's touching, because once again, days before we never saw a man crying. We always saw a man smiling, whether he is making a wrong thing or not. So to me, I understand that before you do things, you must think, and it is touching me that when you do things in your house, you must do things in a proper manner, consultation, and you must understand you*



*are a man, you have responsibility for your children, your wife. You are the only person that is protecting this family, and you are the only person protecting your area that you are living in, and you are the only person that, whether the community people are looking at you, that you are the adviser of this community (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape).*

Another participant also observed the social norm that ‘men don’t cry’ and stated that if men who held such attitudes were exposed to Shai’s story, they would identify with him and it would make it easier to ‘see things in a very different way’:

*Look, even if I was a very stubborn husband to my wife, but if I can see other men speaking openly, remember, we still have that thing of saying men don’t cry or don’t do this, but if another man expresses his behaviour openly like that, it is easier for you to see things in a very different way to say, ‘look man, let me make this move. Let me start doing things right’, you see? So in a way, I think by using such characters, I means even young people like ourselves, we can easily relate to that (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

Participants who identified strongly with the gender-based violence component of the *Brothers for Life* campaign often reflected on their own personal experiences of witnessing, experiencing or perpetrating abuse. One participant, relating to the PSA, spoke about how his father used to beat his mother and how he still has a vivid memory of it; ‘that picture is forever in my head’ (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo). Recalling this traumatic experience, he finds strength in the newly formulated belief that ‘men can transform’ and gender-based violence will end.

Several participants engaged with Shai’s story with emotional and transformative depth that included a call for forgiveness, wanting to acknowledge the wrongs that one has committed and to start afresh. There was an almost religious fervour in the response of some participants, as in one male from the Eastern Cape who spoke about having an intense moment of realisation while on the couch with his wife, and experiencing a desire to stop ‘doing things that are wrong’. Afterwards he reflected that he has learnt a lesson from this campaign:

*M3: When I watched that on that day, firstly*

*it was so great that this guy accepted that he was wrong.*

*Facilitator: Yes, so he says I used to do this, but I realise now I am wrong. What do you think of a man saying that kind of thing?*

*M3: I was sitting on the couch and my wife was sitting closer to me. I think it was far away. Then when I am watching, no one spoke, and then we take a decision, myself, saying please Lord, I don’t want to do that because it’s clear to me that as soon as you continue to do things that are wrong, but you could not understand when you began to do those things. Because sometimes you do things you do not understand, and when at a later stage the person that counsels you or gives you a clear understanding of life, you understand. Once you cry, you say forgiveness.*

*So, although that forgiveness, it’s a thing that’s coming from your heart, oh, why I understand at a later stage. So, I just to say as myself, if I am feeling, like what I noticed is alcohol, once you abuse alcohol, you do not understand everything, because whether the wife was complaining about the issues, internal marriage issues, whether she is asking for money, food and so on, in terms of accounts.... So, I was taking that moment of watching that scene straight to my heart to say ‘I don’t want to move in this area’. It was touching my heart, so I decided to take it as it is that it is a learning and I learnt a lesson from the media. You must learn things in an early stage instead of learning after (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape).*

Feeling able to ask for forgiveness from one’s spouse or girlfriend for one’s past behaviours, whatever they might have been, gave participants’ a sense of power to change, with a fresh start to one’s life and relationship. The message from *Brothers for Life* was said to be one that ‘gives you courage’ in this sense. One participant spoke about how he had been called upon to go to his wife, embrace her, and ask for her forgiveness, as a precedent for change:

*It draws something out of your mind when you see that man standing there and sending the message through. It makes you think, ‘am I really doing what I’m doing in my house’. So this man is giving me a warning that I must change, then there’s a message that goes around and gives you courage, and then you*



*feel like maybe you can just go and hug your wife and try and say 'sorry baby for what I have done', and so on (Western Cape, 30+, peri-urban, male).*

Another participant drew his own interpretation of Shai's tears as an indication that he is in touch with his own humanity (*'being part of the human race'*) accompanied by the realisation that women are also human beings, and to abuse a woman you love is wrong (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng).

There were some vivid examples of participants engaging internally and meaningfully with the idea of what it means to be a man in general (without being explicitly linked to a specific PSA, celebrity or message). Some participants spoke explicitly about the process of engaging with personal issues and of feeling motivated to change and move forwards. The overall sense was one of hope and potential for the future, accompanied by a sense of self-efficacy and belief that one can change:

*Yes, it comes to that point I raised, that first of all you have to sit down, make that introspection, then once you know yourself and you put, which state you belong, if sometimes you make something wrong, then when you see this, it can motivate you if you make things right, if you are alright, then it will make you more that really, I never turn back, I want to go forward. Then if once you feel that now you are free because you are making things right, I am coming to my friend, 'my friend, when you look at me, one day, you wish one day, I wish to live the way this guy, or my friend, he lives with his wife or his family'. To me, it is really strong (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape).*

One participant spoke about how he was encouraged to *'have some self-assessment as a man'*, and it is evident that the campaign has had a deep impact on him carrying through to a clear idea of *'what is right'* in terms of behaviour. He described wearing the *Brothers for Life* T-shirt as an entry-point into this critical awareness of himself:

*As I said it make you to have some self assessment as a man, you are putting yourself into an awareness to say what they are talking about there is really what touches my life, I have never done it or did I have an intention of doing it, and again it does have an influence because once they speak about it, and once I wear this T-shirt, they will be speaking about and that one is an entry point to me, it's an entry to them to say why am I wearing this T-shirt, it's because I have a message to say if and whenever you want to beat your woman or you are abusing alcohol and the likes, it's like it's not right, what is right is this and this and this (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

Not all experiences of identification were accompanied by self-efficacy and a positive sense of potential personal transformation. In a very moving example, one participant spoke about how he was deeply affected by the Patrick Shai PSA, to the extent that he would have to avoid watching it. It was not entirely clear what the past experience of this participant had been, but it was evident that he was psychologically affected by the PSA as he spoke about being counselled by a friend and then going to see a psychologist. Shai's story evidently brought up painful experiences for some viewers and served as a therapeutic tool for engaging with one's past. However this was not always accompanied by an immediate sense of self-efficacy and ability to change:

*M2: I was very sad when I saw that guy on TV.*

*Facilitator: What did you think of it?*

*M2: To see that one, I take from me. It is my child, what is happening to me, my body, and what is the feeling of that, and that guy was even crying. I was upset. I must go to bed before I see this thing. Then some guy was staying with me, he said no, it's not the end of the world. If you were to die, it's not the end of the world.*

*Facilitator: Like you can change, you mean?*

*M2: You can clean everything and you have got someone to just console you to get it in, but deeper. I noticed after two weeks, I went to the psychologist here at [university name]. I sat down with the psychologist and we spoke for a long time and everything was come down, come down. Everything was okay, but the feeling is still there around.*

*Facilitator: What did you feel when you watched that man speaking about his relationship? Like when you saw that ad on the TV, how did it make you feel?*

*M2: It made me feel that when I see that man, I was very upset, and the feelings were not right, to me. I can say that (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape).*

In another example of emotional engagement a participant spoke about how the Patrick Shai PSA had encouraged him to think about how his mother's story of being abused by his father. This participant was touched by the PSA and could identify and relate to it; however it did not offer resolution for him or assist him to conceptualise a way forward as he believes that he is to blame for the situation. The moment of realisation is important, as is the fact that the participant is able to vocalise the emotion he feels in response to a traumatic and upsetting experience. It is evident that re-exposure to the experience has led him to

internalise blame and guilt, and he has not yet reached a stage where he is able to process and potentially move beyond these feelings:

*Facilitator: M7, do you want to just tell us a little bit about what you think of that advert?*

*M7: It's very emotional to some of us, because this part of life, that's what we see everyday, in our daily lives. And then to even think about it, my mother shared her story with me, about herself. When she was married to my father, how she was abused, and somehow, why I so much wanted to come when [the recruiter] told me about it, is somehow I feel I am to blame for the whole situation (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng).*

Participants identified most strongly with the gender-based violence component of the campaign, and there was strong evidence of emotional engagement and resonance. This is likely influenced in part by the fact that this PSA was broadcast more recently than other ones that were evaluated. There were fewer examples of such strong identification over other themes and messages in the campaign, although there was some critical reflection and internal transition around the subject of fidelity versus having multiple concurrent partners, HIV and living positively. One participant had a moment of realisation when he had an internal dialogue with himself and considered empathetically how he would feel if his girlfriend had multiple partners. This was accompanied by conceptualising an action he could take in the future, of staying faithful to his partner:

*I had got to a point where I realised that I hate it big time when my girl does one, two, three, so let me not do it myself so that then I would somehow reach that level of being faithful and whatnot. So, it has some power, like internally it made me sort of like think through some things to say how would I feel when my partner does one, two, three, and hence like why would I do it when I know this is how I feel, and that, that, that. It's an internal thing that I had with myself (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).*

Other moments of identification and resonance took place in relation to living positively with HIV and going for HIV testing. Some participants made explicit statements about finding meaning in a particular message and experiencing a momentum to change through connecting with the celebrity figures in the PSAs. One participant who spoke openly about his HIV positive status stated that he had felt inspired by watching the 'very popular

guys' communicate messages around HIV and other behaviours and had a renewed sense of positivity in life, 'it gives you that thing of saying it's worth living':

*So, I am happily living with the virus, and in a way knowing that some people will change their attitude, because if someone that you know next to you is living positively, then it's easy to change that attitude of a person. So, in a way, and again, I mean watching TV and then you see these messages, I mean other people, very popular guys giving you that kind of message, somewhere, somehow it gives you that thing of saying it's worth living (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

Several participants found resonance in the PSA featuring Teko Modise, specifically around the theme of HIV and HCT. One participant spoke about how it had a particular resonance with him when he was in hospital (although he does not say what illness he had) and that it gave him hope:

*I remember when that campaign was on. Believe me, this is a true story for myself. I was hospitalised at that time, and then when you are sleeping in bed, you watch TV and then you see like the advert of Teko Modise saying this. Somewhere somehow it did reflect to what I was going through at that particular time. Then somewhere somehow, it gave me certain hope. Maybe if someone can see it in this way, yah, maybe I still have a chance, and so on (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

## Health-enhancing social identities

Much of the impact of the campaign was found in the way it encouraged men to adopt positive social identities. The campaign appears to have followed a 'positive psychology' approach with an emphasis on men's 'becoming' rather than focusing on what men should not be; as would have been the case had there been a greater emphasis on problematising negative aspects of masculinity and male identity in South Africa such as men's violent and abusive behaviour.

In some examples participants demonstrated an awareness of this movement away from previous ideas of manhood which legitimated abusive behaviour; for example, the identity of a responsible man who protects his partner and child was explicitly positioned against the man who is abusive. The dominant social identity that emerged from the campaign, of a man who is a provider and a protector, was perceived as actionable in that it was often aligned with conceptualised or actual forms of behaviour change that were about restraining violent tendencies and protecting one's intimate partner.

## Becoming a 'new' kind of man

There was a strong sense of self-efficacy associated with the idea of changing, moving beyond past abusive behaviours and becoming a 'new man'. Some participants spoke about how the idea that this identity was 'new' was pivotal to its powerful resonance, because one could position oneself against being an 'old man' and believe in one's ability to transform:

*If you are a person that was in that old man situation and you hear that there is a new man who was an old man, it gives you this vision that you can also change you know, there is a step forward from where I am, it's not the end of the road I have my Brothers for Life let me talk to them, they help me out and I can be a new man (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal).*

Urban participants from the Western Cape associated the concept of the 'new man' with a larger transformation that is more than just a change in behaviour, and one participant stated that this concept was better than the idea of 'the changed man':

The new man concept, I feel that it's somehow... I feel it's better than the changed man, because I think the changed man has a sort of connotation to it. So when you say changed, automatically I think of what's behind that, but when you say a new man, I feel the new concept incorporates the learning, that I have learnt and now I am this new person who has dropped one, two, three and then starting afresh (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).

In a key example of social modelling, one participant spoke about how he related to celebrities who are in the public eye and thought that he could also change to become this 'new man':

*There is this man in Zone 14 [TV drama] I think he is the father of King. There is this touchy advert, I once discussed with my friends and relatives. It is a true story, they talk about it, a man who used to abuse his wife, beating her up, it is like he walks in a dark tunnel and stuff. So if people like him are in the media and are in the eyes of the public and they are able to reveal things like this, so why can't I change as well. If you take that decision that you are now a Brother For Life and you are a new man, it is not easy to go back to old behaviour (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal).*

Although, there was substantial positive feedback about the phrase, 'the new man', there were some reservations expressed. Some participants felt that the phrase was misleading as it came across as though behaviour change was instant. One participant found the repetition

of 'new man' annoying, another felt that the use of the words were overemphasised, while another participant pointed out that sometimes transformations can be negative:

*That new man word, it can mean two things, it can mean that from being bad you are being good, from a good man you can be bad and from being bad you can be good. There are people who change, like M8 three years back. M8 from three years back was good, until he changed one year back, now he drinks like crazy. He changed from being good to being bad, you see. M8's transformation can be good for him, that's a new man, it can be versa versa (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal).*

*I somehow feel the new man thing, and the big brother thing, like I'm your brother thing, is overly emphasised. I don't know, maybe that's just me. I don't know whether it's meant to strike people with the emphasis, I don't know, but I felt that like after every ten seconds 'there's a new man', 'I'm the new man', [laughs]. It is catchy though, but I'm just saying for a person who pays attention, it's a bit annoying (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).*

There was a suggestion to change the slogan to: 'there's a changed man' as opposed to a 'new man', as the participant thought 'changed' was more reflective of a person's past and learning process:

*Changed' is still acknowledging that you did those wrong things and you are trying to be a better person. I think a changed man is better than a new man, because you can't just change all of a sudden and like get amnesia and start over again. It means that you are not acknowledging your wrongdoings that you learnt from before the new man (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).*

*I don't agree with the new man.... It just kills me. There's a changed man, then you know he did exist. If there's a new man, I'm expecting him not to make these things again.... He's a changed man. You can see he's learnt, he's changed (Female, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).*

The *Brothers for Life* campaign led to the construction of a particular kind of social identity, and participants' responses indicate that it had strong resonance and transformative potential.

## Taking responsibility

The male identity that focus group respondents associated with the campaign was of a man of a man

who takes responsibility, provides for and protects his wife and family. Change and transformation was related to men ‘taking responsibility’ and in this way the social identity that was constructed was positive and agentic. This powerful social identity was described alongside the ability to change, to have self-efficacy and to choose not to engage in unhealthy behaviours such as excessive drinking, being abusive towards one partner, and having multiple concurrent partners. One participant described this as having ‘power over yourself’ as a man:

*I also think that as a man seeing such things, I think it gives you power over yourself because if let's say your only response to things is either alcohol or is beating up somebody or is something that is not productive, it gives you power (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

Participants often used expressions directly related to male identity such as ‘I am a man’, ‘as a man it gives you power over yourself’ and ‘new man’. It was evident that as they found meaning in the messages communicated by the campaign these were often framed as being new, positive and powerful. The campaign makes explicit statements about being ‘a new man’, and it is not surprising that participants engaged directly with a strong social identity, which is, as one participant stated ‘bold’ and ‘proud’:

*Actually, once you watch an advert like this one, your concentration, you see that man the way he speaks, he is bold. He knows what he said, and he understands what he said. So, he is not actually doubting what he said. So when you watch a person like that on TV, you just listen and you want to listen to even the last voice [laughs], because he is bold. He says ‘I’m a man’. The way he speaks, he is bold and he’s proud (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape).*

## The virtues of self-control and caring for others

The social identity that emerged through the campaign was pivotal to the conceptualisation of certain behaviours and actions that were gender equitable, including taking responsibility, caring for and protecting one’s partner, and controlling oneself rather than resorting to violence. One participant expressed how he saw the main message of the campaign as being about the virtue of self-control:

*In a nutshell a campaign is like, instil self-control to say no matter how provoked you are, you advocate for life,*

*you feel it's important to restrain yourself to containing yourself to say I should not be driven by either anger or I should not be driven by my own self-gratification of my own needs. So there your self-control is maintained (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

One participant stated that he had engaged critically with the story of Patrick Shai and had decided to change, and no longer be ‘hard’ towards others (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State). Another participant spoke about how the campaign had instilled a significant change in him in the sense that he had become much more caring and helpful towards others and stated that was very different to how he used to be:

*Let me just say maybe on my side it changed me a lot, I never used to care a lot about human beings, I just looked after myself that's it. So now this thing has changed me that I must be a helping hand somewhere, somehow. I must have a helping hand no matter how big it is or small it is but I have to do something for other people at the end of the day. I just had that heart (Male, 25-30, peri-urban, Mpumalanga).*

The campaign worked to change men’s personal and social attitudes; although it may be said that it the underlying dynamics of a society prone to inequality and violence in the first place are based on more than attitudes and behaviours. But it does appear that by addressing social identities and individual attitudes it is possible to change behavioural outcomes.

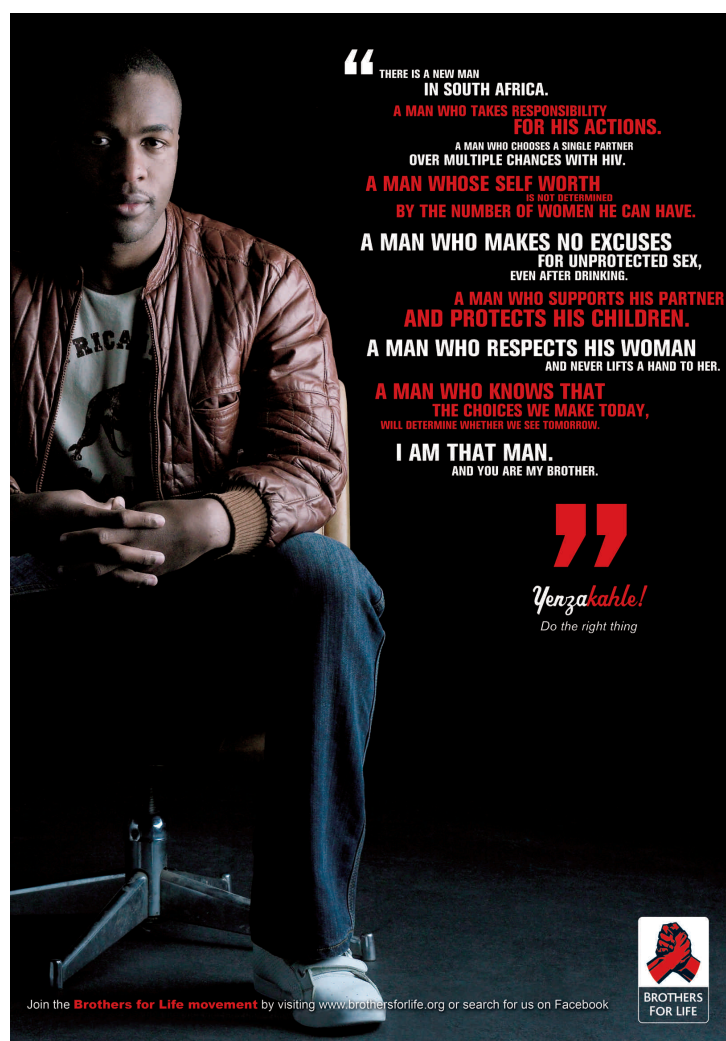
## Shifts towards more gender equitable male identities

There were a few unsolicited portrayals of the campaign having led to shifts towards more gender equitable male identities, refuting the idea that the man is the sole head of the household and recognised that women should have equal power in the home. While the campaign was described by some as portraying the man as the dominant provider figure, this was not always to the exclusion of other, more alternative understandings of what it means to be a new man:

*The new man, I think it's like before, we used to say, ‘here in this house, I’m the boss’. All the things we were doing here in this house, I am controlling all these things, but now we are new men, we will change. Even your wife can say something in the house, not only you, it's not me alone who is the boss in the house (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).*



## 1.16. Audience decoding of key messages



Findings are presented in the order in which each thematic component of the campaign was launched. Findings are reported thematically, incorporating all forms of mass media associated with each message. In each section, key feedback from research participants is presented, including participants' message takeout and perceived strengths and weaknesses of the thematic foci. Findings include: 1) positive male norms; 2) male involvement in PMTCT; 3) reduction of multiple and concurrent partnerships; 4) alcohol consumption and related risks; 5) condom promotion; 6) HCT promotion; and 7) gender-based violence.

### Positive male norms

The central aim of the campaign was to promote positive male norms and values (and to encourage men to take action to prevent HIV and gender-based violence). *Brothers for Life* strove to promote positive behaviour

through positive messaging and social modelling. It also aimed to encourage men to speak to other men about responsible male behaviours, including involvement in pregnancy and fatherhood, reduction in number of sexual partners, responsible drinking and taking action against gender-based violence.

The promotion of positive male gender norms and behaviour cuts across all of the mass media materials. Numerous participants understood that one of the intentions of the campaign was to positively shift existing gender roles, for example, a male participant shared this when asked how he saw the main message of the campaign:

*I think also trying to change male stereotypes, the perception that men do not do certain things, women have to do certain things.... Yah, trying to change gender roles, trying to get men to be more sort of participative in homes (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).*

For the sake of discussion, this section of the report will focus on the *Manifesto* PSAs; other aspects of the campaign also promote positive gender norms, but are discussed separately.

#### Manifesto

The Brothers for Life '*manifesto*' launched the campaign and came in the form of a television PSA, radio PSA and a poster. The manifesto introduced and created a useful foundation for other mass media materials that would later be launched. The television PSA was the most recognised of the three mass media; a sixty second-long PSA which summed up the key values of the campaign to introduce it to the South African public. The manifesto introduced the logo, slogan, and the various



messages of the campaign, including the promotion of positive male gender norms, reduction of multiple and concurrent partnerships, risks of alcohol use, gender-based violence, and the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV.

Focus group participants did not exhibit strong unaided recall of the different messages in the manifesto, most likely because it was broadcast nearly two years prior to this research. Discussion groups that were assigned to discuss this PSA tended to recognise it and exhibit positive associations while it was played for them. Participants tended not to remember the specific messages incorporated in the manifesto PSA, although some clearly remembered the message that encouraged men to support their partners through pregnancy and PMTCT. Otherwise it was the variety of images in the PSA that was remembered by participants, along with the concept of the 'new man'.

After viewing one of the televised versions of the manifesto, participants appreciated the 'bold' way the message was delivered, describing it as 'motivational' in the way that it 'encourages men to be responsible':

*F5: When I saw it for the first time I thought they meant that should be responsible because I see it talking mostly to men, because men are the ones who are mostly careless about driving, careless and beating women, it encourages men to be responsible.*

*M4: I liked it the first time I saw it because it motivated me, that men are being encouraged and they also said that a man is not a man because he beats other people, it encouraged me and I liked seeing it but, after that I didn't see it but I did like it. I think it was done very, very well (Female and male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, aided recall).*

Other men described how the messages in the manifesto 'spoke' to them, particularly in the personal opportunity to be responsible that is available to all men:

*M2: You see, this one, to me, whatsoever a man is doing, he is responsible and there is no excuse. If actually you say you are infected, but you know you must use a condom, you can't make an excuse. A man, at the same time, it's a man because he is capable and responsible for what he does.... So that man says 'it's me'. He's not pointing at another man.... he is not saying that there is another man somewhere, but 'I am that man'. It's bold.... 'And you are my brother', so it's proud.... It really speaks to me.*

*Facilitator: Tell me how you connect with that when you hear that.*

*M1: That tells me from an early age, that advert, from an early age, three to four, I am the new man, and then I grow up and do good things for the people. Now I see some other people who get hurt to some of the things, now I'm trying to show them this is a new man. In order to be a good citizen, you have to do these steps, you see? Go step by step, step by step, step by step, love your family, love your friends, love your neighbour, all that.*

*M3: I think when I see that man, he is talking about the new life now when you have got this HIV. He is talking about this, you respect your family, use a condom, whatever you want to do everything, just use only a condom. Then it must be the first thing you do that. So it's the new life now (Males, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*

The same participants continued to discuss how they understood that the PSA communicated a message that 'you can change', which was perceived as a message that should be broadcast 'each and every day':

*M4: To me, it shows that you can change, because first of all, he tried to explain what happened to him, from the bad to grow up, until now. Then also, you can be that man. So that's why I like that – 'you are my brother'. That means we can do the same. We can do the same, don't doubt.*

*M1: This is an advert that you should see on the TV each and every day, this one.... The guy is trying to explain this, the confidence that he has, the experience that he has been through, you see?*

*M2: ....The message is you know that whatsoever did in your life, you must know that you are responsible for that.... I am that man. So to me that message tells that a man always does the right thing. It's a man that understands. He does the right things, instead of doing things in a wrong manner. So, that is the message that I got from that guy (Males, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*

Participants appreciated the mix of settings that were portrayed in the television version of the manifesto. The use of a shack in a rural, unpopulated landscape particularly grabbed some people's attention:

*Another thing that I remember is that there are different men. There is a man standing next to something like a shack – 'you must change. One man can do this, one man can do this', then it changes again, there's another one. It's all part of that, and that's what I notice on the TV (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape, unaided recall).*

*What made me like it is that when I saw it they showed rural, urban and a family and people in a relationship and one saying 'I am that man'. They showed the real thing, it was real to me because you know that a person from the rural talks like that, the person from urban talks like that, you can see that people are really changing out there. I liked it because they had an on man there saying I am that man and saying he is not that person but he is so and so (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, aided recall).*

In Limpopo a group consisting of 30+ year old males thought the PSA was 'effective', but thought the message about a man accompanying a woman to the clinic was 'not realistic', which they explained it in terms of 'culture' and rigid gendered spaces. There was some apparent openness to such a shift in gendered practices expressed, however:

*Sometimes other guys will just say 'okay this is my girlfriend go to clinic or whatever', but that message says that guy he takes his wife to the clinic or whatever, sometimes we just let our wives go alone.... Because even basically in African culture, when a woman is in labour, no men are supposed to be there, those things.. it's like there are two worlds the other one is men who don't know what the hell is going on that side and women don't want men that side, so basically now you find that this kind of stuff.. This kind of campaign I think they are making it acceptable especially for African men, to say listen because back in the day you find that someone whose wife is in labour will just say, 'I just took my wife to the hospital, I am going to have a son, so let's go and celebrate', and the wife is in the hospital giving birth. But now you find that men want to go to the hospital with their wife, I think it breaks down that mentality that we need to separate our worlds, so it will ultimately bring us together, I think it's a good thing (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo, aided recall).*

Someone from the same group described how he took a message from this PSA about positive male norms, namely that men can maintain their pride while choosing to be 'gentle' and not abusive. He perceived the PSA as an encouragement to such men to continue being 'good guys':

*I think also it shows that being a gentle person doesn't necessary mean that you lose something, you lose your pride, the way he [Kani] says it he says it with a sense of pride and a sense of authority but the issues that he is talking about, so for men who don't abuse, let's talk about the good guys, because most of the*

*good guys when you go outside they say they are sleeping tigers so, it's talking to the good guys, I think it reaffirms to them to just keep on keeping on, keep on being who you are there is nothing wrong with who you are so I think it is a good thing (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo, aided recall).*

A rural man from Limpopo thought the messages about positive male gender norms in the manifesto would be even clearer if men were depicted actually doing household chores or playing with their children, rather than just speaking about being that sort of man ('they must say it and do it'):

*When they do something like that, they must add the new roles that men are now taking.... To see a man brushing a kid is good for the child but he must also do house chores, show him playing with his kids. I like that they are saying it, but they must say it and do it, that will show to me that he is a family man, that he is a committed man. Don't talk while you are just standing there, talk while you are holding your child. On the ad the child is being carried by the mother and not the father, the target is men that means a man must carry the child.... even when I am at home I must see something and say 'hey that guy was carrying the child maybe that is the message' ....They mustn't only focus on what the man is saying but also the action. That is what I didn't like because he is just standing there, 'I am that man'.... For me it will make a difference, we will see that he is not keeping quiet anymore and he is a Brother for Life.... Show that transformation, not just anybody, what have they done. When you say 'I used to be that man' we will remember that we have seen you on the newspaper when you were that man and now you say you have changed (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, aided recall).*

A number of participants recognised John Kani, who appears in one version of the PSA. His presence, along with a variety of other kinds of men was seen to help the PSA appeal to a wider audience, especially older men:

*It is a good thing, because other people would say if it was only reflecting 'metrosexuals', they are going to say this is about them. If it was only referring to one particular group of men, taxi drivers, somebody would say 'ah, yah, it's just taxi drivers'. But those people can be just about anybody. Anybody's father, an actor here or there, John Kani was there, and other people who are not known, but who are passing this strong message (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng, aided recall).*

I thought it talked across the ages. I saw a man like John Kani who is 70-something who might be talking to his peers who have still got this old belief that you must have a sjambok at home. When a woman gives you another view on top of the view that you have made, take it out [a sjambok] and [make her] understand your view which is not verbal. I think there are people who still do that. So, across the ages, we have seen the young man who introduced the advert, he represents us from where we are, but there are men of different ages in between (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng, aided recall).

One participant felt that as an older man, John Kani was imparting words of wisdom based on his experience:

*The guy is trying to explain this, the confidence that he has, the experience that he has been through, you see? He is talking about something that when you see him, he has been there, done that, you see? As you know, we know that guy, he is a writer, John Kani (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*

Radio versions of the *Manifesto* were played for some focus groups. It appeared that the message about male involvement in PMTCT came through the most strongly:

*M6: For me it was alright because with every advert there are broadcasting right, it included everything, what is needed and what is not, they did say I am a man I accompany my wife when she goes to the clinic and that is what a brother for life should do.*

*M5: I second M6 because that is what Brothers for Life wants, a changed person who supports his wife when she goes to the clinic and all that.*

*M3: ....It taught me that as men we should support each other and when you see you fellow men doing something wrong you shouldn't just let them be (Males, 18-29, rural, North West, aided recall).*

Some participants in a focus group of 18-29 year old males in KwaZulu-Natal discussed how the radio version of the *Manifesto* conveyed a counter-cultural message in suggesting that men should accompany their pregnant partners to clinics, critically reflecting how Zulu men in particular would find that challenging as it goes against dominant notions, such as how 'men must stay this side'. That said, they also communicated a sense that such strict gender norms passed down from previous generations are starting to shift:

*M3: ...when they say 'when you wife is pregnant, go with her to the clinic', there is no black man who*

*will do that.... because Zulu men, I know them, they wouldn't do that. it might be better if they had said it in English, they might listen to it they might do it because Zulu man, Ukhozi FM, even my grandpa said it was nonsense, I am telling you the truth.*

*M1: M3 is telling the truth, the Zulus are like that sometimes. But now with the bridging over of generations, there are lots of things that have been going on, for parents to talk to their kids about sex, and whatever, it is going to overlap in some cases, to find that the Zulus don't naturally do this because of this new way of communicating with your kids. So they might do it.*

*M2: I think it is also because of where we grow up, for example people who grow up in the location probably they will have a mindset like that one, like okay, I will have a mindset like my grandpa that a woman must stay there, a man must stay this side. Like a Zulu, a real Zulu, if you look at the new generations some of the people they go to multiracial schools and they start to change, they will change over time, you will see (Males, 18-29, urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Participants in the same group liked the content of the manifesto radio PSA, but felt that the presentation in the isiZulu version was 'very dull' in comparison to the English version; that the 'message is powerful, [but] the presentation is weak'. This complaint was largely influenced by the narration; they felt the isiZulu voiceover was slow, monotonous and sounded like the person reading the manifesto did not mean it and therefore the PSA might not sufficiently motivate people:

*The English version it was much better, probably because of the voice, the kind of voice that person was using... That [Zulu] voice is too deep, for me I did like the message but, the voice? Hey. Change the voice (Male, 18-29, urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

*Because it sounds like they are reading it and you won't remember it, you hear something and you forget about it (Male, 18-29, urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

But not everyone in that group felt the monotonous narration was negative:

*I think I understand why the voice and the tone is like that. One thing they are slow, they want to make it sink in because you don't want to rush stuff when it's serious. As much as they sound fake at least they are*



*slow enough for one to actually understand what it is, we may complain about voice but really truly the voice is okay for me it is just that and as M6 said they need to sound alive (Male, 18-29, urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

During aided recall, several men from Limpopo expressed some dissatisfaction with the English versions of the Manifesto televised PSAs, explaining how the use of English was for 'the elite' and would likely fail to reach some men who would be more likely to internalise a message that was communicated in their vernacular:

*M7: Because one of the other things that people relate to is language because when you see someone speaking your language and you didn't expect them to, it does something to you.... I think language in itself is very powerful so if you get like someone who is saying something in your language it is easier to garb it than in another.*

*M1: I just want to concur with the latest speaker said, it is true the language plays a very significant role, and if a person addresses you with your own language you really feel comfortable and well accepted. As an advert, this one of Kani and also for Shai, the fact that it's only in English it's for the elite, it reaches the elite. Because my father, if he is beating up my mother, he may not even understand although Kani is his age, he may not understand what Kani is saying or Shai is saying, but if it's in Zulu, Shangaan or Venda, our people will, it will just hit home, it will hit where it is needed. Because these are powerful adverts, but unfortunately maybe it is preaching to the converted, there was this 'uhm'. There are more and more people who are acquiring education and they are also becoming education transforming as well. So unfortunately those who are less fortunate who don't understand any English, they are left behind and the message is lost.... but if it is in their language, especially in the rural set up, then it will hit home, people will be empowered (Males, 30+, urban, Limpopo, aided recall).*

Some participants described how when they had previously heard the PSA broadcast on the radio, but either did not connect that it was part of the larger *Brothers for Life* campaign or pay much attention to it ('I wasn't taking them to head').

*M6: Yes, it is not the first time I am hearing it I was surprised by yenza kahle, because when I saw it on TV and the way they show it they always say yenza kahle, but I didn't hear that on this one (Male, 18-29, rural, North West, aided recall).*

Someone else from the same group suggested that the PSA should communicate more clearly where men can access help from *Brothers for Life*:

*The way they should do it is to say where you can find Brothers for Life and where you can get help, they can supply number that you can call when you need help (Male, 18-29, rural, North West, aided recall).*

### 'There's a new man in South Africa'

Most research participants were intrigued and inspired by the phrase: 'there is a new man in South Africa'. The concept was received both as a symbol of a new beginning and an opportunity to change and act positively in relation to others. The notion of 'a new man' was also seen as a way to encourage men to be more sensitive, responsive to the needs of those around them, supportive and responsible within their households and communities.

*I think the new man, remember I mentioned the issue of wrong socialisation but, the new man is the man who has been socialised in a positive pro-life way, that this guy is no longer doing the wrong things or wrongly socialising, he is a new person with a new dream, the new vision (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

*I am going to take it like this new man thing is maybe like Brothers for Life are building like a new generation of people who are responsible, if even they say I am a new man, that means you have about a million men saying 'so, I am a new man, you are new generation of men'. If you can go way back, a man's responsibility in the house was to take care of his family, protect them, protect his family but now they are actually doing the opposite of that (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape).*

Some participants understood the 'new man' concept as a call to action, a call to change and a call to change others around them:

*I can see the concept of a new man, it's like you have heard the message and now you have captured that message and now you portray it you are a new man, you are trying to build other new men by saying to your friend what they are doing is not right, 'come, follow in my steps' (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape).*

Other participants associated the 'new man' with South African icons like Nelson Mandela and Mathew Booth:

*When I heard the phrase 'There is a new man in South Africa' I actually thought there is a new Madiba. (Laughter) Seriously, at the back of my mind I was like there is a new man like, what's happening now, a new man? First we had Madiba, then Terreblanche and then Julius, who are you? Brothers for Life, very nice (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal).*

I associate it with the Matthew Booth advert. I don't know but yah, something like that. I'm not clear (Female, 30+, urban, Gauteng).

The 'new man' concept was often associated with a shift to positive gender norms that were seen to depart from the 'old ways', shifting and sometimes reframing dominant masculinities towards identities that were nonviolent and in some cases more gender equitable. This is discussed at more length in the later section on male identity.

### Male involvement in PMTCT and parenting

An objective of the *Brothers for Life* campaign was to promote the involvement of men in the prevention of mother-to-child transmission, increase general awareness of the PMTCT programme, and to promote the role of men in parenting. This message came through television and radio PSAs, billboards and pamphlets. The television PSA was broadcast between December 2009 and January 2010 and again in August-September 2011. PMTCT messages were also featured in the *Manifesto* PSAs.

Some participants clearly remembered the television PSA about PMTCT unaided, although some recalled that it was about a man who left his pregnant wife at home

to go to a shebeen to drink (rather than to get a haircut, as was depicted). Others clearly remembered that there was a group of male celebrities who approached the man to speak to him about his behaviour. And some were able to recall that the woman tested positive for HIV.

*I also saw an advert with a group of celebrities, a bunch of them on it. What they were trying to portray on that message was that a woman went and did an HIV test and afterwards she found out that she is HIV positive and there was a guy who didn't care for her and he was hanging out with his friends, drinking and those guy were telling him that he should support his wife (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

*So the two ads that I saw, the one was this guy when he was like cutting his hair, and the impregnated one, the HIV thing, and then when the girl called him, then he dropped the phone. I think that was really terrible. What stood out from that is just taking responsibility, basically, and when his boys came up and then started talking to him and stuff. I had seen it before, but I wasn't paying attention, until like I saw this girl who was calling is the one who was at the hospital, and then like now these four guys come and they start talking to him (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, unaided recall).*

*No it's Lebo's current boyfriend, there's also the guy who used to play Ajax's father. That guy's wife is pregnant, then those four men come up who are from Brothers for Life saying 'be a brother for life', while holding hands, I didn't really get what was happening there. I don't know if your guys remember that advert (Female, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, unaided recall).*

**“No woman  
will be infected  
in my name”**



*I think it trying to say that if your partner is pregnant, you should and support her because in the advert, the woman goes to the clinic and the guy just sits there and drinks. So if your partner is pregnant you should support her because men like to act as if the pregnancy is the women's problem but forgetting that that child was conceived by both of you (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, unaided recall).*

Participants appeared to take different messages from the PSA. Some saw it as being about the need to drink responsibly, the importance of being a responsible partner, or that men should help each other; only some were clearly able to recall (unaided) that the PSA was also about PMTCT:

*My outstanding one is the one with that guy who was leaving his partner, his partner is pregnant, and then he goes to the shebeen and he starts drinking. I think the message that it is trying to give there is when those guys come to him as he is sitting down drinking and they speak to him, I think the message it is trying to show us is that if I am a neighbour and I see that you are doing something that is wrong, I can come to you and not leave you sitting there doing something that is going to hurt your partner at the end of the day (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape, unaided recall).*

*They were talking about PMTCT, prevention when a woman is pregnant so that the child can't be infected... I don't remember everything, I only remember the message. That is was about prevention of a pregnant woman, I don't know who was on it or what happened.... I only saw it once I think (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

Other focus groups (especially those with older males) understood the message as being about responsible fatherhood, including while one's partner is pregnant:

*I think the message that one got out of that is one of care and responsibility, pre- and post- [birth]. When somebody is pregnant, to make sure that we are supportive before as much as we are supportive thereafter.... But not all fathers are actively fathering. So I think it talks to fathering, taking care of your partner pre-birth as much as it will be thereafter, even for the offspring (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng, aided recall).*

Another participant spoke about needing to be there to support his wife through pregnancy, regardless of whether she is HIV positive. In this example the participant considers carefully the importance of being

well-informed about the PMTCT process so that he and his wife can manage it together and then described how meaningful it was for him to be present for the birth of his child. He acknowledges how that choice contrasts with what many men would do, yet he clearly embraced this positive norm in preparing to defend his intention to be present to a male doctor:

*The important part and the whole point of care of the baby and you protecting the baby not to get the baby infected.... I have heard many men saying, 'don't worry, my wife will go and test because she is forced because she is pregnant and if she should test negative, I am negative'.... that is why I am saying that it makes sense that if he is saying that I am going with my woman to the clinic so that I can understand if things are complicated, regardless of HIV only.... I need to be there to support my wife. You see it is important if my woman comes back to the clinic and says there are some difficulties in my pregnancy. They are saying so and so, you will never understand because the woman never grabbed the whole information. You need to be there to get first hand information, to say for now we can manage to do this together....*

It was my first time to see my girlfriend giving birth, I was there and I said I want to be there, but I was not in the light to say the person who is going to assist is a male doctor you see, I was away from that but I prepared myself for that to say at the end, this is my first experience I need to support my woman, I need to be there and I went there, when the head came out first I could see it.... it was so exciting (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo, aided recall).

Another male concurred with the previous speaker, articulating how the times are changing and spaces are opening up for men to freely support their pregnant partners. He saw an opportunity to follow the other speaker's example in going to a health care facility with his partner:

*But things are becoming a lot easier, I can go to my woman to health care because it is more user-friendly, it is more modern and accessible, so I should also.. I am just trying to say we shouldn't say everything which was happening before was wrong, things are just becoming more better and we are starting to see things with another perspective with exposure of other experience from other countries isn't it now we are exposed to the global community and so forth.... what it is saying to me it is saying we are moving, we are people who are moving and we are people who are adapting to change, we can relate to that and it is*

*actually encouraging me to say if he is sharing that experience, I am also looking at doing it next time because it is happening and you can touch it is is alive, and I can also do it. You know, it is a process, we are moving (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo, aided recall).*

There were other examples of conceptualised forms of action made in reference to male involvement in PMTCT. Several participants engaged with the overall message that men should support their pregnant wives, go with them to the clinic, and be tested for HIV together. The overall message about male involvement in PMTCT appeared to challenge and resonate with many participants. For example, these men from North West recalled (unaided) that the PSA suggested men should be more supportive and conceptualised the role that they could play by accompanying their pregnant partners to a health facility, while also critically reflecting on men who do not take participate in the prevention of mother-to-child transmission by supporting their pregnant partners:

*M5: I think men should be supportive to their pregnant wives.*

*M8: I support M5 about what he is saying, when he answers the question about what we think is the role we can play as men, I support M5, that we should be active and show that we should accompany our women when they go to the doctor, we should all go together and I should also be there when they are giving her information, I should also be there.*

*M7: It shows that women are suffering and you will find that men don't take part in a lot of things and you may find that a woman is HIV positive and the man will say he got it from her, men are always excluding themselves from things like that. They don't go to the clinic for checkups, it is mostly women who go (Males, 18-29, rural, North West, unaided recall).*

After aided recall, the message was still a bit confusing for some participants, who perceived a variety of different messages from the PSA. In the urban Western Cape focus group, the following conversation ensued regarding the main message:

*M7: I think it would have been much better if the friends told the guy about going to test before they knew that the girlfriend is infected.*

*M9: I liked the fact that they had people of different ages, men of different ages. ...Just a question. I'm probably not listening properly – was the guy not being supportive, or was the guy receiving the results that the girlfriend was HIV positive?*

*M7: He was negligent.*

*M9: Was the lesson that the guy needs to be more supportive, or was the message about that the woman received news that she is HIV positive?*

**“No woman  
will be killed  
in my name”**

*M5: Both, isn't it?*

*M7: But nobody knew that except the woman.... That's why I'm saying he was negligent, because nobody knew, except the woman, that there is an HIV element going on. So the guy is coming on board, because they have probably seen that he is negligent and he is not taking care of his woman.*

*M5: It's also showing that he is not supportive. He should go and test with her so that they can talk about it (Males, 18-29, urban, Western Cape, aided recall).*

The male character was thus regarded as negligent, with a related message being that he should support his partner and be tested for HIV with her. This PSA was also tested with males and females in a peri-urban location in Mpumalanga, where five of the nine participants reported having seen the PSA on television. After the PSA was played, participants reported that the main message of the PSA was that men should support their partners. However, the notion of 'support' was taken to mean that the man should have taken the phone call and spoken to his wife and supported her through finding out she was HIV positive; they implied that the man might have ignored the woman because he already knew he was HIV positive:

*I think this guy doesn't want the truth and to be himself and be responsible. That's why when she found out that she had HIV when she was calling he was ignoring the call. That he doesn't want to take her calls is because he doesn't want to be responsible (Female, 25-30, peri-urban, Mpumalanga, aided recall).*

*HIV, maybe that guy knew before the wife knew that he was HIV positive and I think she is pregnant. The advert itself says that don't be scared to talk to your partner about your HIV status (Male, 25-30, peri-urban, Mpumalanga, aided recall).*

Participants in the Eastern Cape were also shown this PSA and liked how it addressed men and how some men do not support their pregnant partners and tend to feel embarrassed about being seen with them at health care facilities:

*I think on the point which was referred to my Mzi, that you should support your partner, if they go to clinic, for you to go with them, and not be embarrassed to be seen doing that just because you are a male (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*

*I think I like because it's right as it's speaking to us as guys because in most cases we tend to not pay attention to our partners and we ignore them so I think it's good that it's speaking to us as men (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*

Two female participants in this group especially appreciated the intervention of 'the brothers' in this scenario, which was perceived as a potentially more effective strategy to encourage male involvement in PMTCT:

*The fact that it was other men telling him as a man that he should go to the clinic, that maybe his wife has been telling him to go to the clinic and he didn't listen so maybe when he's being told by other men, he'll listen (Female, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*

*I think it's good because the Brothers tell him that he should respect his wife in order for him to be able to protect his child, so it is good because he also needs to know that he was a responsibility to the child (Female, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*

The televised PSA was the most recalled method for conveying messages about male involvement in PMTCT; messages on outdoor media were hardly discussed during the unaided recall as participants appeared not to specifically remember them. There were some participants who recognised the image of the miner and his pregnant wife on a billboard, after being shown it, however.

Participants were shown the billboard with the message 'Be a man who protects his unborn child from HIV' during aided recall and reported that they thought the message was clear. Some participants discussed how one could 'protect his unborn child':

*I get what the message is saying here, they are protecting their unborn child from any transmitted diseases. When the mother is happy, the child is then safe from danger, from any harm, when the mother goes for checkups, what she eats, if there is an infection during the pregnancy then they would use protection to prevent any harm to the baby (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

*To me it's about preventing HIV from being transmitted, you may look rich and they look smart but HIV doesn't choose how you look, you may be a person of a*



*high standard but you still need to protect HIV from transmitting and still be caring (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*



In a Gauteng focus group discussion the message of the billboard was understood by the participants in the following way:

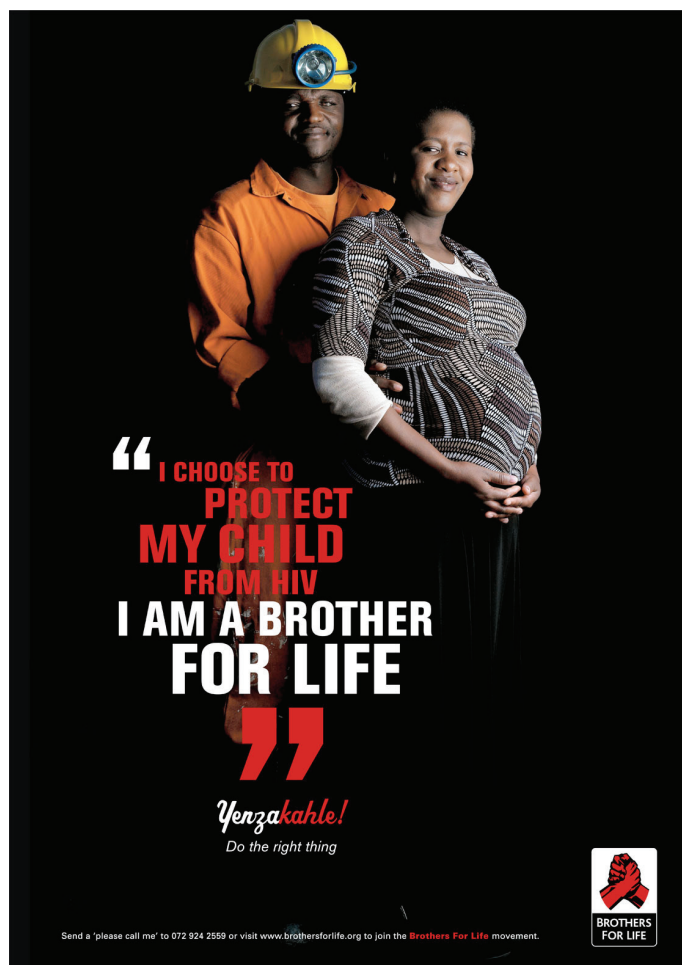
*It simply means support your wife, give her that love... Yes, protect your child, your unborn child, from HIV and AIDS, as well as the one protect your partner. Yes, it has to do with faithfulness (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, aided recall).*

Often the discussion revolved around the images portrayed and what the participants understood about the clothing or positioning of the couple. Several participants were confused because the miner character wore his uniform, yet was pictured with his wife, which they assumed meant he was not at work. A participant from the Western Cape liked this billboard and perceived it as being able to reach people with less education. Several of the 30+ men from rural KwaZulu-Natal, reported that previously they had not really thought about the message being conveyed in the billboard:

*That one did not give me anything in mind.... But the other ones, maybe I had the opportunity of reading at that time. But I have seen that one it is also familiar to me. I just saw it but I could not tell because you know, I just never read (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

A participant from that group conceptualised the opportunity for men to start 'implementing the [campaign] messages in our families'. He explained that customarily 'a wall is created' when a woman becomes pregnant that inhibits male involvement in PMTCT; he welcomed the way in which Brothers for Life challenges that space:

*I like this one because, one, it shows a level of growth for Brothers for Life, that fine it talks about messages, and understanding how we should live our lives as men and start implementing the messages in our families because as M7 said that as she immediately falls pregnant, a space, a wall is created, up and down to the clinics until it gets to the level of taking tests to see if she is well, everything being tested and the man is happy there because she is doing all the testing and he is not the one going to the clinic, until it gets to the stage where she gives birth to the baby and the man does not go to*



*the clinic. I would love it if I could see a poster where the guy is pregnant, showing that the guy cares during and after birth of the baby (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Some rural male participants seemed a little uncomfortable with the way characters in the billboards were posed, namely of men holding their pregnant wives. There were a few men who distanced themselves from the behaviour portrayed in the billboard; one said that it *'should not be put out there'*. This may be due to traditional beliefs about how men are expected to behave regarding pregnancy, which contrasted what was portrayed in the billboards:

*I wouldn't want to disturb them... (Laughter) It's something I have never done or read, I just saw it and said it is okay, never read it. They are holding each other, they are happy. Let me just leave them ... (Male or female, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

In the discussions about the billboard images, certain ideas about how men

and women behave, and how they should behave, came to the fore. For example, the notion that when a woman is pregnant, a man stops loving and having sex with her was seen to be challenged in this message. This new idea appears to be accepted by these participants, one of whom saw the male character as therefore being a *Brother for Life*:

*Even now when I look at it.... all I see is these two people I know holding each other, it is good though, it is perfect because it is showing love. She is pregnant and he still loves her (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

*There is this thing that I want to be seen walking with the woman I love, with her looking beautiful without anything that makes her look different from the others, she's in good shape. But when she is pregnant, there is this thing of letting go of her because we as men have this thing of thinking that when she is pregnant we can't have sex as much as we want to because she is pregnant. So this man showing that he still loves her as M1 said it, he still loves her. Although he will have to wait for her to go deliver the baby, he still loves her. He can wait for her instead of going to find someone who is not pregnant and be with that person until this lady gives birth, but he will wait and that is what makes him a Brother for Life (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

In general, the television PSA about the prevention of mother-to-child transmission was readily remembered by many participants, who recalled that it carried a message that men should support their pregnant wives, should go with them to the clinic, and that they should be tested together. There were some rural males that expressed that they thought it was unrealistic that a man should accompany his pregnant wife to the clinic or even be seen to 'love' her, while others were critical of such traditional views and accepted the alternative norm that they perceived being communicated in the *Brothers for Life* materials. During aided recall, there was some confusion about what the main message was, with some



assuming it was more about partner communication than about being active partners in the PMTCT programme.

### Reduction of multiple and concurrent partnerships

One of the primary objectives of the campaign is to raise awareness of the risks of having multiple sexual partners, to promote critical attitudes about multiple and concurrent partnerships, and to reduce the proportion of men that report having concurrent partners. The reduction of sexual partners was a key message that was clearly identified by participants as a central message of the campaign, albeit, less often than other messages about stopping gender-based violence and promoting responsible male gender norms. The campaign emphasised the benefits of choosing a single partner via the manifesto, through television, radio, and outdoor media advertisements that specifically addressed this theme and which were aired in February and March 2010 and again in April-July 2011.

A participant from the Eastern Cape saw the main message of the campaign as being about partner reduction:

*That someone shouldn't have more than one partner so that they don't have AIDS. Because if someone is involved with more than one partner, you put yourself at risk of getting AIDS or infecting your partner without them knowing that you had many partners (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, unaided recall).*

The MCP television PSA was generally remembered by more people than the PMTCT PSA, likely because it was broadcast nearest to the time the fieldwork was conducted. The television PSA portrayed a young woman who leaves her boyfriend of a similar age to meet an older man. The older man leaves his family to meet her and gives her a pair of shoes as a gift, at which point the scene freezes and the Brothers for Life come to persuade the man not to put himself and his family at risk of HIV. A focus group participant from the Northern Cape who was shown the PSA, described it as 'brilliant' and lamented that it was not broadcast more often.

Participants understood the PSA as discouraging the practice of having multiple concurrent partners and highlighting the risks associated with engaging in age-disparate relationships. Discussants spoke about the intervention from 'the Brothers' as being a very powerful point in the PSA: a reminder of the importance of holding other men accountable, as opposed to giving in to peer pressure that encourages having multiple partners. Related key messages that they perceived related to the risks to men of having a younger 'sugar' and the opportunity of encouraging other men to be responsible:



Stills from the MCP TV

*The advert itself is making us aware of most of the things that you as a sugar daddy, you may think that you are the only person to the girl, maybe you have got your wife and this young lady, but she also has got someone her age. That's what the advert is showing, that what you are doing, you may think you are the only person who is doing it, but the lady is doing it too (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, aided recall).*

*The other point is in advert two they teach us one thing – to say if we see another brother doing the wrong thing, we must be able to be bold, to stand up and say 'no'. Because sometimes I might be thinking that I am protecting the guy by not confronting him with his wrongs, but surely I don't love him, because if I love him, I would be able to stand up and say look, stop doing this.... So maybe in that way, as brothers, if maybe I hear my neighbour or someone is doing something wrong, we must stand up and say look, let us stop this jointly so that that person that we are confronting, he can be able to say 'okay, my brothers, if they say this, maybe I have to change'. In that way, it reflects very well on that stand (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, aided recall).*

*M5: As brothers, they took him out of the trouble he was not aware of and they showed him the right way.*

*M6: I support M5 and just to add, I think the way those other men came and showed him that sometimes being dishonest to your family you will end up infecting your wife and kids with your problems.*

*M4: I think since Brothers for Life is here already, the advert is showing us that if you have a similar problem there should be people who can help you, you should know that Brothers for Life is there (Males, 18-29, rural, North West, aided recall).*

That a group of Brothers for Life approach the character of the husband in this PSA was seen as an important strategy, given the 'power in unity':

*M1: There is power in unity, because there's what you call synergy, because mathematically, one plus one equals two, but when you talk of synergy, one plus one equals three. So, when we unite, they are more powerful than their sum.*

*M8: Yes, that is true, really, because if you are together, you can come up with something very, very, very good rather than if you are just one person....*

*M2: On that, I can remember this – if a man is in the public, he is already being advised by maybe one*

*person, or we will assume that maybe at home, but he could not listen. But now, if we come as brothers together, maybe it will change his attitude again. So hence, by doing things together, somewhere somehow it will have an impact, rather than maybe someone, you go alone there.... But if I can see [name] came with these guys, meaning these guys were all discussing about me. Maybe not in a bad way, but maybe they are concerned about me. Maybe I have to change (Males, 30+, rural, Free State, aided recall).*

After viewing this PSA, some men from Limpopo discussed how it communicated a message about how men should respect their wives and choose not to have multiple partners in order to avoid HIV, which they understood as a consequence of doing so:

*I saw that they are trying to deliver a message that everybody should be trustworthy and they should be faithful to their partner and should also respect them, they mustn't go and sleep with other people on the outside (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

*M3: I think their message is that men should be responsible with their wives and respect them.*

*M4: ....The message I get is, 'no multiple partners', and after that they show you what it could do to you because of HIV and AIDS. And then after that it also shows another responsibility through Patrick Shai that he is a 'Brother for Life, I am not doing that'. It's a message of saying, no multiple partners, the message that one of the consequences is HIV and AIDS (Males, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

One participant appreciated the drama and the transformation in the moment when the husband realises the potential consequences of his actions:

*The reality just stroked the husband who nearly got himself into sleeping with this girl, so when reality strikes it's when he realises, 'ooh my God what I am doing is not right'. So, it's nice, it's dramatisation, you see reality, it's life... (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

The MCP message was also communicated through outdoor media that featured the same slogan. Through aided recall, participants were likely to remember seeing this billboard and understood the message.

*The message is clear – have one partner. Don't have your wife and choose to love others outside. Yes, the message is clear...I think it's a very good message,*

*because if you have one partner, then you are safe all the time and then there will be no infections in both partners... because when you have got one partner, it's a good thing because if it's multiple partners, you will never know if it's you who is coming with an infection or what, but if it's one partner, it's a good thing (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, aided recall).*

There was some confusion about what the word 'partner' meant in this PSA. Some felt that 'partner' was an ambiguous term and could mean both a girlfriend and a wife, highlighting that as a potential unintended message of the PSA. An example of a polygamous relationship was given, in which one 'chooses' two or more wives. One participant stated that this message could stigmatise polygamy by equating it to increasing the chances of HIV infection:

*I have a friend who left the day before yesterday, and he has got two wives. We spoke about this, 'be a man who chooses a single partner, one partner', but unfortunately, our main question was 'what is a partner'? Is it a girlfriend or a wife, because he has got two wives already. According to their religion, he attends the IPCC, he says that to prevent adultery you must marry many, then I don't know, for that instance how we go about that (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, aided recall).*

Participants in the KwaZulu-Natal focus group also expressed some ambiguity about the message, in this case that a man should choose to be *single*, while another participant understood that the character on the billboard was proud to have just one partner:

*This is just single... a man chooses to be single and not to have a partner ... it's says 'a man who chooses to have a single partner', he is just single then (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

*I want to put it in my own ways, I don't disagree with them. This man decides that he wants to have a single partner, then I go look at him and I see that he has a good- looking face right, he smiles; you see that he is proud that he has a single partner. I see it that way (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

One participant thought it would be more clear to say 'be a man who abstains' (rural KwaZulu-Natal, 30+ mixed), which indicated he did not grasp the intended message. Another participant had an alternate suggestion, that if the message is to stick to one partner, the image should feature a man with his partner; this person was even suspicious of whether he was actually monogamous:

*Because on the poster he is alone, he looks single because he appeared alone, but on the message it's speaking about having many partners and choosing to have one partner, it would have been good if he was holding his partner... Another question is why doesn't he want to be seen with that single partner that he has chosen then? This person is a snake then... (Male or female, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Overall findings indicate an increased understanding and awareness of the association between having multiple concurrent partners and risk of HIV infection. There were few examples of focus group participants reporting having changed their behaviour by reducing their number of sexual partners or about remaining faithful to one partner. Three examples of men talking about behaviour change are presented here.

One female participant spoke about how her boyfriend had reduced the number of his sexual partners after being exposed to the *Brothers for Life* campaign, whereas before 'he used to like a lot of girls' (Female, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape). Another participant spoke about how he used to have several girlfriends while at school and how the PSA about multiple concurrent partners had encouraged him to reflect on his behaviour, to think about the consequences in terms of HIV infection, and also to consider empathetically how he would feel if his sexual partner was being unfaithful to him. His response rests somewhere between action and a conceptualised form of action, as he talks aspiringly about reaching 'that level of being faithful':

*With me it was like while I was still at school, girls used to like me, and they would always give me attention. So I ended up having a lot of girlfriends but after I saw Brothers for Life, I realised that I'm putting myself at a risk of getting HIV because when you have many partners, you wouldn't know who infected you but when you only have one sexual partner, you would then know who infected you, so that's how Brothers for Life influenced me.*

*The last one, I think it's Graeme Smith, who says 'be a man who would rather be with one girl than risk multiple chances of that, that, that, and that' was like, you know, at some time when I was childish and playing and whatnot. I had got to a point where I realised that I hate it big time when my girl does one, two, three, so let me not do it myself so that then I would somehow reach that level of being faithful and whatnot (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, unaided recall).*

One participant drew an association between having one sexual partner and being able to say 'I am that man' with

the implication that such behaviour is an example of a more evolved form of manhood. The participant goes on to say that he is ‘a man that is doing that’. The participant also laughs, which suggests that he may be uncomfortable either talking about the subject or admitting that he is choosing to have just one partner. Nonetheless, this is an example of explicit behaviour change through engagement with the *Brothers for Life* campaign:

*Do not choose multiple partners, choose one....You see, for me it's a lot, because mamma, once you choose multiple partners, and I'm saying you are right that you are talking about multiple partners [laughs]. So, to me, at least a man must have one partner... You must choose one so that you know your responsibility... So I'm a man that is doing that [laughs] (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*

Participants liked seeing the intervention of the group of ‘brothers’ in the television PSA and said that it made the message more powerful. The message about choosing a single partner was understood by participants, although there was some confusion about what constituted the definition of ‘partner’. There was also a suggestion that featuring a man with his partner would add clarity to the presentation of the intended message.

### 1.17. Sports Ambassadors campaign



In general, the feedback from the focus groups indicates that the 2010 World Cup prevention campaign was well received. It was clearly successful in raising the profile of the *Brothers for Life* campaign. Participants consistently recalled seeing particular Sports Ambassadors on television and outdoor media (with posters and radio being mentioned much less frequently).

The Sports Ambassadors were said to make the campaign more appealing, especially among men, who expressed having an existing respect and admiration for many of the sports figures and a sense that they enjoyed encountering them in this context. While the international sports stars were remembered, it was the local ones that garnered the most identification and discussion. The inclusion of white and black sports figures as well as soccer, rugby and cricket players was generally appreciated and seen to broaden the reach of the campaign so that it did not appear as being an initiative that only targets black South Africans.

The primary value that participants seemed to take from the World Cup intervention was the inclusion of the different celebrities. The ambassadors thus became symbolic signifiers of the campaign in the general sense of what participants took a ‘Brother for Life’ to mean, rather than as clear examples of men who stick to one partner or who drink responsibly, say. While many reported [unaided] seeing Matthew Booth,



Teko Modise, John Smit, and Ryan Giggs on television, few could recall what they said after the fact. This could be influenced by 1) the amount of time that had elapsed between when the PSAs were broadcast and the research was conducted; 2) the short length of the PSAs (15 seconds); 3) the fact that they shared a similar presentation style which made it hard to distinguish the different messages and messengers; and 4) the manner in which the messages were presented, e.g. a short spoken statement versus sharing an authentic story.

In this section, the World Cup campaign is discussed by theme: risks of alcohol consumption, consistent condom use, HCT promotion, and partner reduction.

### Alcohol consumption and related risks

The campaign also aimed to increase men's perception of the risks related to alcohol consumption (including the links between alcohol use, HIV infection and gender-based violence) and to increase the number of men with favourable attitudes towards responsible drinking. The Brothers for Life 'Manifesto' included a message about the 'new man' in South Africa 'makes no excuses for unprotected sex, even after drinking' and the Patrick Shai PSA about gender-based violence also mentioned how he would beat his wife when he drank. Otherwise this message was primarily communicated through short television and radio PSAs and billboards and posters during the World Cup activation that featured sports figures John Smit, Ryan Giggs, Teko Modise, Matthew Booth, and Lionel Messi. The materials were distributed in June-September 2010 and featured the following messages:

- Be a man who chooses to be responsible with sex even when he's drinking.
- In the game of life, drink responsibly.

A number of participants recalled that *Brothers for Life* addresses alcohol issues, with some remembering specific messages (unaided), while others could not.

*[The message is] not to abuse, and another thing is for us to be responsible when you are drinking alcohol, you must draw the line (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

*So those messages on the posters were actually sending something that says to you who is actually a heavy drinker to drink responsibly, for you need to learn to think about your family whenever you use*

*any kind of stuff. When you are with your partner, you should now believe in condomising [unaided] (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape, unaided recall).*

A female participant recalled that Brothers for Life addresses how alcohol abuse affects sexual behaviour:

*They see that we walk around and especially us girls, when you are drunk it is easy for someone to take you and use you. And when you are drunk you won't think of using a condom (Female, 25-30, peri-urban, Mpumalanga, unaided recall).*

Several participants recalled encountering alcohol-related messages from the Sunday Times, Umhlobo Wenene and MetroFM. For example:

*I heard from Metro radio, where Teko was saying that that we need to treat women well, use condoms, not to drink beer and overdose and then we commit crimes (Male, 30+, rural, Mpumalanga, unaided recall).*

Most participants did not clearly recall which sports figures communicated messages about alcohol. When the John Smit television PSA was played for participants during the aided recall section of the discussion, they mostly remembered having seen it on television. Participants understood the message to be about responsible drinking; limiting one's intake of alcohol and knowing when to stop:

*[The message is] don't abuse alcohol. So, I think drink to the limit, I think it gives the message that alcohol is meant for enjoyment, for entertainment, not just to drink.... We as black people, the way we abuse alcohol, let me say four of us guys in here, each and every one of us, we buy two bottles, we're going to make sure that by the end of the night those bottles are done. So that's the message about alcohol. It's like don't abuse alcohol (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, aided recall).*

*When you are drinking, you must draw the line, they are not saying you mustn't drink, but if you are drinking you must be able to draw the line and be responsible because you mustn't drink to a certain point whereby tomorrow you find that you have done something that you are going to regret, maybe you wake up to find the police at the your door saying that you beat someone up or raped some girl. So I think if you drew the line you know that even if you drank alcohol you would be okay, unlike finding you feeling being controlled by alcohol (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, aided recall).*



*Yes, it says don't abuse alcohol, but I think at the same time it says don't let alcohol abuse you as a person, because there's more to you as a person than simply a bottle of alcohol (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, aided recall).*

In general, participants agreed that the message about limiting alcohol abuse was important to emphasise and highly relevant, particularly as it impacts sexual risk:

*I think the message on alcohol, I think we need to emphasise it. I'm saying this because young people are experimenting with all forms of substance abuse, including alcohol. They create a world for themselves where they would say I faltered because I took too much ale.... I mean if you look at whatever celebration there may be at Wits, it can't be a celebration with people carrying bottles of water. It is always with people having Hunters Dry, Savannah and whatnot. Thereafter people will say 'no, I slept without a condom' and that is another message. I slept without a condom because I was not aware, I was drunk, or it broke and I continued because I was drunk.... But I'm saying the message on alcohol needs to be emphasised because it's widespread really (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng, aided recall).*

*The message was clear, most of the things that are bad happen when you are under the alcohol influence. The message was clear and not only for sex but for many things that happen when you are under the influence of alcohol (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

*When I see this advert, there are a lot of things coming to me, because he is talking about when he drinks he is responsible for having sex, but when you show, he sits down and he folds his arms, it gives another impression.... When you drink, because most people are abusing their wives because they are choosing alcohol, then they don't have respect, but it shows respect on this. So that's why I said I like that (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape, aided recall).*



One participant understood the message to also mean that one should look after their health and stay fit. It appears in this case that the specific message about drinking responsibly was collapsed with existing notions of health and alcohol, rather than about sexual behaviour in particular:

*It's effective in a part where you see him running down the stairs, Graeme Smith [John Smit]. It tells you that hey.... after your drinking schpiel on a Saturday and a Sunday, why don't you go to gym on Monday and just detox that alcohol out of your system, so that your body must stay in shape and don't let it fall down. Don't let your body fall. Don't let yourself fall down. Because that's what happens is that we drink, we drink we drink, and then on a Monday we don't go to gym. Last weekend I did that and I didn't go to gym this Monday, I only went on Tuesday, because I was drinking with my friends the whole weekend (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, aided recall).*

Another participant raised an issue that it may be contradictory to have a rugby player encourage responsible drinking, given that rugby players are perceived to be avid drinkers:

*I think they used a wrong advert about drinking, because we know that the rugby players they drink Castle Lager at the TV, they always talk about the Castle Lager and rugby and now they are talking about drinking and going to the club, you see they are drinking on the TV, and they say don't drink and go to the clubs (Male, 18-29, urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Posters that featured the same message were also tested. Aided recall responses were favourable about the reference to the 'game of life' and the use of the soccer player, Lionel Messi.

*It's a celeb, Messi, someone who is close to our hearts to those who love soccer, that's why he is relevant, I watch Barcelona and he turns heads so he is in our hearts, whatever he says, we will listen to it, even if he had to do something bad, we would end up seeing it as good (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

The poster's message about responsible drinking was easily grasped during the aided recall. Several rural participants engaged in a critical discussion about alcohol use and the value of knowing one's limit, although the idea of giving up alcohol altogether was too confronting for some:

*M: I agree there are some people who drink and I would want them around me, but there are some questions on the other hand. What is it good for? Am I looking good when I'm drunk? I'm drinking in the bed, in the kitchen and break everything. The glasses break everything. What is drinking good for? What is it? I wish I could get a real response.*

*M7: I want to look at the idea that of us who cant stop drinking, to learn how to weigh yourself and the amount you have so that another person can accept you, you must be acceptable to others.*

*M2: I was going to say the same thing that one should be able to weigh themselves and the amount of alcohol intake they should have.*

*M: And again in the statement, it speaks in real life, if we really want to win in life, in order for everyone to stop drinking, we might not finish it totally but we can eliminate the number of people drinking, because if*

*we were to say stop drinking totally then that is hard a lot. That's why they used a soccer star, because people love alcohol as they love soccer, when soccer plays people drink, it's like there is a relationship there between the two (Males, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

There was one example of a participant who stated that he had reduced his alcohol intake, described as having 'alcohol limits'. This participant spoke about having a dependency on alcohol that appeared to be irreversible 'you couldn't touch me', and that the campaign had done precisely this and encouraged him to reduce his drinking:

*It touched me on the alcohol issue. I used to drink a lot of alcohol. When I was drinking you couldn't touch me and when I saw it I decided to change on my own, I told myself to have alcohol limits (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, aided recall).*

There were no other examples of behaviour change in relation to alcohol consumption. In general, participants agreed that the message about limiting alcohol abuse was important to emphasise and highly relevant, particularly as it impacts sexual risk. This is underlined in the section on themes and messages in this report. There was also some critical appreciation of why men in particular drink, for example because they are 'less advantaged and maybe they have given up in their lives' (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo) and how youth in particular are affected.

The message of the television PSA (being responsible with sex while drinking alcohol) was well understood by participants and appeared to be one of the better understood themes of all the brief messages delivered by the ambassadors during the World Cup campaign.

## Condom promotion

The *Brothers for Life* campaign sought to reinforce condom usage as a means of reducing HIV infection risks. The following messages pertaining to condom use were communicated in a television PSA with Graeme Smith and in posters, billboards and radio PSAs with other Sports Ambassadors:

- Be a man who takes no chances and always uses a condom.
- In the game of life always play it safe.
- Be a man who chooses to be responsible even when he drinks.

The soccer player Thierry Henri featured on a poster and two billboards, however, no participants recalled seeing those media. One participant recalled condom use being discussed as part of the package of risk reduction on MetroFM. A couple of participants broadly recalled hearing about condoms on *Brothers for Life* television PSA, though did not recall the Graeme Smith PSA accurately, collapsing it with other PSAs:

*I am not familiar with players but I once saw them on TV and there were two of them sitting in the stadium and they were talking about being responsible especially for people our age. They were focusing on the issue of HIV, using condoms and violence, what I understood most is that we have to look at our age to focus on this type of thing. And the issue of HIV, that we should use condoms, what I really understood is that people our age need to pay attention to issues such as those, we need to look back and where we come from (Female, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

*The advert that I have seen, is Teko Modise's. He was talking about that we need to be safe and use condoms (Male, 30+, rural, Mpumalanga, unaided recall).*



When asked to describe the campaign's messages, several participants made general statements about condom use, but tended not to recall the specific messages above or the media that carried them. Responses appeared to link to existing knowledge about the benefits of condom use rather than a particular PSA or billboard. Male and female participants explained the ways in which they saw the campaign promoting condom use:

*That when you have sex, you should use a condom so that you don't get infected with HIV (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, unaided recall).*

*About sex, play safe, use condoms (Female, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided).*

*It's trying to show people, explain to them that in this life that we are living there are diseases. We need to protect ourselves from these diseases. A person must be vigilant and protect themselves at all times. It's trying to teach people to protect themselves, to use condoms at all times (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape, unaided recall).*

*I like it because it gives people who go out a lot the message to condomise (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

During aided recall, when the television PSAs with Graeme Smith and John Smit were played, participants generally recognised them; for example 7/8 people in a Northern Cape group remembered seeing it before. A male participant described how John Smit was a role model in regards to condom use:

*Some have sex while they are not drunk and still not use the condom, you hear what John Smit is saying, he is saying practise safe sex, and didn't he say so? (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

Perceived messages from the aided recall portion of discussions referenced the importance of being prepared, especially when drinking. This message was described as 'powerful' and 'spot on':

*What I was saying is that they make sure they have to advertise something like they must always carry condoms because you will never know the day and time where you are going feel like you need an opposite sex, that is very important (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

*M3: For me, it's actually a very powerful message because it encourages you to have one partner in life and also to condomise not only when you are using alcohol, that is why he says be a man, even when you are drinking you must always condomise, I mean it's a clear message, it encourages you, it motivates you to do the right thing.*

*M4: The advert is spot on, the matter of fact who is doing it, the idea is to take celebrity and try to make them so that people can become aware of that.... if it was me who was doing that advert, it could not have been that powerful, you understand, that message is spot on (Males, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

*M1: Be responsible with your sex even when drinking or after drinking.*

*Facilitator: And what do you think about that message?*

*M1: Powerful. Yeah, I think when you're drunk all that nonsense goes, flies away. If you go to a club with the intention of somehow or somewhere at the end of that night having sex with one of the female participants of that grooving session, whether you're a Brothers for Life or you're a Scrutinize, whatever you are.... They didn't say don't drink and sex, they said don't be stupid with your sex, not your drinking [inaudible] what they are saying is 'use a condom even when you are drunk' (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Discussants clearly linked the relationship between excessive drinking and the lessened likelihood of condom use and perceived it as a relevant message to communicate. A male participant described the challenge of communicating this message in an

environment that has been saturated with condom-focused prevention messages:

*I know condom has been emphasised and overemphasised in such a way that I think it has come to the point where it has lost value with other people. They stay with condoms and know that condoms must be used, but they just don't use them. But I'm saying the message on alcohol needs to be emphasised because it's widespread really (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng, aided recall).*

There were a few self-reported examples among focus group participants of behaviour change in relation to safer sex and condom use. One participant spoke about how he made a deliberate move to introduce condoms into his sexual relationship with his wife; he took two condoms home and had a conversation with her about how and why they should use them (to prevent HIV). In this example the participant gave voice to the difficulty of introducing condoms in an intimate partner relationship: his wife asked him if he was HIV positive and he responded that she will be the one to blame if he is. It is noted that the participant remained defensive in his interaction with his wife about safer sex and HIV:

*Yes, they have got different things now that has changed us. They have talked about condomising and all those things, and fortunately...I am going to share now as well. When I came home, I said to my wife, and I brought two, I brought one for my wife, I said 'this if for you, this is mine. If I don't use this one, you use yours'. She said 'why do you want it, are you infected?' You know, it comes as a shock. I tried to explain no, I told her it's to be safe. I said I am not infected. If I am infected, I know you will be bringing this thing in the house. (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape, aided recall).*

## HCT promotion

The campaign also aimed to increase awareness among men about the benefits of HIV testing and to increase the number of men who test for HIV. This message was comparatively focused on for a longer period of time than the others, as it was broadcast for 13 uninterrupted months, including through the World Cup campaign, via a brief television PSA featuring Teko Modise, three radio spots (with Teko Modise, Ryan Giggs and Anthony Johnson), and two posters and billboards (with Teko Modise, John Smit, and Graeme Smith). The two messages that were given were:

- Be a man who is not afraid to know his HIV status so that he can protect his health and that of his partner.



- In the game of life, know your HIV status.

After Patrick Shai, Teko Modise was the second most remembered ambassador. Although he was strongly associated with being part of *Brothers for Life*, participants tended not to associate him with the specific message communicated in the PSAs he appeared in, with the exception of two focus groups in the Free State in which several men clearly recalled (unaided) that he promoted HIV testing and appeared to resonate quite strongly with the message:

*M2: I think the Teko Modise one, it was so vital, because if you think in that period, it was this hype about the World Cup, Bafana Bafana and so on. So even if you were an ignorant person, but you are seeing your hero coming with this message, somewhere, somehow, it was going to change your attitude towards the message or to the issue at hand. So, somewhere, somehow, it did have certain influence.*

*Facilitator: What was his message? What was Teko's message?*

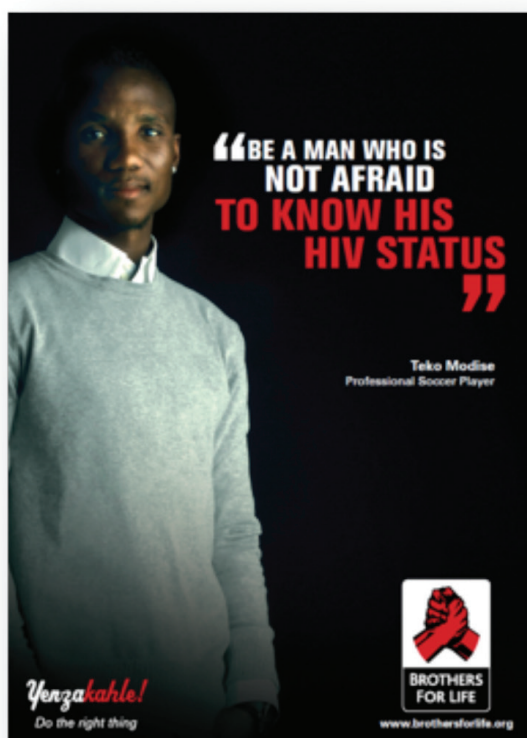
*M2: ....it was more like as men we have to get to know our status so that we can make decisions that are going to make us to live our... yah, just not to live by not knowing, but you have to know your status (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, unaided recall).*

*Now as the ad came on TV more and more and more often, I began to listen, because he is saying 'I know my status, do you know yours'... From there, it got me thinking 'yah, do you know yours, do you know yours'? (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, unaided recall).*

The majority remembered seeing Teko Modise on a PSA and the Brothers for Life tagline 'and I am a Brother for Life', sometimes attributing other messages to him:

*All I remember is him saying I am Teko Modise, I am a Brother for Life, there is no what is what, is not giving any message, there is no need for Teko Modise (Male, 25-30, peri-urban, Mpumalanga, unaided recall).*

Several participants perceived the PSA as having the potential to influence people, largely because Teko Modise was perceived as an influential figure:



*Although when it first started I never took much notice of the advert, but when I saw that these men were featuring the most, and even the videos. Teko was very interesting, if you pay much attention and focus on it, you would realise that it teaches a lot (Male, 30+, rural, Mpumalanga, unaided recall).*

After being shown the television PSA, a few participants said that they found the PSA informative; easily grasping the message that one should know one's status:

*M2: It's saying that you must first know your status, and you must respect the other person's status, to me, and you must be a man.*

*M3: I like the way he talks. He talks openly. He said he is a brother for life. Umhlobo for life. That's why he said even if you are infected, you are still my brother.*

*M4: No, it makes sense to me, because first of all I must respect myself so that I can respect those around me. But first of all I must know my status (Males, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape, aided recall).*

M2: It's says first we open our mouth and it's saying that you must first know your status, and you must respect the other person's status, to me, and you must be a man

M3: ....I like the way he [Modise] talks. He talks openly. He said he is a Brother for Life. Umhlobo for life. That's why he said even if you are infected, you are still my brother (Males, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape, aided recall).

Encouraging South Africans to know their status was regarded as still relevant and important, given the prevailing ignorance about their personal risk that characterises many. Some thought that the PSA would reach viewers who did not know their status, but were considering being tested:

*This advert was made for a person who is not sure where he is standing about his HIV test or his status, that's what I am thinking. That is for someone who is not so sure about himself (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

*Whether you are running away, whatsoever, you must accept that HIV is the thing that is alive with us, and it's not away from us. It's closer to us, it walks with us, it lives with us, it sleeps with us, it's everywhere. As a man, you must know that this thing, whether sometimes it is brought by us, whether sometimes it is not brought to us, but to me, Teko says that as a man you must take the responsibility that you test yourself [group agrees] (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape, aided recall)*

Another discussed the message he recalled from this PSA, resonating with the importance of knowing one's HIV status, whatever the result is:

*I would like to say something related to the Teko one. Knowing one's status is of paramount importance, because you will know how to survive. If you know that you are positive, you will know how to safeguard the status of others by not transmitting the human immune deficiency virus to others, knowingly. So, it is very important that you know your status. If you are still negative, you will be in a positive position to know how to avoid contracting the virus.*

*Apart from that, having known your [positive] status, you will be in a position to know how to promote your health.... it is very important that you know how to eat healthy food to promote your immunity so that*

*it is not broken down. By continuing to promote it continuously, you are sort of prolonging your life, because once the immunity system is destroyed, it means you are also destroyed, because those are the soldiers which are responsible for safeguarding your health. That is what I understood from that advert (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, unaided recall).*

Another participant described himself as one such person and recalled (unaided) personally resonating with the message precisely because he was a man who was afraid to get tested:

*I think the campaign is basically appealing to a broad spectrum of issues, but I think it depends on the person, what you identify with the most. Like no one is perfect. I would say the one I saw every time the most, I remembered when I saw it, was the one – be a man who is not afraid to get tested [laughs], because I'm one such man who is afraid to get tested. So that was the one that was always in my mind because it applied to me personally (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, unaided recall).*

A suggestion was made that the message would have been clearer if it depicted Teko Modise himself being tested or clearly articulating that he knew his HIV status:

*I was saying that the importance of that Teko advert is that people need to know their status because some people are ignorant, especially some teens or young adults especially those people that don't have an education on HIV and AIDS that is actually out there and in spite of the advert and everything being thrown in our faces, some people are still ignorant. So, in Teko's case and in that advert, I don't know if he does test himself but I think maybe they should have like.... showed him testing so that 'know your status, I am a Brother for Life', I could have understood that (Male, 18-29, urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

*Obviously it's the job of the Scrutinize people or the Scrutinize people they should emphasise on testing so many times or whatever but, on this Teko Modise case and since it is a Brothers for Life thing, it's just saying 'Brothers, let us stop being lazy let's start thinking about our partners, let us not be selfish and let us go out and test' (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Several participants expressed the message of this PSA was not as rich and lacked emotional content in comparison to the gender-based violence PSA with Patrick Shai. In general, this sentiment related to all the brief World Cup television PSAs:

*I think if you put people explaining their personal situations, changed men... If you ask all of the guys in this room, all of them will remember the one with Patrick Shai because ... He was talking about a personal story, something that he did, something that he had to overcome. I think that unlike Mathew Booth and the other [well-known personalities] who are just standing there and maybe reading from a cue card or something. But with Patrick Shai, it was something that he dealt with, that he did and he is exposing it. So I think a lot of men who were in difficult situations could relate to that; that is why I think it has more impact than the other ones, because those other ones, you knew it was Mathew Booth or Teko Modise but you don't necessarily remember the message because the main thing is the message and the delivery. The person who delivers the message has to have an experience, a story behind the message as with Patrick Shai, there was a story, his story and if there is a guy watching that thing he will go 'wow'. Tell their story, even if it is a famous person but, they must have a story (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall).*

The overall feeling regarding this PSA was that the way in which the message was delivered was not as effective as some of the others, given that it lacked an authentic story for people to identify with. There was some disagreement among research participants as to whether the Teko Modise PSA had a message worth taking note of:

*To be honest, the message that we got was the Patrick Shai message, Teko Modise didn't give a message. He just said 'hi I am Teko Modise I am a Brother for Life.' There is no message with Teko Modise, all he does is appear on TV and say that he is a brother for life. What makes them Brothers for Life, what information has he given, he has not given any information, only Shai is giving information, there is nothing [personal] that Teko Modise is giving (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall).*

Some felt that Teko Modise was not the best candidate to deliver the message, given his apparent lack of personal experience with the subject matter:

*The Teko Modise ad is boring. My honest opinion is it's boring, because of one thing – I believe he shouldn't be there. It goes back to what my brother and I said earlier – a normal person that has HIV/AIDS, he should be there, and then the alcohol abuse one by Graeme Smith, I am testimony to that. I used to do that. I used to party hard and do that and drink all night. I used to do that, and then I stopped, because at the end of the day, I had to stop because it gives you a moment*

*to think, and that was before that ad came out (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, aided recall).*

*On this one it doesn't rely on what he is saying, because most of the celebrities like taking public test, we have never seen or heard that Teko Modise has taken those test but he is encouraging us to take those tests, and it doesn't make you a man only because you know your status, there are lots of factors that actually make you a man (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

*M1: Football celebrity, we know women are crazy about it so, we already have our minds made up about him, the lifestyle he is living now.*

*M3: I agree with him, I agree it's a good advert but the person, I mean every time Teko Modise is on the newspapers for all the wrong reasons (Males, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

Another criticised both the message bearer and the message for being tiresome:

*I don't like this HIV and AIDS information about being a man and getting tested, most of the time we are tired of HIV and Teko Modise should have came with something better for me, not be a man know your status, I don't feel him (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

One participant, however, appreciated that the television PSA was straight to the point, which made it easy to grasp:

*What I liked is that it was straight to the point, he doesn't go about telling you stories about now how do you get all this HIV crap and what. It's just 'listen here, go test and test your partner for yourself and for your wife's benefits and you can live a better life, I am Teko Modise I am a Brothers for Life, now go'. Straight to the point, understandable, a five-year old would know what the hell its talking about; an old person who can't even walk would know (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

One research participant recounted an incident where a woman he knew found out that she was HIV positive but was afraid to tell her husband because she assumed he would accuse her of cheating on him and hurt or kill her. He suggested that the campaign should address such ideas that some men hold about HIV testing:

*Her problem was, she said my husband is a soldier, so now he often says that if it can happen in any way that she is positive, he will kill her because he knows*

*he is 'clean', because at their workplace they are being tested often, meaning that she would be the culprit of that. So when she discovered it she cried, not because the result was positive.... Now, in that way, it made me reflect that maybe there are certain things that should be done in terms of the campaign that will change the way men think, because the men today, they won't even go to test, but what they will do is they will just watch the woman going to the clinic, and then when the woman comes back and says I am negative, he will think that he is negative. So, I think in a way this campaign, I think it can be good from that point, maybe to be more improved again, maybe to reach such men (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

There were a few examples of participants who stated that they had gone for an HIV test after being exposed to the campaign. One participant stated: *'I did testing. I think it was... when he was doing a campaign here'* (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape). Another participant spoke in more depth about being motivated to test, specifically recalling the PSA about knowing your status:

*And the last one, just like on a personal level, I have at some point been motivated. Like when I saw one of those, like be a man who is not afraid to know your status, I remembered that hey, I haven't been tested for some time, and then I went (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape, aided recall).*

Engaging with the football celebrity Teko Modise, a participant spoke about how he had internalised the message about knowing your status. While this participant stated that he tests regularly (every three months), it was evident that his engagement with the

PSA featuring Modise had reinforced his belief in the importance of getting tested:

*The reason from there, it got me thinking 'yah, do you know yours, do you know yours'? Because me at that time, I do know my status because I still go and test each and every three months, I do so. But it was the time of the World Cup, everybody was having fun, but not Teko Modise, he wasn't having fun at that time. That's when it all came about. One thing that sticks in my mind is he is asking you, 'do you know your status. I know mine, but do you know yours' (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, unaided recall).*

The same participant spoke about how exposure to the television PSA featuring Teko Modise encouraged him to go one step further than testing (he was already having regular HIV tests) and to have his CD4 count taken. The assumption here is that he is HIV-negative and goes for regular testing to check up on his status and the PSA made him even more conscious of his health and status to the point where he accessed health services beyond testing – 'I go beyond HIV and AIDS':

*My life improved. Teko Modise's ad – let's just speak about that one – he talked about 'I know my status, do you know yours'. So me, currently, at that time I was still currently testing regularly every three months, but now it made it more interesting for me to go and test more, to know my status. So now I don't only test for HIV AIDS, I test for the CD4 counts now, because you know what they say, if your CD4 count is low, there is something wrong with you. That's what they say. So, I take further steps, I go beyond HIV and AIDS. I go for the CD4 count as well (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, aided recall).*

“**No**  
**homophobia**  
**in my name”**



There was some reflection and critical dialogue on barriers to male uptake of HCT, including fear and issues related to male social identity. One participant thought it would have been better to have someone like Jacob Zuma having an HIV test, a 'cultural man', rather than a 'young boy' like Teko Modise:

*You see like Zuma now with HIV testing, most people have tested because he went out and said go and get tested, because they see him as a cultural man. But when Teko Modise says go and test, who is this young boy [laughs]? (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, aided recall).*

One participant spoke about how he decided to overcome his fear of testing and was tested for HIV when he fell ill with TB (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal). This was accompanied by some critical reflection on the social norms and attitudes that act as barriers to accessing HCT for men, in comparison with women. Another participant spoke about how the PSA featuring Teko Modise, and the line about knowing his status, would lead to conceptualised action. She spoke about how this creates fear and apprehension in people who do not know their status, accompanied by perceived risk of infection, 'it haunts them' leading them to 'consider going for a test':

*As for me, it works. Teko Modise, 'I know my status, do you know yours'. When someone hears that and they don't know their status, then it haunts them. They consider going for a test, so that they can know their status (Female, 30+, rural, Free State, aided recall).*

In general the Brothers for Life campaign was perceived to be powerful precisely because it targets men who are often more afraid to test than women.

*That is a powerful one and it challenges most or some of the males, when it comes to testing, it's not that easy, you would find that they don't just go, it must be because something bad has happened and you decide to go test, or they discover something in the partner who is female, so when it comes to testing, just like Modise who is a soccer star and male, he is talking about it and encouraging, maybe what is written here is what he is doing (Male or female, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal).*

The message of HIV testing was not remembered as frequently as campaign messages about gender-based violence, partner reduction and responsible drinking. In general, participants clearly remembered Teko Modise, with some participants feeling very positive about his role and message, while others expressing that he was not the most appropriate sports figure to use. In recalling

the PSA, they concentrated more on who he was than on the message 'Be a man who is not afraid to know his HIV status so that he can protect his health and that of his partner'. The overall message of HCT promotion, however, was seen as a relevant and important one for the campaign to communicate.

## Multiple and concurrent partnerships

The campaign aimed to raise awareness of the risks associated with having multiple sexual partners, to promote critical attitudes about this behaviour and to reduce the proportion of men that report having concurrent partners. A short television PSA featuring Bafana Bafana player, Matthew Booth, which addressed this theme, was aired in June-September 2010. The message about multiple and concurrent partners that was conveyed in the television PSA featuring Matthew Booth was not remembered as well as the longer MCP PSA. Participants distinctively remembered that Matthew Booth was one of the ambassadors, however, and with aided recall, many indicated that they had seen it on television. A male participant who was played a radio PSA with Matthew Booth that featured the slogan, 'Be a man who chooses a single partner over multiple chances with HIV', found the message straightforward:

*It's spot on but for me, it is similar to what John Smit is actually encouraging also, that having one partner you minimise the chance of you getting the virus (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

Another explained why he thought Booth was an appropriate ambassador to carry this message:

*I can say that was the correct candidate because Mathew Booth was one of the young boys to marry at a very young age and he has been like that till now, we have never seen stories of Mathew Booth being unfaithful (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, aided recall).*

A participant that was shown a poster featuring Booth and the same message agreed that the soccer player's personal credibility enriched his message and was able to connect that his wife is protected from HIV because he chooses to have one partner:

*What I like about this guy, Booth, he is our brother in law, he is married to a black lady, Sonia, and that's what I like because it means that she is protected shame, because he chose to have one partner (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Another participant who saw the poster explained how

he or she perceived the benefits of partner reduction:

*The more you reduce the partners, is the more you reduce the risk because they don't understand the backgrounds of the numerous partners. But if you have one partner then you will understand each other much better and there is honesty and everything is discussed openly and there are no hit and runs and so on. HIV doesn't gain there (Male or female, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

## Gender-based violence

One of the key aims of the campaign was to discourage violence against women. The objectives were to motivate men who are in abusive relationships to take steps for positive change, to encourage the utilisation of gender-based violence services, and to advocate for greater community-based services that provide gender-based violence counselling and assistance.

The research findings reflect that this theme was the campaign's most successfully communicated message. When asked what the main message of *Brothers for Life* was, many participants said that it was about encouraging men to stop abuse, more than any other theme:

*According to me it was about abuse as a whole (Male, 18-29, rural, North West, unaided recall).*

*I think when I summarise all the Brothers for Life messages, they are talking about abuse (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

*As I saw more adverts I thought 'okay, this is about people who are abusing and want to change and be better people in the society' (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall).*

*It shows how as a male you should treat your family, not to take out your stress onto your wife, or abuse your children and so on (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape, unaided recall).*

*The one [message] that came out to people a lot was the one about abuse, women abuse. That's the one that came out to all people. Many of us understand Brothers for Life as a campaign to help brothers to resolve abuse (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng,*

*unaided recall).*

A participant from the Western Cape explained how he understood that the main campaign message was about stopping sexual violence, which he perceived as a relevant and important message to communicate. He and another participant saw *Brothers for Life* as inviting men to think critically about the ways in which they put their—and others'—lives at risk:

*I can talk about the things that are being discussed because they are things that are happening in everyday life. We need to protect ourselves as people. Protecting yourself means that when you meet with your partner, you must protect yourself. Don't use force. Using force is wanting to rape someone without using protection because you are not only hurting that person but yourself too. You are killing yourself and the other person. You won't stop there; you will also do it to another person. That is the thing that I like about Brothers for Life. If we cannot use our minds, then we are placing our lives at risk (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape, unaided recall).*

*They were trying to get the message across that there is this problem in our community and we need to solve this problem. The problem is women abuse. Yes, women abuse, and they are saying we've all got a role to play in it. Be a Brother for Life, because you don't need to be beating up your woman to be a Brother for Life (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, unaided recall).*

The product that was recalled (unaided) the most out of all the *Brothers for Life* mass media materials was the television PSA that featured the actor Patrick Shai speaking about his personal experience with intimate partner abuse. Participants across all research sites were able to vividly recall the content of this PSA. For example, in one group, the participants knew the PSA so well that they were able to answer all of the pertinent questions without needing the PSA to be played for them. Participants' strong recall of this PSA appears to be both a result of the memorable content and particular style of the PSA and the fact that it was heavily invested in: the PSA was broadcast 616 times between November 2010 and April 2011, reaching a target audience of six million men between the age of 30 and 60.

*The only advert I know is actually the one with Patrick Shai because he appears on our TV channel on a regular basis, about being an abusive husband (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall).*

This PSA was the most discussed and the clear favourite of the majority of participants. The PSA's message,

style, emotion, actor, relevance, and identification value appear to influence the positive response it received in the focus groups.

*Patrick Shai, of all, it's the good one, but all of them are good. All of them are good to me but the best one for me was Patrick Shai (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng, unaided recall).*

*I liked the Patrick Shai advert, I am still young and would still like to have a family, I want to grow up knowing that you can't beat a woman (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

*In a lot of adverts there is a lot of dramatising of a man hitting his wife for real, but with this one, they are using a different strategy that draws the attention of the community (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, unaided recall).*

The PSA was seen to clarify what the whole campaign was about for some viewers and how 'brothers' can take action to transform themselves:

*Yes, that's the one that I saw first, and then Patrick Shai came after, and that's when I realised exactly what they are about, the Brothers for Life (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, unaided recall).*

*I like it because it shows the awakening of someone's conscience. That he will no longer go back now (to their wrong behaviour), that now I know myself. He cries because he feels that pain inside, that is what I like about it (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

A large number of female and male participants reported that the PSA worked because it told a meaningful, authentic story. Patrick Shai reflected on his personal experience, demonstrated regret, and described his transformation. The emotional depth that was portrayed made a significant impact on viewers:

*I think the Patrick Shai one really hit deep, it has got depth and you can even feel the emotions. All these other ones, the reason why they don't stick in the brain is mainly because they lack depth, there is no emotional involvement, like that one where Shai is seated and he lays out that he was beating his wife for his own mistakes as he puts it... as a man, when you watch it you get absorbed because he is emotional (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

What made the PSA particularly memorable is that it depicted Patrick Shai being moved to tears while he told his personal story. Male participants from both younger and older age groups indicated that his display of emotion grabbed their attention, in large part because it contrasted dominant norms that were said to make it difficult for men to express their emotions:

*Hey, he cries, he just cries. The advert starts and he is crying, and you say, 'oh my God look at this old man, what is wrong with him', then you will want to listen, and then you come close and you turn up the volume, you see, 'oh I used to beat up my wife, I used to drink alcohol and I used to abuse my children' (Male, 18-29, urban, KwaZulu-Natal, unaided recall).*



Still from GBV TV advert

*The way I see it, it's not easy for a man to cry.... When they showed his face you could see that it wasn't easy for him. When I saw the first tear rolling down, I could see that this thing has really happened. Because in my knowledge a man does not cry, he'd rather die secretly inside than cry. So when I saw the tears I could see that this thing must have really happened in his life (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

*Because he even sheds tears, it makes you to want to watch it to understand why this man is crying. It compels anyone who may have been doing [that] before, to think and change your mind and say 'enough is enough' (Male, 30+, rural, Mpumalanga, aided recall).*

Patrick Shai was thus seen as an example to others, that it is possible to change one's violent behaviour. His willingness to publically disclose that he used to hurt his wife was seen as 'courageous' and 'bold'. Research participants reported that they also appreciated the PSA because it showed that anyone (including celebrities) can be perpetrators of gender-based violence:

*Well, at first I didn't believe it, to be honest. I didn't actually believe that a person like Patrick Shai, seeing him on TV and him saying all that stuff. I thought maybe he was just acting or something... Besides the fact that it took guts for him to actually say it on TV.... some people always think that celebrities don't do things like that; it's just us people who do stuff like that (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, unaided recall).*

Many participants sympathised with Shai and sought to understand his background and the circumstances that led to him think that gender-based violence was acceptable.

*Patrick Shai... he grew up with his father abusing his wife and he saw it as a norm to abuse and he started abusing his wife. When he grew up, he didn't see anything wrong with it and he thought it was a normality and people are supposed to be beaten up (Female, 18-29, rural, Limpopo, unaided recall).*

*I think he was abusive, because if you are saying I want to beat her to [make her] cry harder, 'even harder than my mother', it means maybe he was from a family whereby his father used to abuse his mother in his presence. That is why he is saying he would do that to his wife. Through that advert, he says 'I loved my wife and I wanted her to love me, but how could someone love you, whereas she is afraid of you'. So it made us aware that he was so abusive and he was so depressed that he wanted her to love him, whereas he is abusing her. He was so confused (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, unaided recall).*

*The problem is that we've got egos, I think it was his ego that led him to beat up his wife, not the things that she did, not the things that he did, it was just his ego. ...'I used to beat her. I used to beat her until she screams or shouts out my name', and the way he says beat her, that line, beat, and he emphasises it, 'I used to beat her, I used to beat her, I used to beat her. When I'm drunk, I used to come back home and beat her...' (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, unaided recall).*

The PSA prompted many participants to think about their own relationships, behaviour, and why gender-based violence occurs. In particular, men from rural areas referred to gender-based violence in their families and communities when talking about this PSA. Several men clearly articulated that they identified with what Shai said in the PSA because it paralleled their experience and prompted them to critically reflect on their own behaviour.

*To me [the advert] brought some critical thinking. It made me think. So then after that, I think that I should at least change because maybe I was hard on those people (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State, unaided recall).*

*Yes, it is a touching thing... because it leaves a scar on your heart, something that you never forget, even if you change... but the way you think about violating women, it makes you regret, ask yourself why you didn't know about this before, and what can I do to reverse the pain you caused her because even if she says she forgives you, it all comes back to you that you did do that to her at the end. So when I look at that advert, I ask myself what I can do to make sure that I don't do that. He [Shai] is feeling pain that he will not be able to make go away completely but he can change (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

*Talking about the message, I realise that beating up women is not a good thing. I was still a little bit not into girls, I was thinking me, myself and I. So, when I started dating, I saw that the solution to solving your problems in a relationship was not by hands fighting, but it was by talking and getting help, getting different points of view from people how to deal with some things. That's the message that I got, is that you don't solve your problems by fighting (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, unaided recall).*

Shai's testimony struck many participants as being truthful and they were able to relate to what he shared in the PSA.

*I think why we remember it too much is because some of us can relate to what Patrick Shai was before and being in the process of being another person (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall).*

*It touched me because I have seen abused women. When he was talking about it he was like serious about it, you can even see he was crying when talking about it (Male, 25-30, peri-urban, Mpumalanga, unaided recall).*

Some research participants were able to relate to Patrick Shai from the perspective that they too, had been abusive to their partners or had been in situations where they had experienced and or witnessed gender-based violence.

*Personally I had [been] Patrick Shai once in a while, everyone once had, but to come out and say it to the public, it was very brave of him (Male, 18-29, urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall).*



Three men from the Eastern Cape described how hearing Shai's story affected them. They described how this PSA left them feeling sad and upset and how it helped them to realise that they were in similar situations and needed help with their own abusiveness. One man explained how after seeing the PSA on television, he decided to see a psychologist to discuss his feelings. Another shared how the PSA helped him realise the negative effects of alcohol and to accept that he had been 'wrong' in his relationship. An excerpt of this conversation follows:

*M4: To me, it's bad, I felt badly, because most of the time we can't run away. Most drugs lead us to be abusive because when you use drugs, or sometimes you are cheating, you cheat on your wife or your wife cheats on you, then that's whereby that abuse starts. That's where it is starting now. It's the most important.*

*M2: I was very sad when I saw that guy on TV.... To see that one, I take from me. It is my child, what is happening to me, my body.... and that guy was even crying. I was upset. I must go to bed before I see this thing. Then some guy was staying with me, he said 'no, it's not the end of the world. If you were to die, it's not the end of the world'.*

*Facilitator: Like you can change, you mean?*

*M2: You can clean everything, and you have got someone to just console you to get it in, but deeper. I noticed after two weeks, I went to the psychologist here. I sat down with the psychologist and we spoke for a long time and everything was come down, come down. Everything was okay, but the feeling is still there around.*

*Facilitator: When you saw that ad on the TV, how did it make you feel?*

*M2: It made me feel that when I see that man, I was very upset, and the feelings were not right, to me. I can say that.*

*M3: When I watched that on that day, firstly I thought it was so great that this guy accepted that he was wrong.... I was sitting on the couch and my wife was sitting closer to me. I think it was far away. Then when I am watching, no one spoke, and then we take a decision, myself, saying 'please Lord, I don't want to do that' because it's clear to me.... sometimes you do things you do not understand, and when at a later stage the person that counsels you or gives you a clear understanding of life, you understand.... What I noticed is once you abuse alcohol, you do not understand everything, because whether the wife*

*was complaining about the internal marriage issues, whether she is asking for money, food and so on.... But if you just look at that guy.... He accepted that he was wrong. So, I was taking that moment of watching that scene straight to my heart to say I don't want to move in this area. It was touching my heart, so I decided to take it as it is that it is a learning and I learnt a lesson from the media. You must learn things in an early stage instead of learning after. So, that is the thing that I learnt that day (Males, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape, unaided recall).*

A male participant described how he regarded Shai as a role model, an example of how a man can learn to accept that he was wrong and choose to change his behaviour.

*What I can say is here [in the Patrick Shai advert] we learn about guilty conscience and to change and to accept. We usually say in English that a 'wise man always changes his mind'. You see here Patrick revealed himself as a wise man to warn the community, we learn from his experience (Male, 30+, rural, Mpumalanga, aided recall).*

*I think this is very good for us as men, because I think we have to exercise our full responsibility when coming to take care of our children and our women. I think the responsibility goes hand in hand with our rights, because I think some men take it as if it is a privilege maybe to exercise their powers in other ways, because they think they are over other people. So that is why we are seeing other men beating their wives, not caring about their children and doing other things which are not good for our communities. So really, I think that [advert] is really good, because if maybe we can put it straight into our communities and have discussions wherever we are about this, I think we can change our lives and we can bring an impact too (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, unaided recall).*

When asked what message they took from the PSA, the majority of participants thought it was about the need to stop violence against women. Other messages included that it was about personal change or the consequences of substance abuse.

*If you listen to it, you would learn something from it. That as a man, you can't have a wife or a family which is afraid of you. In return, they would say they love you, whereas they are afraid of you. Maybe sometimes you are drunk, you would fight with your wife, or fight with the family at large, but in return they say they love you. You can't love someone who is afraid of you. So*

*it means it was making us men aware that.... if you are someone who has got a family, they would not love you, whereas they are afraid of you (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, unaided recall).*

*I think the message there is about the responsibility and commitment to family life, not abusing the powers that we have as men to our family (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, unaided recall).*

*Alcohol and drugs, that's what I saw and realised that his message was strong and was advising us that if you have a problem it's better to be open (Male, 30+, rural, Mpumalanga, unaided recall).*

The following quote reflects how the PSA prompted a participant to critically analyse the way in which cultural norms perpetuate abuse:

*The message that I picked up is that it talks against abuse, gender-based violence. Yes, the message is really, we can't be abusing, especially women, because they are vulnerable, like kids. We cannot be abusing them and feel proud about it. That is exactly the message that one picks up. It is not something that is good.... We have been socialised in places where culture is put in a strange way, sometimes to suit these abusers (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, unaided recall).*

When the PSA was played for some focus groups, some participants discussed how it portrayed the awakening of someone's consciousness and appreciated the symbolism of Shai's taking his coat off before walking outside.

*Usually when you are born again, it means that you removing what is old and you want what's new to grow. So when he is removing the coat he is removing the old ugly strength he had, or when he sees this coat, he sees the coat of the father.... that reminds him of the father who has now passed on. So when he sees this coat it reminds him that if he wears this coat again, it reminds his wife of the pain she once went through. If he takes off this coat, then.... he can see himself born again or changed from the man he was when he used to wear that coat.... To me it represents that he is leaving his bad behavior behind, he is taking a decision to take the coat off. He was sitting in the darkness and at that time.... he couldn't see that what he was doing was wrong, he couldn't see that it was darkness because he even says that he wanted her to love him and now he is taking off the coat which represents the bad behaviour and leaving it behind*

*and he is walking towards the light (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Two participants from KwaZulu-Natal said that they would have liked to glimpse the 'new life' that awaits Shai as he 'passes into the light' and to understand what prompted his transformation, as this is not explained in the PSA:

*He finally realises that this thing is not right, there has to be a way that he changes. I wish I could see him when he is out of the darkness and gets to the light, how did he get to the light? (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

Only a few research participants did not like the Patrick Shai PSA, mainly because they suspected that he was acting, collapsed him with the character he portrays in drama series on television, or assumed he was simply doing it for the money.

*Yes, I've seen the Tiger [Patrick Shai] one. The Tiger one, I just looked at it and I thought Tiger leads a good life. I've seen him around several times, driving around in his fancy cars, so I'm like Tiger having problems? No, I don't think he has problems (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, unaided recall).*

*I have a problem with that advert of Patrick Shai, we don't know if he is acting or is he just campaigning.... that is my problem, I can't say he has experience [of the problem] because he is an actor (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall).*

One participant suggested that the PSA would have been more convincing if his wife had come forward to verify his statements:

*You would see his emotions on TV, but maybe he is proceeding beating his wife because he is just, he's lying to us 'I was beating my wife'. What if he is still progressing beating her? So we need to hear the views of his wife, that really, really was he beating her or were we just being played there? (Male, 30+, rural, Free State, unaided recall).*

The length and language of the PSA may have been a deterrent to understanding the message:

*I have a problem because I don't take it like Shai did really do that thing, it's just like he is acting, and it's too long, if someone younger than me [inaudible] you would lose patience just to listen to that English, language (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall).*

There were a couple participants that felt this PSA would reach a wider audience if it was translated to different languages, in part because the issue of intimate partner violence was seen as relevant to people in rural communities:

*It is more appealing to the rural area because many of us are from the rural area, we grew up knowing that the father does beat up the mother. The men would boast about how they beat their wives. You see with this one (the advert), they have to teach a lot of people in different levels. Even the older age groups who think women's opinions are nothing of importance, they remain stubborn. They should know that a family is built by a woman so she must not be abused, she must be treated well.... I would like it to be in more than one language because there are many men who would watch and laugh when they see a man cry. They would say 'what kind of a man is this one who cries?' so if it is in different languages we can understand it better (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall).*

The bulk of the discussions about gender-based violence referenced the television PSA. One participant recalled hearing the Patrice Evra PSA on the radio ('be a man who respects his woman and never lifts a hand to her') although not the message. Another remembered that there was something about gender-based violence in a newspaper:

*I remember some words, they say be a wise man... don't lift your hands to a woman, what and what, so that is the only thing I remember (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng, unaided recall).*

Three people spontaneously recalled liking the storyline on the soapie, *Generations*, in which an abusive character (Dumisani) sought help in becoming a *Brother for Life*, which was another way in which the campaign communicated its message discouraging partner violence:

*To add, even on Generations, when Dumisani kept on beating up Khetiwe, he went to Brothers for Life and was helped through talking about it...because sometimes you can't talk to your parent or your partner so they helped him because that was a place he could talk about his problem (Female, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape).*

Gender-based violence was the most common area of discussion in relation to attitude and behaviour change, with several participants sharing how they had taken personal action to become less violent and aggressive. This was most often in regards to their female intimate

partners, but there were also a few examples of a reduction in violence towards children.

*Facilitator: Are you like this kind of man?*

*M2: I'm already [facilitator laughs]. I am already, because when you see me coming to my house, my dog comes to me, my child comes to me, because I am not kicking [laughter] (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape).*

Becoming less aggressive or violent was often accompanied by an increased effort to communicate to overcome conflict or in a way that was constructive rather than aggressive. A participant spoke about how he had started to communicate 'with love' rather than aggression, such as by shouting at his children:

*It changed me, because as I have said to you, I was an aggressive person. If I said to you 'I want you to do this', and even in the house, I will ask my kids, 'you are still sitting there, why are the dishes like that', and then you know, you always do those and so on. [Name removed] talked to me and said no, you must always use love and use this and so on and so on, and suddenly I said why can't you wash the dishes, instead of saying why are these things still there [shouting]. It had an impact on me and we can communicate now, instead of shouting (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).*

There were examples of participants who spoke openly about being violent towards their partners in the past and of how the Brothers for Life campaign had changed them. One participant spoke about how he used to be violent towards his partner and how he experienced a moment of realisation after being exposed to the campaign and is now 'on the right track'. He did not explicitly state that he has stopped abusing his partner, but the implication was that this is the case:

*It has influenced me as I have spoken earlier... those days when I was beating a girl, honestly speaking I didn't receive any guidance from someone but when I saw the advertisement for Brother for Life for the first time, I realised that it had influenced me because it means that I am on the right track in terms of pursuing my life. You understand, that is my whole thing (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).*

Some participants related how a friend, partner or family member had changed their behaviour. One participant spoke about how her boyfriend was now able to communicate as a way of dealing with and preventing the onset of violent behaviour after being exposed to the Brothers for Life campaign. He also reduced the number of his sexual partners:

*F3: There has been a difference because my boyfriend was someone who likes beating but now he is able to first talk about something before just beating up people.*

*Translator: So he changed because when he was in school he used to like a lot of girls but when he saw the advert, he reduced the number. She says it has had a difference because her boyfriend used to be very violent but after having seen the advert, he is able to talk about things before resorting to violence (Female, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape).*

Other examples of behaviour change in relation to gender-based violence were framed in a language of self-control, of curbing one's temper and tendency to aggression. The call to action to protect rather than abuse one's female partner reinforced the idea that it is a man's responsibility to protect 'his woman' who is more vulnerable than he is. This did not challenge or interrogate the hegemonic construction of masculinity as being dominant and aggressive, but did encourage men to identify this particular psychological tendency as harmful and encourage them to try and restrain it.

*So, on the issue of beating my partner [chuckles] I would not like, because everything is controlled by temper, and temper is something that is more powerful than anything because it challenges you... I know it's not like I am beating, but I know myself. My temper is still the same. When I'm fed up, I'm fed up, really. I'm not saying I'm beating my wife, but I'm trying to cool myself to where I can say yah (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

Behaviour and attitude change and internalised messaging related to gender-based violence was often framed in a language that reflected men as having agency while women are vulnerable to abuse and in need of protection and care. One participant reflected on the campaign by expressing a discomfort about the abuse of women, 'We cannot be abusing them and feel proud about it' (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng). This should not be read as Brothers for Life endorsing a form of benevolent patriarchy<sup>19</sup> which discounts the need for underlying gender equitable attitudes and practices.<sup>20</sup> Rather, the campaign appears to have made space in men's imaginations for recognising gender-based violence and abuse and identifying alternative behaviours.

It was also stated that sometimes women are violent towards men, while social attitudes and norms serve to deny this reality. Reflecting on this, a female participant derived the message that she could also apologise to her partner or others to whom she has been abusive,

knowing that it is always possible to change and 'do the right thing':

*Maybe a female, when you have done wrong, it's never too late to apologise or to do the right thing. Yah, it will never be too late. You can still change, because from that advert, what I have seen is that from that moment, it means the mere fact that he came out, it means he wanted to change. So, it's never too late for us as human beings or as people who are abusive to others, to change and apologise, yah (Female, 30+, urban, Gauteng).*

The campaign objectives to shift social norms that accept abuse and encourage men to take action against abuse were successfully met, largely through viewers' meaningful engagement and identification with the television PSA featuring Patrick Shai. The findings did not turn up much information regarding whether there was an increase in uptake of gender-based violence-related services per se, besides the testimony of two men described above who reported that the PSA helped them to realise they needed to get help to change their behaviour towards their partners. This PSA was clearly successful as participants recalled it more than any other, given the extent to which they resonated with the message's authenticity, and in several cases reflected on how it connected with their own experiences either growing up with or taking part in gender-based violence.

## 1.18. Contexts for interpersonal communication

The extent to which the *Brothers for Life* campaign opened up communicative spaces for dialogue over key issues such as gender-based violence and multiple concurrent partners is a significant indicator of its success. Participants spoke about how they and their friends had communicated about the campaign in peer groups (male and female) and how sometimes this had led to action being taken, for example by preventing another peer group member from abusing his girlfriend. This form of interpersonal communication was described to be enjoyable and meaningful, because people were able to be open and to share thoughts and feelings about issues such as HIV and gender-based violence. Some participants spoke about how they had discussed the campaign in their intimate partner relationships, or how it had prompted them to communicate better with their partners or vice versa (also, and pertinently, acting as a deterrent to violent behaviour). Finally, there were key examples of explicit educational action, whereby

<sup>19</sup> Morrell & Jewkes (2011)  
<sup>20</sup> Morrell & Jewkes (2011)



participants spoke about how they felt inspired to tell others about the campaign, or about how they had learnt about *Brothers for Life* through the communicative actions of others.

## Peer groups

Some participants reported how the campaign led to interpersonal communication within peer groups and how this led to collective dialogue over key issues and sometimes to resolution to counteract damaging behaviours such as intimate partner violence. One participant told of how he and his peers would talk about their relationships with girls, and when one of their friends had a tendency towards being abusive towards his girlfriend they would talk with him and find a way to prevent him from enacting this behaviour. He stated explicitly that ‘we don’t believe in doing violence’:

*M7: Just about, yah, it’s about mainly like our relationships with chicks. With ladies, I’m sorry. Yah, it would be about that, and trying to... Actually, me and my boys, we are there for each other in a way that...*

*Facilitator: When you say your boys, is it your friends?*

*M7: My friends, yes. We are there for each other in a way that if ever one would have a problem with a girlfriend, he wouldn’t like act immediately or act...*

*Facilitator: Act his feelings?*

*M7: Yes, act his feelings maybe towards the girlfriend. He would come to us and then we sit down, he’d tell us, he’d maybe pick one or two of the boys, we talk, and then we come up with a solution. That’s how we assist each other. We don’t believe in doing violence (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng).*

It was evident that the Patrick Shai PSA in particular, triggered many conversations about gender-based violence. In another example of interpersonal communication within a peer group, a female participant described how she and her friends spoke about an acquaintance who was being abused but was either unaware of it (as being abuse) or did not want to talk about it publicly. In this example of interpersonal communication, the peer group asked questions about whether their friend was being abused, but it was not clear as to whether they had taken action about this:

*We were talking about Patrick Shai, and then this other girl was talking about her friend. I can’t really remember who the girl was, but she was saying my friend was being violated but she didn’t realise. I can’t*

*remember exactly, but I remember that girl was talking about her friend being abused and her friend did not realise it. Actually, she didn’t really like to say it, she was saying that people were talking about it and she was not aware that she was being abused. She did not believe that it could happen to her. Maybe it wasn’t her friend. Actually, the story was all about her, but she didn’t want to say it publicly. So even Patrick Shai, we said that, even the celebrities, are they living that kind of lifestyle (Female, 18-29, urban, Free State).*

Communication within peer groups about the issues raised by the campaign was considered to be empowering in and of itself, and as one participant stated, people have started to talk openly and with confidence in his local tavern about ‘all of these things’. It is significant that the *Brothers for Life* campaign has penetrated social spaces such as shebeens and taverns as it is often after engaging in excessive alcohol use and exposure to sexual situations in such spaces that people will engage in high risk and violent behaviours.

*There is a shebeen, there is a tavern, whereby all these things we have said here, confidence, sharing, speak out, contribute, personality, all of these things, everything about this, sexual harassment, because what I am going to do is I am going to share with those people there whatever I share with those people. I am communicating with them (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).*

In a similar example of male peer group dialogue, participants in one focus group discussion spoke about how they debate and discuss the *Brothers for Life* campaign and also indicated that this was a powerful end in itself, because they are ‘able to talk and express’:

*M5: We usually talk about this, like me, number two and number eight, we usually debate and argue about like this one of Brothers for Life. Yah, we talk, every time we talk about them (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

*M2: So, I am grateful for that today because I am able to talk and to express. I mean like this guy, relating anything, I’m telling you even after this today, come tomorrow, we will be meeting here and then our lunch is all about this Brothers for Life. [laughter] So yah, somewhere somehow, we do integrate these things (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

## Family and intimate partner relationships

There were a few examples in the focus group discussions of how the campaign triggered interpersonal communication which acted as a deterrent to intimate

partner violence. One participant spoke about how her boyfriend used to be very violent but *'after seeing the advert, he is able to talk about things before resorting to violence'* (Female, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape). Another participant spoke about how prior to being exposed to the campaign he had been aggressive with his family and his children, and then a community activist who was part of *Brothers for Life* spoke to him about how he *'must always use love'*. As a consequence he stated that he now communicates with his children without resorting to aggression (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).

Some participants were able to communicate more openly with their intimate partners about sexuality, health and relationships after being exposed to the campaign. One participant spoke about how he read the *Brothers for Life* pamphlet with his wife and she had asked him to take a particular action (though it was not clear what this was):

*I read it with my wife, and then she said I hope you will do this [laughs] (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).*

## Educational communication

There were several examples of interpersonal communication that were explicitly educational, where participants spoke about how they had been inspired to tell others about the campaign, and to form *Brothers for Life* groups, or that someone had approached them with an intent to give them a message about the campaign. One participant spoke about having *'that passion of telling other people'*, identifying himself as a *Brother for Life*:

*You feel like going around and doing the same because actually I am already a Brother For Life because I know what to do and what not to do. So it gives me that passion of telling other people (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal).*

A participant who also worked for the Department of Social Development said that they drew on particular aspects of the *Brothers for Life* campaign in their Life Orientation lessons:

*We have a project here in Social Development here at the centre. We are teaching the grade sevens Life Orientation when we go to classes. In every class, those are the questions we ask in the introduction – do you know the advert about Patrick Shai, about what-what, and then we start the lesson talking about AIDS, talking about responsibility, talking about the good character of a person, like that (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

Some participants spoke about how they first came across the campaign through word of mouth and exposure to communicative social spaces. One participant went to a meeting where *Brothers for Life* was introduced and said that it was particularly useful because he interacted with members of the campaign directly. In this example he describes the rich dialogue about campaign messages that took place prior to the meeting when a man he worked with told him about it and how he had learnt a great deal from the communication at the forum:

*It was an introduction to me where I started knowing Brothers for Life, they had a meeting, you know these gatherings with men as a partner Mepa, it's a gathering of men so when they introduced Brothers for Life, there is this old man who I work with in the same building, he came in saying that we are having a meeting with some guys coming from Gauteng and they want to introduce Brothers for Life, it's still the same association to say we are dealing with men that is where men are going to gather and talk about sex and sexuality and sexual behaviours and then especially how to deal with anger if you are a man without even directing it to beat a woman, and the use of condom. So yes I did hear about it but, it didn't click to me because I didn't have much information about it... that is why I say I was happy when I met them at the campaign it was a really useful moment because I interacted with them directly (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

While findings indicate that the *Brothers for Life* campaign has had significant influence on interpersonal communication which was also accompanied by some form of influence on behaviour there were examples of how the campaign did not appear to generate much, if any, influence on interpersonal communication. When asked directly about whether the campaign had generated interpersonal communication, one participant stated that he has not seen anyone talking about it within his community, stating that it seems that people are ignoring it entirely:

*I can truly say I haven't heard anyone. That's one of the things that we always complain about when we met here, that we can't hear even one person talking about a certain thing such as Brothers for Life. It is as if the environment where we are is ignoring, really. I remember we even organised something here and the turnout was bad. We just said it's as if people are ignoring about other campaigns, even like this one, really. We just hear it through the radio, watching it on TV and seeing the billboards, but here, au, it's bad, really (Male, 30+, rural, Free State).*

Another participant stated that he had not communicated about the campaign to his friends because he was not interested and that lots of people do not take it seriously (Male, 18-29, rural, North West).

## 1.19 On the use of well-known celebrities



There were mixed feelings among focus group participants about the role of celebrities in the *Brothers for Life* campaign. Some were against the use of celebrities for various reasons while most tended to favour this strategy. The broad arguments for and against this strategy that were expressed in the focus groups are outlined below.

### 1) Celebrities enhance message acceptability and act as opinion leaders

Among participants who were in favour of using celebrities in the mass media materials, a central point was made that they enhanced the acceptability of the message. The Sports Ambassadors in particular were perceived as possessing high visibility and as already being opinion leaders and role models. It was thought that the prominence and status of Sports Ambassadors would likely facilitate the adoption of positive attitudes and behaviours among audiences that identified with them.

*I think it's good because these people play soccer and we also look up to them because they are our heroes and we want to play soccer like them. So by using people we look up to, they get people like us interested because we would see the people we look up to doing good things and that would also influence us (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape).*

*I have seen where there is Mathew Booth, I have seen Teko Modise and a couple of other sport people. I think also for the fact that one likes Mathew Booth or Teko Modise, the message was quite strong, I am not sure for people who are not sports people but for me as a sports person the message was really quite informative based on that (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

One participant encapsulated the potential influence that celebrities have over their passionate fans:

*Messi, someone who is close to our hearts to those who love soccer, that's why he is relevant. I watch Barcelona and he turns heads so he is in our hearts, whatever he says, we will listen to it, even if he had to do something bad, we would end up seeing it as good (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal).*

John Smit was the third most remembered ambassador after Patrick Shai and Teko Modise. He was especially referred to by participants from KwaZulu-Natal and the Northern Cape (where there was a nearby billboard that featured him). The actors, Patrick Shai and John Kani were also appreciated by focus group discussants:



*I thought it was, well, it's okay that they used Patrick Shai, because like I said, if they had used someone else, they wouldn't have gotten our attention (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Gauteng).*

*One of the ones I really remember is the John Kani one. I mean, who doesn't want to listen to John Kani? You know, like he's so articulate and it's profound, and even the different messages that get attached to the different profiles is relevant (Female, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).*

## 2) Celebrities were seen as appealing to the youth audience



**Sports and entertainment ambassadors**

In a country where there is a keen interest in sport, most participants agreed that the use of Sports Ambassadors reached both primary and secondary audiences. This is because they are particularly appealing to young people and others who enjoy watching sport. The celebrity thus attracts their attention, encouraging the target audience to pay attention to the message.

*Especially to the youth when you speak of Teko Modise they easily recognise him or John Smith. I saw a certain school here where John Smith came to visit and the kids were so excited, they recognised him. But a lot of adults might not recognise John Smit (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal).*

There was also a sense that the right positive role models will encourage others to follow their example:

*So I think when they use the celebrities or the sports guys it's kind of like motivational, especially for the young target group, because I mean it makes you be at a point where if he can do it, then why don't I follow suit and take responsibility as well (Male, 18-29, urban, Western Cape).*

The general feeling was that Teko Modise was not an appropriate ambassador for the campaign as his lifestyle was perceived to contradict the messages of the campaign. Nevertheless, there were a few participants who mentioned how his professional career made him an influential ambassador to those who liked soccer and who supported his team.

*For me, why Brothers for Life is using these people is because these people have followers, so if*



*you want to reach a certain target you will use actually somebody who is popular with [the] group. Teko Modise is popular; he is being liked by women, by males, so Brothers for Life have a target group also so they are trying to reach that target group, that is why I think they are using him (Northern Cape, Urban, 18-29 males).*

Team affinities can create an 'us and them' situation in which the campaign becomes defined in relation to certain team fan bases, which could block message reception for some die hard rival fans.

*Not Teko Modise or Matthew Booth, some people hate them.... People tend to take soccer very seriously and personally, if you see a pirates player there advertising, I wouldn't want to listen to Teko, I don't. I am a Chiefs fan, not a Pirates fan. Mathew Booth he is a Sundowns (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, KwaZulu-Natal).*

### 3) Diverse celebrities contribute towards a sense of unity

The use of celebrities from different racial groups and segments of society were seen to contribute towards a sense of national unity that recognises that HIV affects all kinds of people in South Africa. Some participants commended the *Brothers for Life* campaign for choosing their ambassadors carefully to appeal to a wide audience. Ambassadors included individuals of different races and different contexts, for example sports figures (of different kinds of sports), actors, and a playwright.

*I can understand the relations to soccer, cricket and rugby, but if we put it in relations to context to HIV and AIDS and the message of knowing your status, the importance of knowing it, whether you are white or black, young or old, you need to know your status (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal).*

*I like the fact that they mixed it up because Graeme Smith is a cricket player, John Smit a rugby player and the other one from soccer. People like those sports, so maybe if they should [include] a rugby player, those interested in rugby will pay attention, if a soccer player, those interested in soccer will pay attention and so forth, so I think they balanced it out well (Male, 18-29, rural, Eastern Cape).*

Graeme Smith was one of the least remembered sports stars and only a few participants remembered him during unaided recall. Like others, his message was either mismatched or the participants could not remember

what he was talking about. However, he was seen as an appropriate ambassador to be in the campaign, largely because he was perceived to broaden the target audience to include white people:

*I think I like the one with Graeme Smith in an essence because, although the most of the times if you can look, in our society, I don't want to be racial but, these things of violence, HIV and AIDS are normally amongst the black communities, but you will find that in the white communities there are women who are being abused and those who cannot draw the line.... (Female, 18-29, rural, Limpopo).*

### 4) Not all ambassadors will appeal to the same communities

Although John Smit's inclusion was considered to facilitate reaching a wider audience, there were concerns that people in rural areas might not identify with him due to their lack of familiarity with rugby; care should then be taken to choose relevant environments for the placement of media products that feature particular ambassadors.

*If you go the rural areas, they don't know who John Smit is, use people who are known in the local areas (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State).*

*I saw a certain school here where John Smit came to visit and the kids were so excited, they recognised him. But a lot of adults might not recognise John Smit (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal).*

### 5) Celebrities may not be as authentic as ordinary people

Some participants who criticised the inclusion of celebrities argued that they did not see them as sincere or having actual experience with the issue they communicated, given their fame. It was suggested that an effective alternative may be to use celebrities that have a good reputation and have demonstrated positive norms around single partners and HIV prevention. They said more attention would be given to their messages, given their authentic lived experiences.

*But it's bad... because we don't know those guys in reality.... but if you put Magic Johnson as an ambassador for HIV and AIDS, I promise you, by tomorrow people will be lining up in these HIV and AIDS cubicles to test, because Magic Johnson has been living with HIV for over 20 years. We all know that. (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Free State).*

*....why does it have to be a star, maybe an ordinary person who had experienced a bad thing might go out more powerful than a star who hasn't experienced nothing about alcohol abuse or woman abuse or whatever abuse. So let's get an ordinary person whom we can relate to (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape).*

One participant gave an example of how the story of someone who was featured on *Khumbul'Ekhaya* affected viewers and recommended that *Brothers for Life* should take a similar approach:

*If you were on Facebook and.... watched Khumbul'Ekhaya yesterday, you would have seen a lot of hits about that old man talking about HIV and AIDS. That old man, yes, people are making fun of him about him being HIV positive, but a lot of people, when I saw it on Facebook, they wrote about it and they said 'tomorrow I'm going to go and test, tomorrow I'm going to do this, tomorrow I'm going to go do that', because they saw that old man that was HIV positive....He's not a celebrity, an old man who is in his 70s (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State).*

Several participants suggested that ordinary people or community leaders known to set a positive example in their communities could act as suitable ambassadors, give credibility and be able to inspire others.

*As I have said, you must take ordinary people. By taking these people who are sports people, it doesn't affect anybody.... Take it street to street. Maybe you have peer educators and then they work the whole street.... That is the only way to advertise this, Brothers for Life (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape).*

*He said he is Teko Modise, but in the future, we would like to see, I am [name] who is HIV positive, to stand up, to see me on the TV saying that. I am [name], I am HIV positive, I know myself, I respect myself, and I respect other people next to me. If we can try to get something like that, you see, because we do not really see that Teko is... (Male, 30+, urban, Eastern Cape).*

A finding from the evaluation report with *Brothers for Life* partner organisation related to this point. A staff member from The Valley Trust in KwaZulu-Natal is featured in a television PSA; a focus group with staff members from that organisation revealed that community members showed identified with the campaign, particularly because they saw 'one of their own' portrayed as a *Brother for Life*, which reportedly helped them to see the campaign as less distant and something that spoke to them too.

## 6) What is in it for them?

Since the Sports Ambassadors were seen as being paid to 'perform' the PSAs, it therefore diminished the message for some participants who suspected that their motivation for being an ambassador was financial rather than because they were sincere about the issue. Their personal wealth was also said to make it more difficult for ordinary people to relate:

*The problem is ... you see a celebrity and sometimes you feel that this guy has money why should I listen to him? You don't know if he is faking or what. ...If you take a person that you don't know totally and see that this person is saying something, you can listen to them and want to understand what this person is saying, because most of the superstars that are being shown on Brothers for Life campaign, all of them have money. So that is the problem (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape).*

They [celebrity ambassadors] are just acting just to have cash. At least if there were ordinary people who take part in those things, people who know about real life on the underground... (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Free State).

*If you want to.... know how life goes, go and ask people on the ground. Don't use the people who are on the high level, because the people who are on the high level, we know they are getting paid for what they do (Male, 18-29, peri-urban, Free State).*

## 7) Not all celebrities are sterling role models

The messenger is as important as the message; celebrity endorsements can add value to a programme but they can also undermine a programme. Although participants reported that the messages in the World Cup campaign were important and relevant, some participants raised concerns that the personal behaviour of some of the Sports Ambassadors contradicted the messages they gave. Teko Modise and Ryan Giggs were given as examples of individuals who were publically known for having made poor choices in terms of their sexual behaviour, which then detracted from their message.

*I wonder whether you want to keep Teko Modise there. If you read the papers, they gave a negative vibe. He chased his wife... without any reason. That is really abuse and emotional abuse, because the wife is actually depressed as it is, squatting goodness knows*

*where. But this guy is continuing to go clubbing in the best clubs there are in town. So I think when you read a message about that and you pick up that the same person that you actually modelled it around is actually doing something opposite, it doesn't send the right message (Male, 30+, urban, Gauteng).*

John Smit was seen as a model ambassador because of his well-known leadership persona as the South African rugby team captain. He was also perceived as someone who is not likely to have public scandals and negative press, making him a credible ambassador:

*To me, you see, between Teko Modise and John Smit, I can take that one seriously, John Smit is not the type of guy to be read about from time to time in the newspaper. He has never been followed by large [numbers of] women about his a sexual life, having fathered children or what not (Male, 18-29, urban, Northern Cape).*

Although most participants did not spontaneously remember the message Matthew Booth relayed, he was recognised as having a 'clean life' and was respected for being someone who was faithful to his partner:

I can say that was the correct candidate because Mathew Booth was one of the young boys to marry at a very young age and he has been like that till now, we have never seen stories of Mathew Booth being unfaithful (Male, 18-29, urban, Northern Cape).

## 8) Celebrities may lack personal experience

There was a suggestion that the messages would be more effective if ambassadors publicly underwent an HIV test or said that they know their status, rather than merely saying 'Be a man who is not afraid to know his status'. Some participants were suspicious about whether that statement was true. It was said that viewers would be more likely to follow their example, if the ambassadors were portrayed being tested or known to test publically, for example.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, it was suggested that the PSA with Teko Modise would have had more credibility if he was shown having a test, rather than just speaking about it.

*There was Kabelo Mabalane, he took a test on television in front of the whole nation and he tested negative. That kind of an impact, that he can stand in front of television and say 'I know my status, do you know yours'? I can say it then. That's what he did. He just did it and I just saw it. So Teko Modise just coming in front of the television and saying 'I know my status, do you know yours', we are not sure whether he is*

*positive or negative, but he is proud about saying he knows his status. So that's how it doesn't get to me (Male, 18-29, urban, Free State).*

## 9) Authentic stories enhances identification and message retention

Overall, participants strongly identified with Patrick Shai in comparison to the Sports Ambassadors. The reasons participants cited for their strong identification with his personal testimony given in the television PSA about gender-based violence included: 1) that it was perceived to be authentic and therefore appealing because it was based on his real life experience; 2) he expressed what appeared to be sincere emotion, which added to his credibility; and 3) his story reflected the realities of how participants had experienced gender-based violence in their own lives, which created resonance among viewers.

*Patrick Shai, I think he is my favourite because of my life and the way I grew up. Seeing my father beating my mother, I like it because it is very encouraging; sometimes I wish I can watch it with my father so that he sees it. It is my favourite because I can relate to it, I like it. The others come second (Male, 18-29, rural, Limpopo).*

Several discussants said that this PSA contrasted the ones that featured the Sports Ambassadors, who were seen as merely reading a 'cue card', not sharing what they had been through themselves. Shai's personal testimony was further said to relate to what some viewers experience(d) in their own lives, which helped the message to be remembered:

*The others [the Sports Ambassadors] are just standing around and speaking, but that one [Shai] catches my eyes, I can watch it, it catches my eyes, you see.... What I like is that it's focused on men, men are involved, like I said earlier, we are the ones who abuse most... not just those who get abused. That is what I like about that one of Patrick (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape).*

*I have seen Brothers for Life on an advert on TV.... I saw Teko Modise.... but I can't remember what it was really about.... I remember he was kicking the ball (Female, 18-29, urban, Free State).*

*He was talking about a personal story, something that he did, something that he had to overcome, I think*

<sup>21</sup> Although some sports figures have in fact been tested in conjunction with the campaign, research participants were not aware of it.

*unlike Mathew Booth, they are just standing there and maybe reading from a cue card or something and you will just say stuff, but with Patrick Shai it was something that he dealt with, that he did and he is exposing it. So I think a lot of men who were in difficult situations could relate to that, that is why I think it is more impactful than the other ones, because those other ones, you knew it was Mathew Booth or Teko Modise but you don't necessarily remember the message because the main thing is the message and the delivery (Male, 30+, urban, Limpopo).*

Enhanced by Shai's recognisability, perceived sincerity, emotional expression and the visual style of the PSA, the message about partner abuse was the most internalised of all the mass media products.

*I think the advert of Patrick Shai is wow, it's out of this world because it's dramatisation, if you can see these people that we are using for other advertisements, they play soccer, so with Patrick Shai at least it's dramatisation, he brings reality, he is painting a picture for you through dramatisation, so I think that even though Patrick Shai advert is long, even a small kid can relate to it (Male, 30+, urban, Northern Cape).*



# “CONCLUSIONS”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



The Brothers for Life campaign set out to promote positive behaviour and encourage men to stand up and take action to prevent HIV and AIDS and gender-based violence. Positive messaging about male behaviours, attitudes and norms was utilised, as well as social modelling based on male role models that embody the norms and values of the campaign. In order to evaluate how the campaign was received by its target audience, what messages were taken from the different mass media materials, the extent to which people identified with its themes and what recommendations should be made for its future implementation, CADRE conducted 18 focus groups among primary and secondary audiences across every South African province in July and August, 2011.

The findings presented in this evaluation demonstrate that the campaign is achieving its objectives, particularly in regards to communication about the prevention of gender-based violence and the promotion of positive male gender norms, and secondarily to partner reduction and male involvement in PMTCT. Participants engaged with messages that relate to alcohol abuse, condom use, and HIV testing less meaningfully than the others; however, there was still evidence of critical reflection and internalisation of these themes. The campaign was seen as successful precisely because it opened up spaces for communication and dialogue over key issues, so that men can learn from and support each other in finding 'the right direction' and in eliciting critical reflection about social norms and in some cases behaviour change.

### 1) On optimising the effectiveness of mass media communication

Aspects identified by focus group participants as critical to effective mass media during this evaluation included:

- *authenticity versus acting*; in instances where *Brothers for Life* were perceived to have been paid to participate in the campaign, participants were generally less inclined to believe that they '*meant*' what they said;
- *identification* was a critical factor in determining which mass media messages were remembered. The mass media in which participants identified with the character, situation or context, was also the media that engaged participants the most and resulted in self-reflection and interpersonal communication;
- the *portrayal of realistic* scenarios within the various mass media added to its strength as an effective tool to promote the campaign;
- the inclusion of *emotion* by characters within the various mass media, lent weight to what was perceived as convincing and genuine;
- and the *format, length and personalisation* of television PSAs were regarded as important. Utilising characters that were genuine representatives of the behaviours they espoused resonated far more than not. The personalisation of messages thus emerged as a critical aspect to what was identified as effective mass media within the campaign.

### 2) Authentic storytelling and social modelling

The utilisation of Patrick Shai as a credible role model and opinion leader was indisputably the strongest aspect of the whole campaign and the campaign's most successfully communicated message. The authentic telling of Shai's personal story of being someone who used to abuse his partner and subsequently transformed himself was the most discussed and the clear favourite of the majority of participants. The PSA's realistic, relevant and emotive message greatly contributed to its recall, identification value, internalisation and the positive response it received in the focus groups. Messages delivered by other

ambassadors were perceived as distant and impersonal in comparison.

The campaign objectives to shift social norms that accept abuse and encourage men to take action against abuse were successfully met, largely through viewers' meaningful engagement and identification with this PSA, which they perceived as having emotional depth. There was strong resonance among participants with the message's authenticity, and in several cases participants reflected on how it connected with their own experiences either growing up with or taking part in gender-based violence.

Several male discussants described how they regarded Shai as a role model, an example of how a man can learn to accept that he was wrong and choose to change his behaviour. The data suggested that the utilisation of Shai as a credible role model has the capacity to inspire change and shift social norms. Rogers' diffusion of innovation theory suggests that identifying key opinion leaders that adopt and endorse particular shifts in attitude and behaviour (as demonstrated by Shai in this case) will influence others to do the same, eventually diffusing normative and risk-related behaviour changes throughout social networks and communities.<sup>22</sup> It seems that Shai successfully embodied such an innovator, someone who can influence others to 1) engage in critical self-reflection, 2) adopt an attitude that respects women, and 3) ultimately choose not to be abusive towards one's partner or children.

### 3) On the use of well-known personalities

A key point that emerged across focus group discussions related to the usefulness of using well-known figures in the campaign. It is apparent that the utilisation of Sports and Entertainment Ambassadors elicited people's attention and triggered discussion and that their association with the campaign was largely appreciated by participants. The Sports Ambassadors became symbolic signifiers of the campaign in the general sense of what participants took a 'Brother for Life' to mean, rather than conveyers of key messages. It was apparent that the specific messages conveyed by the Sports Ambassadors were neither more nor less recallable than other messages, although the Sports Ambassadors were perceived as icons or representatives of the overall body of messages. This raises the prospect of more emphatically associating each

Sports Ambassador with a particular message across all media to increase its impact, and perhaps the prospect of lengthening PSAs to build stronger message identifications around particular Sports Ambassadors.

The mass media materials (and accompanying messaging) that were reported to be the most remembered were those which featured people who were perceived to intimately know and embody through first-hand experience the message they communicated. Celebrities that were perceived to genuinely associate with the values espoused by Brothers for Life were more likely to be remembered and perceived as role models. In this sense, the messenger may be as important as the message. The best example of this is Patrick Shai, whose PSA generated by far the most meaningful responses from participants. To a lesser extent, Matthew Booth was positively regarded as someone who embodies faithfulness, and was therefore seen as a fitting spokesperson to discuss partner reduction. In contrast, Ryan Giggs and Teko Modise were both noted for being poor role models in terms of responsible sexual behaviour and parenting, which diminished their message.

It appeared that participants responded well to personalised forms of messaging, such as Patrick Shai's personal testimony in the televised PSA. It may be useful to consider personalising messages further in the future, such as by having a Sports Ambassador say, 'in the game of life "I" choose one partner over multiple chances with HIV'. Although 'ordinary men' (meaning, non-celebrities) have been utilised since the campaign's inception, it is clear that most participants did not fully pick up on this aspect of the campaign. Participants frequently expressed an interest in this strategy, describing how they would like to see men from various localities and walks of life share powerful stories of their personal transformation.

### 4) Behaviour change, social norms and identity

This evaluation undertook a comprehensive analysis of the impact the campaign had on its behavioural objectives. Observing the limitations of approaches to behaviour change that conceptualise behaviours as belonging to a rational individual who can make autonomous choices without considering their socially

<sup>22</sup> Rogers & Shoemaker (1971)

embedded nature, a framework was provided for understanding the processes through which people negotiate social norms and attitudes and construct new ways of being and acting. This evaluation also conceptualised behaviours as being emotionally embedded and sought to identify moments of identification, resonance and internalised meaning as a pathway towards transition, especially when it comes to experiences of violence which may well have a traumatic legacy.

The *Brothers for Life* Campaign appears to have had a significant influence on propensity for gender-based violence, and to a lesser extent HIV testing, partner reduction, condom use, alcohol abuse and male involvement in PMTCT; at least insofar as attitudes are concerned. Beyond apparent instances of 'attitude change', strong identification with Patrick Shai's story (as presented in the televised PSA) led to several reported instances of behaviour change and also to key moments of critical dialogue that interrogated social norms around men and violence, emotional identification and internal resonance and transition.

Many male participants gave examples of how they had changed their behaviour to become less violent or aggressive. There was evidence that participants engaged critically with abusive behaviour towards women on the basis of this being wrong and inhumane, and because it contradicts the role of a man as a protector and provider. Through this shift in conceptualising what it means to be a man, acts of violence towards women and children were rendered unacceptable.

This powerful and actionable social identity was pivotal to the conceptualisation of certain behaviours and actions, including taking responsibility, caring for and protecting one's partner, and controlling oneself rather than resorting to violence.

A sense of personal power and agency was associated with the identity of the 'new man' and there was frequent reference to the potential to change or transform, which was associated with choice and hope for the future. This was not just a surface level identification with campaign messaging however, as several participants found deep emotional resonance with the stories communicated in the PSAs and were moved to

confront their past experiences of abuse and of HIV as part of the process of conceptualising and enacting a new, positive future.



# “RECOMMENDATIONS”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



Utilising a multi-level integrated approach to communication, the *Brothers for Life* campaign filled a gap in South African health communication and HIV prevention strategy through its specific focus on men aged 30 and above and by specifically focusing on improving the sexual and reproductive health of men. The mass media campaign has had widespread reach, and been welcomed by men and women across the country as a much needed intervention in the health communication landscape of South Africa. Having captured the attention of primary and secondary audiences, the campaign has strategically engaged audiences at various levels: individual, interpersonal and at a societal level.

The depth and breadth of the campaign is unprecedented in South African health communication that targets men. The campaign's strategy of inviting men to become *Brothers for Life* and in so doing, interrogating their own values and adopting attitudes and behaviours that will create 'new men' in South Africa, is a critical step in shifting male normative behaviour that so often underlies risky sexual behaviour, violence against women and children, and low health-seeking behaviour typical of South African men. It is thus recommended that the Brothers for Life campaign is continued, utilising the same approach and ensuring that there is investment in the sustainability of the campaign. Through partnerships with government, civil society, and the donor community, the campaign can find the 'foot soldiers' it needs on the ground to rollout social mobilisation activities that demand an even stronger engagement by target and secondary audiences. The mass media campaign is an integral component of the campaign and it is recommended that it is continued, including the incorporation of social media and cell phone technology to promote the campaign's aims and objectives.

The faces and voices that appear in the various mass media should be carefully selected to include men who are representative of all South African men (of various socio-economic classes, localities and ages). They should be seen to actively espouse the Brothers for Life values; this does not mean that these men are 'flawless', but that they recognise their shortcomings, while striving to be role models for other men. It is recommended that the campaign continue to use a variety of well-known personalities and 'ordinary' South Africans whose lives reflect the campaign's values.

Mass media evaluations should take into account recent developments in behaviour change and social identity theory, in order to develop and utilise a framework that captures the full scope of impact. To reference Figueroa et al, *'the model of development communication that has evolved is one that is based on dialogue versus monologue, horizontal versus vertical information sharing, equitable participation, local ownership, empowerment, and social versus individual change'*.<sup>23</sup> Effective and informative evaluations of development communication should set out to measure all these dimensions, which require a shift away from individual behaviour to a comprehensive analysis of how a campaign empowers its audience and builds social networks and capital.

Though the campaign was successful in shifting social identities and encouraging men to adopt behaviours that are lower risk, health-seeking and non-violent, there was still scope for the development of more gender equitable attitudes, practices, and messages. Future campaigns could take this further by stimulating dialogue over value systems that perpetuate gender inequality and encourage viewers to engage with alternative identities of men as having equal relations to women and share socio-economic power. There might also be further engagement with what drives men to be aggressive and violent. Alternative identities as men who care and can be sensitive, vulnerable and emotional are some examples of versions of masculinity that future campaign materials could promote.

The influence on viewers' behaviour that was observed occurred through critical engagement and dialogue with social norms, personal identification, and through the construction of powerful, positive social identities. It is important to provide social

# Recommendations

<sup>23</sup> Figueroa, Kincaid, Rani & Lewis (2002)

spaces where viewers can engage in dialogue over key issues such as gender-based violence and HIV counselling and testing and critically reflect on social norms and identities that can either legitimate or challenge existing negative behaviours. It is through such communicative spaces that viewers can construct messages and meanings in dialogue with each other and apply them to their social realities, with the potential to shift and maybe even transform attitudes that limit the ability to change behaviour. Thinking back to how developments in communication theory locate the viewer as agentic in creating his or her own message through the 'decoding' process, more spaces should be created that facilitate this through participatory media, workshops, community dialogues and other interactive fora. The knowledge that is created through such organic dialogical processes will be more appropriate and therefore more actionable precisely because it belongs to a viewer's everyday life-world.

It is recommended that the strategy of using authentic storytelling be continued, as emotiveness and credibility achieved greater resonance and message internalisation in comparison to the other kinds of television PSAs. Using the same approach would strengthen other key themes and enhance message retention. The depiction of ambassadors or characters who use 'I' statements' (e.g. '*I know my HIV status*') would strengthen the personalisation and embodiment of the message they communicate. When portraying personal stories of change, it is important to clearly depict what enabled the transformation, in order that other men can clearly grasp the pathway to action and follow suit. A further recommendation for visually-based mass media is to include portrayals of Brothers doing the very thing they are promoting. For example, through depicting a man who speaks about sticking to one partner with his partner, or one who says he knows his status, in the act of testing for HIV, as it is expected that this will enhance message retention.

Participants from communities in which the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme partners operate and which were purposefully targeted by the campaign via out-of-home media and social mobilisation activities, demonstrated greater understanding of campaign messages. They were able to discuss the campaign in more depth and showed more excitement talking about

it. Although the mass media materials have been shown to be a useful component of the campaign on their own, the interpersonal communication and social mobilisation activities led by partner organisations appear to extend its impact and investment in such activities should be sustained and additional partner organisations sought.

Endorsement and support of the campaign by existing political leadership should be expanded to include religious and community leaders, politicians, traditional leaders, and other opinion leaders as having community leaders that are seen to be champions of the campaign will add further weight to the campaign's aims and objectives.

Advocacy initiatives need to continue in parallel to mass media and social mobilization activities. The campaign makes a clear call to action to men to manage their sexual and reproductive health. It creates demand for male-friendly health services, including mental health services that accommodate men's working hours. The absence or limited services that exist for men will hamper and undermine the campaign's efforts to promote a culture of health-seeking behaviour among men.

In terms of future research, the *Brothers for Life* radio campaign should have a separate evaluation, as there are very specific aspects that need to be evaluated in terms of the community and SABC radio programming which are beyond the scope of this brief. As the radio talk shows have been recorded, it would provide very interesting data regarding emerging issues and what kind of interactions there were with communities. The campaign's impact should be further evaluated in the 2012 National HIV Communication Survey.

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Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign





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# “**APPENDIX 1** **BFL AWARDS** **2009 - 2012**”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



- Caples Award (Gold, 2012)
- Global Health Award (Winner, 2012)
- AfricomNet Award (Winner, 2012)
- Loerie for the viral campaign Sterring highlighting Gender based violence, 2012 (Gold)
- Loerie for use of Social Media- Twitter Army 2012 (Gold)
- Pendoring Award for “Proudly South African” 2012– Twitter Army (Gold)
- Loerie Award for the design of the Brothers for Life Logo (Silver)
- Loerie Award for Direct Marketing addressing Transactional Sex (Silver)
- Assegai for direct marketing addressing transactional sex (Gold)
- BEES International Award in San Francisco for Best Use of Microblogging Platform, Twitter Army that promoted HIV testing
- Finalist Roger Garlic Awards, Best Use of Media, Twitter Army that promoted HIV testing.

# Appendix 1

“

# APPENDIX 2

# CHANNELS, THEMES & AUDIENCE REACH ”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign





## A. 2.1 Themes and Television Audience Reach, 2009

Period: 01/06/2009 - 30/09/2009											
Description			Spots	Target Pop. Men 30+ LSM 3- 7 3 231 000				Total Pop.: 33 081 000			
				TVR	Reach	Avg. Freq.	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area	160	403,9	72,2	5,6	2 362 384	284,5	63,9	4,5	20 005 173
JHSA060/001	Manifesto TVC	Male Norms	74	402,3	71,9	5,6	2 352 568	278,2	61,1	4,6	19 128 577
JHSA060/002	Manifesto TVC	Male Norms	86	1,6	0,9	1,8	29 448	6,3	4,1	1,5	1 283 587

## A. 2.1 Themes and Television Audience Reach, 2009/10

Period: 01/10/2009 - 30/09/2010											
				Target Pop. Men 30+ LSM 3- 7 3 231 000				Total Pop.: 33 081 000			
				S : 402				S : 4412			
Description			Spots	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area	1604	5913,9	95,3	62,1	3 079 143	4070,7	95,1	42,8	31 460 031
JHSA015/013	Matthew Booth	MCP	21	359,8	70,1	5,1	2 264 931	220,3	54,9	4	18 161 469
JHSA015/014	Teko Modise	Testing	26	220	67,5	3,3	2 180 925	145,6	54,1	2,7	17 896 821
JHSA015/015	Graeme Smith	Condom	44	321,2	73,8	4,4	2 384 478	214,8	60,4	3,6	19 980 924
JHSA015/016	Graeme Smith	Testing	25	137,4	52,5	2,6	1 696 275	93,8	42,3	2,2	13 993 263
JHSA015/017	John Smit	Alcohol	55	432,9	74,3	5,8	2 400 633	281,6	64	4,4	21 171 840
JHSA015/018	John Smit	Testing	27	159,8	57,8	2,8	1 867 518	109,5	47,7	2,3	15 779 637
JHSA015/019	Patrice Evra	Condom	46	461,6	72,2	6,4	2 332 782	298,1	63,2	4,7	20 907 192
JHSA015/021	Mame Biram Diouf	Condom	38	281,9	68,3	4,1	2 206 773	195,2	57,7	3,4	19 087 737
JHSA015/022	Ryan Giggs	Alcohol	57	499,6	75,1	6,7	2 426 481	326,7	64,8	5	21 436 488
JHSA015/023	Ryan Giggs	Testing	33	166,9	52,5	3,2	1 696 275	114	41,8	2,7	13 827 858
JHSA015/024	Teko Modise	Alcohol	48	357,1	73,1	4,9	2 361 861	241,6	63,7	3,8	21 072 597
JHSA015/028	Anthony Johnson	Condom	35	167,6	56,8	3	1 835 208	123,8	46,7	2,7	15 448 827
JHSA015/029	Anthony Johnson	Testing	26	91,6	49,3	1,9	1 592 883	63,5	35,1	1,8	11 611 431
JHSA015/075	Graeme Smith	GBV	10	30	23,2	1,3	749 592	22,7	17	1,3	5 623 770
JHSA015/076	John Smit	GBV	13	33,6	21,9	1,5	707 589	31,1	22	1,4	7 277 820
JHSA015/077	Tiger Mangweni	GBV	11	50,9	31,1	1,6	1 004 841	34,3	23,6	1,5	7 807 116
JHSA060/001	Manifesto TVC	Male Norms	91	417,8	69,9	6	2 258 469	290,2	61,1	4,8	20 212 491

## A. 2.1 Themes and Television Audience Reach, 2009/10 (continued)

Period: 01/10/2009 - 30/09/2010 (continued)											
				Target Pop. Men 30+ LSM 3- 7 3 231 000				Total Pop.: 33 081 000			
				S : 402				S : 441 2			
Description			Spots	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.Freq	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area	1604	5913,9	95,3	62,1	3 079 143	4070,7	95,1	42,8	31 460 031
JHSA060/002	Manifesto TVC	Web Address	215	13,4	4,5	3	145 395	22,5	10,1	2,2	3 341 181
JHSA060/003	Manifesto	Male Norms	97	387,1	71	5,5	2 294 010	271,1	60,9	4,5	20 146 329
JHSA060/004	Manifesto	Male Norms	62	250,5	64	3,9	2 067 840	172,6	52,2	3,3	17 268 282
JHSA060/006	Big Daddy	MCP	71	326,6	65,5	5	2 116 305	225,2	53,7	4,2	17 764 497
JHSA060/008	Big Daddy	MCP	231	12,4	5,5	2,3	177 705	18,4	7,6	2,4	2 514 156
JHSA060/009	Manifesto	Male Norms	60	1	0,9	1,1	29 079	7,8	5,2	1,5	1 720 212
JHSA060/010	Manifesto Stand	Male Norms	62	0,9	0,4	2,3	12 924	5,3	4,4	1,2	1 455 564
JHSA060/011	Responsible Father TVC										
	PMTCT	165	730	79,2	9,2	2 558 952	534,8	68,8	7,8	22 759 728	
JHSA060/012	Responsible Father TVC	PMTCT	35	1,3	0,9	1,4	29 079	4,2	3,5	1,2	1 157 835

## A. 2.1 Themes and Television Audience Reach, 2010/11

Period: 01/10/2010 - 30/09/2011											
Description Spots				Target Pop. Men 30+ LSM 3- 7 3 231 000				Total Pop.: 33 081 000			
				TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.Freq	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.Freq	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area	798	2526,6	92,9	27,2	3 064 771	1 791,7	89,6	20	32 093 824
JHSA015/014	Teko Modise	Testing	43	302,1	77,1	3,9	2 543 529	226,3	65,6	3,5	23 497 264
JHSA015/018	John Smit	Testing	49	261,9	72,7	3,6	2 398 373	191,3	59,2	3,2	21 204 848
JHSA015/020	Patrice Evra	GBV	4	25,1	20	1,3	659 800	16,9	12,5	1,4	4 477 375
JHSA015/023	Ryan Giggs	Testing	32	167,3	63,2	2,7	2 084 968	123,3	51,8	2,4	18 554 242
JHSA015/026	John Smit	GBV	3	32,2	26,2	1,2	864 338	23,8	19,3	1,2	6 913 067
JHSA015/027	Tiger Mangweni	GBV	2	21,9	16,7	1,3	550 933	11,1	10,4	1,1	3 725 176
JHSA015/029	Anthony Johnson	Testing	27	158,8	59,8	2,7	1 972 802	115,3	49,1	2,4	17 587 129
JHSA015/075	Graeme Smith	GBV	4	15,5	13	1,2	428 870	8	7,3	1,1	2 614 787
JHSA015/076	John Smit	GBV	3	13,4	10,5	1,3	346 395	7,9	5,8	1,4	2 077 502
JHSA015/077	Tiger Mangweni	GBV	1	2,6	2,6	1	85 774	2,5	2,5	1	895 475
JHSA060/006	Big Daddy TVC	MCP	2	18,1	13,8	1,3	455 262	9,9	8,7	1,1	3 116 253



## A. 2.1 Themes and Television Audience Reach, 2011/12

Period: 01/10/2010 - 30/09/2011											
Description Spots				Target Pop. Men 30+ LSM 3- 7 3 231 000				Total Pop.: 33 081 000			
				TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.Freq	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.Freq	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area	1 129	4089,3	95,7	42,7	3 237 531	2855,7	88,7	32,2	34 169 901
JHSA060/002	Manifesto	Male Norms	304	1156,5	88,6	13,1	2 997 338	816	77,5	10,5	27 759 725
JHSA060/009	Manifesto	Male Norms	14	0,8	0,5	1,6	16 915	0,8	0,6	1,3	214 914
JHSA060/078	GBV	GBV	117	581,2	78	7,5	2 638 740	427,6	61,1	7	21 885 409
JHSA060/080	MMC	MMC	194	703,7	77,7	9,1	2 628 591	459,3	66,5	6,9	23 819 635
JHSA060/081	MMC	MMC	500	1647,1	88	18,7	2 977 040	1152	79,5	14,5	28 476 105

## A. 2.2 Brothers for life: Radio

Period: 01/08/2009 - 30/09/2009											
MEN15 AGE 25-64 LSM 3-7 Target Universe (men 30+) : 6 967 000 S : 41 67 Total Univers3 : 31 524 000 S : 251 51											
Description			Target Universe					Total Universe			
			Spots	GRP	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area									
No reported data											
Period: 01/10/2009 - 30/09/2010											
MEN15 AGE 25-64 LSM 3-7 Target Universe (men 30+) : 6 967 000 S : 41 67 Total Univers3 : 31 524 000 S : 251 51											
Description			Target Universe					Total Universe			
			Spots	GRP	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area									
JHS045101 JHS045102 JHS045103 Live JHS030PROM JHS030INTE		Manifesto MCP PMTCT Manifesto Manifesto	1632	2217	77,9	25,2	5 427 293	1871,9	75.1	25,2	23 674 524

## A. 2.2 Brothers for life: Radio (continued)

Period: 01 /08/2009 - 30/09/2009											
MEN15 AGE 25-64 LSM 3-7											
Target Universe (men 30+) : 6 967 000 S : 41 67											
Total Univers3 : 31 524 000 S : 251 51											
Description			Target Universe					Total Universe			
			Spots	GRP	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area									
No reported data											
Period: 01 /10/2009 - 30/09/2010											
MEN15 AGE 25-64 LSM 3-7											
Target Universe (men 30+) : 6 967 000 S : 41 67											
Total Univers3 : 31 524 000 S : 251 51											
Description			Target Universe					Total Universe			
			Spots	GRP	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s	TVR	Reach %	Avg. Freq.	'000s
Brothers For Life	Description	Thematic Area									
JHS045101 JHS045102 JHS045103 Live JHS030PROM JHS030INTE		Manifesto MCP PMTCT Manifesto Manifesto	1632	2217	77,9	25,2	5 427 293	1871,9	75.1	25,2	23 674524

## A. 2.3 Print Media

A 2.3 Print Media									
Programme Area			Total						
Brothers for Life	Men 30-60 LSM 3-7	All	TM				All		
	Universe Size	Universe Size	# of ins	Reach 000's	Reach%	Freq	Reach 000's	Reach%	Freq
Aug 2009 – Sep 2009	5 032 000	31 303 000	19	2 475 744	49%	3,9	12 082 958	39%	3,4
Oct 2009 – Dec 2009	4 869 000	32 498 000	7	2 249 478	46%	2,2	11 146 814	34%	1,9
Jan 2010 – March 2010	4 869 000	32 498 000	No newspaper placements during this period						
April 2010 – June 2010	4 869 000	32 498 000	No newspaper placements during this period						
July 2010 – Sep2010	4 869 000	32 498 000	No newspaper placements during this period						
Oct 2009 - Sept 2010	4 869 000	32 498 000	7	2 249 478	46%	2,2	11 146 814	34%	1,9
Oct 2010 – Dec 2010	4 267 000	34 020 000	9	1 958 553	46%	4,6	10 668 672	31%	3,9
Jan 2011 – March 2011	4 267 000	34 020 000	8	1 915 883	45%	3,8	10 216 206	30%	3,3
April 2011 – June 2011	4 267 000	34 020 000	6	1 682 905	39%	3,9	9 226 224	27%	3,3
July 2011 – Sep2011	4 267 000	34 020 000	6	1 682 905	39%	3,9	9 226 224	27%	3,3
Oct 2010 - Sept 2011	4 267 000	34 020 000	29	2 289 672	54%	12,9	13 264 398	39%	10,2
Oct 2011 – Dec 2011	5 251 000	34 934 000	5	2 101 450	40%	3,2	9 708 159	28%	2,9
Jan 2012 – Mar 2012	5 251 000	34 934 000	4	2 004 832	38%	2,7	9 149 215	26%	2,4
Apr 2012 – Jun 2012	5 251 000	34 934 000	4	2 004 832	38%	2,7	9 149 215	26%	2,4
Jul 2012 – Sep 2012	5 251 000	34 934 000	16	2 731 045	52%	5,96	12 922 087	37%	5,1
Oct 2011 - Sep 2012	5 251 000	34 934 000	29	2 994 645	57%	11,26	14 672 280	42%	9,42

## A. 2.4 Brothers for Life Out-of-Home Media

Johns Hopkins Health and Education South Africa Brothers for Life Out of Home Summary			
	Oct-09 - Sept 10	Oct-09 - Sept 11	Oct-09 - Sept 12
Thematic Areas	Behavioural Prevention, PMTCT, HCT, GBV	HCT, GBV	MMC, HCT
	# Sites	# Sites	# Sites
National/ Borders/ Taxi TV	680		1075
Western Cape	36	5	
Northern Cape	6	3	
Free State	25	2	15
Eastern Cape	64	2	
Kwazulu-Natal	36	20	
Mpumalanga	11	3	22
Limpopo	16	1	
Gauteng	685	17	26
North-West	7	3	
Total	1566	56	1138



# “**APPENDIX 3** **LEVELS OF EXPOSURE FROM RECRUITMENT FORMS**”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



Levels of Exposure from Recruitment Firms									
Programme Area			Total						
Brothers for Life	Men 30-60 LSM 3-7	All		TM			All		
	Universe Size	Universe Size	# of ins	Reach 000's	Reach%	Freq	Reach 000's	Reach%	Freq
Aug 2009 – Sep 2009	5 032 000	31 303 000	19	2 475 744	49%	3,9	12 082 958	39%	3,4
Oct 2009 – Dec 2009	4 869 000	32 498 000	7	2 249 478	46%	2,2	11 146 814	34%	1,9
Jan 2010 – March 2010	4 869 000	32 498 000	No newspaper placements during this period						
April 2010 – June 2010	4 869 000	32 498 000	No newspaper placements during this period						
July 2010 – Sep2010	4 869 000	32 498 000	No newspaper placements during this period						
Oct 2009 - Sept 2010	4 869 000	32 498 000	7	2 249 478	46%	2,2	11 146 814	34%	1,9
Oct 2010 – Dec 2010	4 267 000	34 020 000	9	1 958 553	46%	4,6	10 668 672	31%	3,9
Jan 2011 – March 2011	4 267 000	34 020 000	8	1 915 883	45%	3,8	10 216 206	30%	3,3
April 2011 – June 2011	4 267 000	34 020 000	6	1 682 905	39%	3,9	9 226 224	27%	3,3
July 2011 – Sep2011	4 267 000	34 020 000	6	1 682 905	39%	3,9	9 226 224	27%	3,3
Oct 2010 - Sept 2011	4 267 000	34 020 000	29	2 289 672	54%	12,9	13 264 398	39%	10,2
Oct 2011 – Dec 2011	5 251 000	34 934 000	5	2 101 450	40%	3,2	9 708 159	28%	2,9
Jan 2012 – Mar 2012	5 251 000	34 934 000	4	2 004 832	38%	2,7	9 149 215	26%	2,4
Apr 2012 – Jun 2012	5 251 000	34 934 000	4	2 004 832	38%	2,7	9 149 215	26%	2,4
Jul 2012 – Sep 2012	5 251 000	34 934 000	16	2 731 045	52%	5,96	12 922 087	37%	5,1
Oct 2011 - Sep 2012	5 251 000	34 934 000	29	2 994 645	57%	11,26	14 672 280	42%	9,42

# “APPENDIX 4 BFL PARTNERS”

Audience reception analysis of the national **Brothers for Life** mass media campaign



- Caples Award (Gold, 2012)
- Global Health Award (Winner, 2012)
- AfricomNet Award (Winner, 2012)
- Loerie for the viral campaign Sterring highlighting Gender based violence, 2012 (Gold)
- Loerie for use of Social Media- Twitter Army 2012 (Gold)
- Pendoring Award for “Proudly South African” 2012– Twitter Army (Gold)
- Loerie Award for the design of the Brothers for Life Logo (Silver)
- Loerie Award for Direct Marketing addressing Transactional Sex (Silver)
- Assegai for direct marketing addressing transactional sex (Gold)
- BEES International Award in San Francisco for Best Use of Microblogging Platform, Twitter Army that promoted HIV testing
- Finalist Roger Garlic Awards, Best Use of Media, Twitter Army that promoted HIV testing.

# Appendix 4

