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Master of Arts by Dissertation

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A dissertation submitted to the School of Literature, Language and Media, University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by dissertation.

14 March 2016

Supervised by: Alan Finlay

Title:

Practitioner perspectives and assumptions about the role media plays in communication strategies that aim to change the behaviour of an individual.

Abstract:

The aim of this research is to investigate practitioner perspectives and assumptions about the role media plays in communication strategies that aim to change the behaviour of an individual. It assesses whether these assumptions are consistent with the way the media is actually used in the campaigns of three organisations, and then asks whether there is any correlation between the apparent effectiveness of the campaign and the assumptions of media effect held by practitioners. The purpose is to gain better insight, from a media practitioner's perspective, into how communication practitioners working on public campaigns understand the impact of the media.

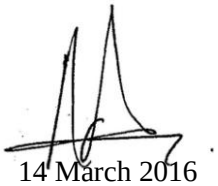
Three case studies are analysed, focusing on the use of print, broadcast and the internet to communicate the key messages in the campaigns. The case studies are of highly visible national organizations, each using the media in a particular way, with varying results. The first case study is of SANRAL's E-tag campaign, a campaign which has struggled to achieve widespread public support for e-tolls in Gauteng; the second, Play4Life, is a campaign launched by loveLife, which has in the past been controversial in its use of mass media, and the last, PhuzaWize, is campaign run by Soul City, generally credited with having an evidence-based and strategic approach to its communication strategies.

The research found that the communication strategies used in the campaigns are in line with the compliance gaining, the two-step and multi-step, and with communication for social change models, respectively. Practitioners interviewed for this study however showed slightly differing views on the impact of media. Some seemed to understand the mass media through theoretical prisms described in Hovland's "magic keys" (of attention, compliance and acceptance), whilst others argued that the messaging must change internal psychological makeup of the audience – as described in De Fleur's psychodynamic model. Whilst one practitioner was an advocate of educational-entertainment and communication for social development approaches, others made repeated references to the power of inter-personal interactions, which are most in line with Lazarsfeld's two-step and multi-step models.

The campaigns assessed as part of the case studies – the Play4Life, the E-tag and the Phuza Wize campaigns – all seem to have somewhat similar strategic direction and theoretical assumptions ascribed to the organizations, as described above. However, there were some differences, for instance in the Play4Life campaign, which did not seem to have many elements of the communication for social change model which the organization itself tries to follow. Given that both the Play4Life and E-tag campaigns aimed to change public attitudes in a relatively short period of time, and that all campaigns deal with issues of illegality and law-breaking – whether the refusal by the public to pay for the use of roads, or the underage consumption of alcohol and use of drugs – these could not be attributed as essential factors underpinning the approach to the media in the different campaigns. Rather the study suggests the intriguing possibility that in politically contentious contexts, such as the e-toll controversy where significant public pressure was placed on SANRAL to drop the e-toll system, the media is more likely to be used as a tool for achieving public compliance, rather than as a medium of persuasion. It also suggests that the use of academic theories and up-to-date models of communication seems to make planning a behaviour change campaign easier, as it helps provide an understanding of the power and limits of the mass media.

Declaration

I, Nooshin Erfani-Ghadimi, declare that this dissertation is my original work. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by dissertation, in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to this or any other university.



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I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my father, Ahmad Erfani-Ghadimi.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Aim

The aim of this research is to investigate practitioner perspectives and assumptions about the role media plays in communication strategies that aim to change the behaviour of an individual.

I will do this through analysing three case studies, with a particular focus on the people that worked on them – and in particular how they used mass media in campaigns. The case studies are of highly visible national organizations, each using the media in a particular way, with varying results: these were loveLife, SANRAL and Soul City.

I chose one that seemed to have struggled with its communication (SANRAL), the second was one from an organization that has been controversial in its use of mass media (loveLife), and the last is one that seems to have been successful (Soul City).

One of the most important tools and strategies used by communication practitioners is the use of mass media to disseminate their campaign's messages. The method and extent to which these practitioners use mass media could be affected by how they understand the media to work, an understanding that could be underpinned by one, or more, of an array of various theoretical approaches.

In addition, one's expectation of the impact and success of the use of mass media in such campaigns is coloured by the relative understanding of the power of the mass media to affect changes in attitudes and actions of individuals.

These assumptions will be investigated through a two-step process: interviews with practitioners and external experts, which will then be analysed using the prism of various media theories and models. Interview questions, although semi-structured, will be framed using a concentric model of the interaction between the individual, the community the enabling environment and mass media. This model is described in more detail in the Methodology section below.

In identifying the assumptions held by practitioners, about the impact and role of media in their campaigns that aim to change behaviour, I hope to understand what media strategies practitioners then use in their campaigns and to see what can be said about the practitioner assumptions and its effect on the success of the campaign.

1.1 Definitions

'Practitioners' are those that are employed to devise and implement communication

tasks and campaigns for their organization. In this research, the focus is on those that work to effect positive social impact, be it in civil society, non-governmental or governmental agencies. What this research hopes to do is to map the theoretical understanding and practical assumptions of a selected sample of South African practitioners.[1]

By 'media' is meant agencies that carry out mass communication[2], including newspapers, radio and television broadcasters and digital and social media.

The term "change the behaviour of an individual" is used to describe a wide scope of strategies and approaches (including social marketing, development communication etc.) and not the very specific methodology of "behaviour change theory"[3].

In defining whether a campaign has been successful, I will make use of external and internal evaluations of the campaigns, as well as objective indicators such as the numbers of unit sold, or numbers of viewers.

1.2 Research Problem

Despite the fact that millions of rands are spent each year in South Africa by the government, NGOs and civil society trying to encourage people to change their behaviour (to put on a condom, to stop smoking, to stop drinking and driving etc.), there seems to be limited success in doing so. One way of measuring the success of a drunk-driving campaign, for instance, would be the number of road fatalities: despite various long-running campaigns on road safety, South Africa was ranked worst in a 2013 global road safety report (Steyn, 2013).

Such shortcomings can be attributed to the complexities in the process of initiating a sustained change in behaviour. It is a process of education and changes in attitudes of individual which may or may not result in a long-term change in behaviour.

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[1] The focus of the research is on the individual, rather than on the organization for which they work. In particular, it will focus only on the practitioners' understanding of the use of mass media and not their knowledge of the wider field of development communication or behaviour change theory.

[2] 'Mass communication' has been defined as "the institutions and techniques by which specialized groups employ technological devices (press, radio, film etc.) to disseminate symbolic content to large, heterogeneous and widely dispersed audiences" (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 6).

[3] The field of development communication theory – in particular communication that looks to change behaviour - is vast and includes input from various disciplines including psychology, sociology, public health and communication. This research, however, approaches the topic from a media theory standpoint. Therefore, it looks at the phenomenon of the use of mass media to affect a change in behaviour and not behaviour change programmes. The latter includes the use of mass media, but also involves one-to-one interactions (in peer group settings, for example) or governmental advocacy (for a change in policy environments and legislation).

"Many … campaigns succeed admirably in raising awareness about a particular issue while failing abysmally, at the same time, to bring about the sustained behaviour change such awareness is supposed to trigger. For example in anti-tobacco campaigns, smokers may quickly learn about the dangers of smoking, but continue to consume the same number of cigarettes that they did prior to their exposure to the messages of the campaign" (McKee, Manoncourt, Chin, & Carnegie, 2002).

By focusing on the point of view of the communication practitioner, this research seeks to explore whether there is a difference between how a South African practitioner assumes an individual reacts – to a mass media campaign that advocates a change in behaviour – and how mass media theory expects that individual to react.

1.3 Research Questions

I. What are the assumptions held by practitioners, about the impact and role of media in their campaigns that aim to change behaviour in South Africa?

II. Are these assumptions consistent with the way the mass media is used in their campaigns?

III. Is there a link between these assumptions and the apparent success, failure or difficulties faced by the campaign in changing behaviour?

1.4 Rationale

I seek to discover whether the assumptions practitioners have about mass media has an effect on the success of the campaign. I will do so by identifying those assumptions and analysing the case study campaigns.

This research hopes to contribute to the understanding of the South African context in which behaviour change campaigns operate, looking to provide insight into the challenges faced by those that devise and implement them.

The every-day work of these practitioners, and the tasks they have to accomplish, is complex, especially given the socio-economic context in which each individual they are trying to reach is situated. Understanding these challenges is important, not least because so much money is spent on such campaigns, but also because of the imperatives that drive social change and developmental campaigns. Often times, such campaigns have potentially life-saving messages, but fail to convince people to affect the change needed, and there is often conflicting evidence of their effectiveness. It is unclear if a systematic and evidence-based and theoretical approach to the use of

media is taken by a cross-section of campaigns, which may account for their ineffectiveness.

The assumptions being investigated are those that are subjective and based on interpretations or understanding of social and psychological phenomenon, especially with regard to people's susceptibility to external attempts (through mass communication) to modify their behaviour. Such assumptions – both overt and underlying – impact on the strategies taken, and methodologies used, by communication practitioners. This in turn has an impact on the efficacy and success of the communication campaign.

The rationale for my thesis, and the questions that drove my research, are based on my own experiences working in organizations that use mass media to effect changes in the behaviour of individuals. Furthermore, the South African context for such organizations, and communication practitioners, has been particularly fascinating. South Africa is a developing country, with a relatively advanced mass media and with a plethora of organizations and agencies that expend huge resources to advocate and enable pro-social behaviour and decisions. These behaviour change campaigns are not always successful, and appear badly planned or ineffective or unsustainable. And in some cases, the opposite seems true: they seem to have impact and help change the way South Africans live their lives.

Through this thesis, I hope to be able to identify, at least partially, factors that affect the success of a behaviour change campaign. And in particular I want to understand better the use of mass media in their campaigns. After all, using mass media is a high-cost activity, and perhaps its use is not always justified. I want to understand what the practitioners assumed would be the effect of having media components in their behaviour change campaigns, and I also want to know in what theoretical approaches these assumptions were framed.

1.5 Methodology

This research will focus on three campaigns, planned and executed in South Africa, which have sought to change the behaviour of individuals by using, at least in part, the mass media: these were loveLife's Play4Life, SANRAL's E-Tag and Phuza Wize from Soul City.

These three campaigns were chosen to help provide a differing range of success and difficulty in implementing its objective of changing the behaviour of South Africans. The first choice was of one that seemed to struggle with its communication (SANRAL), the second was one from an organization that has been controversial in its use of mass media (loveLife), and the last is one that seems to have been successful (Soul City).

My aim is to identify the assumptions held by practitioners working on those campaigns, and to try to assess whether those assumptions are consistent with the organization's strategy and approach, and then to see whether anything could be said about the apparent success, failure or challenges of the campaign, given those assumptions.

Perspectives from staff of the responsible organizations will be sought, to provide details of challenges and contexts faced when planning and executing their campaigns, and to assess their understanding of the limitations of media campaigns and what, if any, actions were taken in mitigation.

The results of these interviews will be analysed in light of the available literature – on media effects and behaviour change theory; on various communication models, including convergence and diffusion theories; and models of the consumption and uses of media; and on development communication.

The purpose of the literature reviewed in this research is to provide a theoretical framework to help understand the various beliefs and assumptions held by practitioners regarding the usefulness of mass media in affecting a change in the behaviour of an individual. The literature review chapter hopes to describe the possible spectrum along which the practitioner's assumptions might lie.

The central question being reviewed is of the relationship of media to changes in behaviour. There are several fields in which this question is discussed, specifically theory and literature on media and of behaviour change. It is these, and related bodies of theory that this thesis draws on.

These campaigns described above are by the following organizations:

1. The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication (Soul City): considers itself to be the "largest social change communication project in Africa" (2014) and is seen, by both global and national experts, to be a leader in using a combination of mass media, social mobilization and advocacy in HIV prevention. The Soul City campaign that will be analysed in this research is the Phuza Wize campaign.

2. The New loveLife Trust: launched in 1999, loveLife is a national HIV prevention intervention for youth, called loveLife, "combining high-powered multimedia with nationwide community-level outreach and support programmes to promote healthy, HIV-free living among South African teens" (loveLife, 2014). This well-funded and –resourced project uses an interesting mix of community-based interventions and media products. The loveLife campaign to be used as a case study is Play4Life.

3. The South African National Roads Agency: The South African National Roads Agency SOC Limited (SANRAL) is an independent, statutory company registered in terms of the Companies Act. The South African government, represented by the Minister of Transport, is the sole shareholder and owner of SANRAL (South African National Road Agency Limited, 2014). The campaign that I will assess as part of this research is SANRAL's E-tag and E-tolling campaign.

1.6 Assumptions to be investigated

The factors that can affect if, and how, an individual responds to campaigns that seek to change his or her knowledge, attitude and behaviour are complex and varied. In outlining lessons learnt by UNICEF in this regard, McKee et. al. (2002) give the following explanation:

> ….an individual in a developing community enjoys less freedom to make a strictly personal decision when considering whether to adopt a new behaviour, than her/his counterpart in a developed country. In making such a decision, the individual in a developing country will consider more deeply the interests and views of her/his family, peers and community alongside her/his own preferences. (McKee, Manoncourt, Chin, & Carnegie, 2002, p. 2)

In the same chapter, McKee et. al provide a visual representation of this hypothesis (2002, p. 3), wherein concentric circles emanate out from the self to family, community, information, motivation, ability to act and enabling environment.

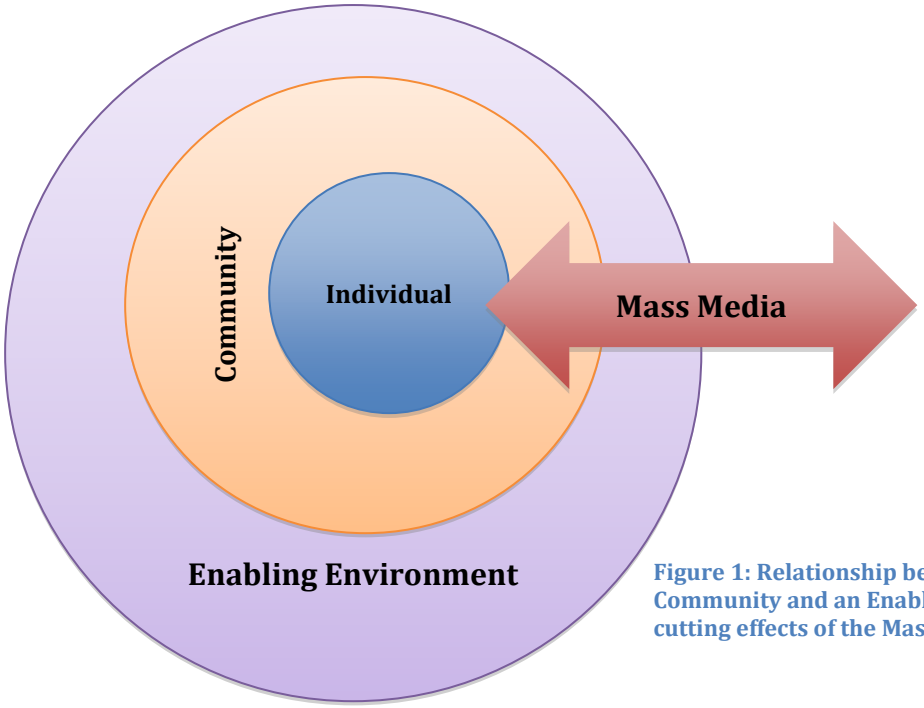


Figure 1: Relationship between the Individual, the Community and an Enabling Environment, with cross-cutting effects of the Mass Media.

An adapted version of this diagram is used (figure 1) to illustrate the structure through

which this research will seek to analyse practitioner assumptions about the role of the media in affecting changes in behaviour. The individual is part of a community, and her ability to act in a certain way (self-agency) is reliant on the enabling environment (including policy/legislation, services, education, religion, politics, economics, physical and organizational environment (McKee, Manoncourt, Chin, & Carnegie, 2002, p. 3). Cutting across and affecting all three is mass media and communication.

Therefore, this research will analyse practitioner understanding of the role of media in three layers: 1. Individual – the ability of media to impact knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in the individual; 2. Community – the impact of media on the community and its ability to affect an individual's choices, in particular the use of opinion leaders; and 3. Enabling environment – the relative importance of the role of media in creating an enabling environments, in making structural changes that impact on self-agency and the ability to act of the targeted individual.

1.7 Research methods

This research aims to map interpretations and perspectives from the practical point of view of the practitioner against what is argued in established theories and academic texts. It is placed, therefore, in an interpretive logic of inquiry. Michael Watts (2001, p. 5) provides the following explanation of "Phenomenological Logic":

> "The various theories that make use of it assume that social reality is constructed by and through symbolic and cultural interpretations, webs of meaning and signification built and used by human actors. It is typically based upon a phenomenological philosophy and is customarily associated with field observations of real life situations, participant observation, ethnographic method and secondarily the interpretation of key texts. Within this logic there is a sort of causal connection between categories in the actor's mind and their actions; between the roles being played and the rules of the game.
>
> But…the open-ended negotiated, self-conscious character of social interaction means that causation is not linear; relations are contingent and subject to continual change. Meaning symbols and discourses are the theoretical categories that identify and locate relevant evidence for analysis. Observations of actual interactions, events, movements and gestures would be the typical qualitative data. Participant observation is the method that links phenomenology to interpretive theory and to qualitative field notes as the form of evidence. Objectivity results from self-conscious checking of the observer's perceptions and his relations to those observed."

As the extract above explains, the use of phenomenological logic, helps to interpret a complex and often subjective world, using a framework that is guided by available theoretical models and academic treatises. This, therefore, provides a very useful

framework through which I will conduct my research, enabling me to interpret the subjective assumptions of practitioners against the theoretical and academic explanations of the effects of mass media on the individual.

In relation to the qualitative methodology chosen for this research, it is important to be aware of its inherent issues, and multitude of factors that can affect the research.

> How researchers carry it out depends upon a range of factors including: their beliefs about the nature of the social world and what can be known about it (ontology), the nature of knowledge and how it can be acquired (epistemology) and the purpose(s) and goals of the research, the characteristics of the research participants, the audience for the research, the funders of the research and the position and environment of the researchers themselves. (Snape & Spencer, 2003)

The important point that the authors above have made is that there is no single acceptable way of conducting qualitative research.

Qualitative research is defined as "a naturalistic, interpretative approach concerned with understanding the meanings which people attach to so phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values etc.) within their social worlds", (Snape & Spencer, 2003). This methodology was used in interviewing communication practitioners, in a setting that allowed a free-flow of conversation and which was semi-structured to allow flexibility. The interpretation of the interviews was conducted through a prism of the literature reviewed for that purpose.

The in-depth interviews with the staff of the three organizations – Soul City, loveLife and SANRAL – were designed to be semi-structured.

> "There is flexibility in [semi-structured interviews], and the researcher can change the order and wording of the questions in order to achieve a more natural style of conversation. … [T]he interviewer must recognize moments in the interview that have potential for further questioning and be able to formulate the questions 'of the cuff'…. Although much of the data the researcher collects will essentially be comparable, due to the flexible nature, each interview will be unique and adapted to the circumstances of each participants." (Dahlberg & McCaig, 2010, p. 119)

As confirmed by Dahlberg & McCraig above, semi-structured interviews were designed to be flexible and informal, aimed at providing the respondent room to lead the discussions to subjects and ideas perhaps not previously foreseen by me.

The staff interviewed were as follows:

loveLife			
Name	Molefi Masunyane	Angelo Louw	Precious Magogodi
Current position	Head of RadioWise	Editor-in-chief UnCut and social media director of Play4Life	Senior Manager Pscyho-Social Support Programme
Educational	Certificate training in Sound engineering, completing Bcom	Honours in journalism and media studies from Wits - 2008	Social worker, Wits University graduate. Trying to finish Masters in clinical social work. No communication qualification
Length of time working in communications field	More than 10 years	9 years.	Has been with loveLife for 4 years. Was working at employee wellness and consultancy with UNAIDS and Hope Africa, Mandela Children's Fund. Some messaging responsibility.

SANRAL		
Name	Priya Pillay	Wanda Cloete
Current position	Advertising and Corporate Communication Manager	Project manager communications
Educational	BTech Public Relations	BA in Communication Science
Length of time working in communications field	17 years	13 years

Soul City	
Name	Sue Goldstein
Current position	Executive: Monitoring & Evaluation
Educational	Medical doctor, in community medicine
Length of time working in communications field	22 years

As can be seen, there were two interviewees from SANRAL, three from loveLife, but unfortunately and despite my request for another interviewee, only one was available from Soul City. However, extensive use was made of Soul City's internal research reports, media releases and evaluations, to help mitigate this issue.

Desk-top research: Literature produced by the three campaigns was analysed, including whatever campaign documentation was made available. Use was made of internet media archives, and of web sites and social media accounts of the organizations themselves. In addition, any available external analysis (including academic articles, research reports and publications by external authors) were consulted, in order to provide a useful point of comparison.

Qualitative research was conducted using 6 semi-structured interviews, questions designed to solicit perspectives and opinions from communication practitioners not often captured in evaluation reports and donor assessments.

The questions were grouped around the following topics:

1. *How powerful is the media?* Looking at the perceptions of the respondent of the ability of media to impact knowledge, attitudes and behaviour.

2. *What are the assumptions made about the patterns of media consumption and usage by targeted audiences?* This was to analyse the assumption the respondent makes about how target audiences choose, consume, and gain utility and gratification from media.

3. *What is the impact of media on the community and its ability to affect an individual's choices? And does the individual have an impact on prevailing behaviours in a community (as in the case of the use opinion leaders in media campaigns)?* This topic covers perceptions of how a community reacts, if at all, to media campaigns and the relative effectiveness of using opinion-leaders (be they celebrities or peer educators) in such media campaigns.

4. *What is the relative importance of the media in creating an environment that enables self-agency and the ability to act?* This topic investigates assumption about the ability of the media to make positive changes to enabling environments.

5. *What are the steps taken in devising campaign strategy that takes into account the practitioner's assumptions about how the media works?*

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

As I outlined in the introductory chapter above, my research aims to is to investigate practitioner perspectives and assumptions about the role media plays in communication strategies that aim to change the behaviour of an individual. To do so, it is important to understand the various theoretical approaches possible in underpinning a practitioner's assumptions. This chapter hopes to describe the possible spectrum along which the practitioner's assumptions might lie.

The central question being reviewed is of the relationship of media to changes in behaviour. There are several fields in which this question is discussed, specifically media theory and behaviour change. It is these, and related bodies of theory that this thesis draws on, and that are described below.

2.1 Media Effects Theories

This section provides an overview of major media theory and research over the last century, since the beginning of First World War when mass media, as we know it today, came into being. Its use to spread propaganda and persuade the public of the righteousness of, and need for, war, provides an interesting starting point to the study of persuasive media techniques and campaigns. Since then, media theorists and communication academics have provided ongoing analysis of the effects of mass media, offering diverging views of its role and impact on society and individuals.

Some of the first explanations of how mass media was employed to elicit a specific response from the public – to be part of the "white-hot mass instinct with fraternity, devotion, courage, and deathless determination." (Creel, 1920, p. 5) – helped to set the frame for the early theories of mass media, with a power to affect individuals with very little to mitigate it. These early theories are outlined and analysed in the following sub-sections.

2.1.1 "Magic bullet" or "hypodermic needle" theory

Based on the experiences during the First World War, many felt that the media had a powerful, direct influence and power over individuals. In a book published less than a decade after the war ended, Harold Lasswell (Propaganda Technique in the World War, 1927) argued that propaganda is "one of the most powerful instrumentalities in the in the modern world" (p. 221), and that through its use the mass media would be able to persuade the public to accept any point of view.

Lasswell's "magic bullet" or "hypodermic needle" theory was based on his work on a stimulus-response model rooted in learning theory, which "viewed human responses

to the media as uniform and immediate" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 124). The bullet and needle imagery were used to denote the strength and power of the media. Denis McQuail and Sven Windahl (1993, pp. 58-59) argue that this "early but highly influential mass media" theory saw media content "injected in the veins of the audience, which would react in uniform and predictable ways", and that it was based on two main ideas. The first, on an understanding of a society made up of relatively "atomized" individuals who act according to their own personal interests and are not constrained by external factors from doing so. The second was a view of the mass media "as engaged in campaigns to mobilize behaviour according to intentions of powerful institutions, whether public or private (advertisers, government bureaucracies, political parties etc." (1993, p. 59)

Counteracting the "magic bullet" theory, research from the late 1920s onwards became more nuanced and started to show that the variations and differentiations in each individual (and their environment and context) would impact the extent of the influence of mass media (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 124). Despite this, with the advent of World War Two came further concern about the power of propaganda and the use of mass media.

As outlined in the first chapter of this thesis, one of the main questions that I am concerned with is whether there are undue and unrealistic expectations placed on communication practitioners, when mandated to run a behaviour change campaign. These expectations would be unrealistic if supervisors, for instance, held the "magic bullet" theory of mass media, and believed that the sole use of a mass media message would be enough to change an individual's behaviour.

The longevity of the "magic bullet" theory could be explained by the way mass media was used as a weapon in World War II, the topic which I will turn to in the next section.

2.1.2 World War Two: Mass Media As a Weapon

The use of mass media by the Germans, the British and the Americans during World War Two had an impact on how it was perceived.

> "[T]he mass media loomed as agents of evil aiming at the total destruction of democratic society. First the newspaper, and later the radio, were feared as powerful weapons able to rubber-stamp ideas upon the minds of defenceless readers and listeners… Their image… was of an atomistic mass of millions of readers, listeners and movie-goers prepared to receive the Message; … they pictured every Message as direct and powerful stimulus to action which would elicit immediate response." (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955, p. 16)

This perception of the mass media as a powerful weapon, one which could be used to

"rubber stamp" the "Message", as described above, has been one which has persisted to some extent, since then. The academic approach to explaining and understanding the exact power of the media, which I will outline in the following sections, helped determine in a more scientific manner, whether this perceived power was, in fact, real.

2.1.3 Lasswell Formula: "Who said what to whom with what effect?"

An important media theorist during, and after, the Second World War was Paul Lazarsfeld, a professor of Sociology at Columbia University and head of the Bureau of Applied Social Research. In 1940 he provided one of the most important paradigms for communication research: the four-question scheme of "who said what to whom with what effect?" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 127).

In a similar vein, Harold Lasswell outlined, in a 1948 article, what came to be known as the Lasswell Formula. His formula was to ask the following question in order to describe any act of communication: "Who? Said what? In which channel? To whom? With what effect?" (Lasswell H. D., 1948).

In their book, "Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication", McQuail and Windahl (1993, p. 14) point out that the Lasswell Formula "more or less takes for granted that the communicator has some intention of influencing the receiver and, hence, that communication should be treated mainly as a persuasive process. It is also assumed that messages always have effects. Models such as this have surely contributed to the tendency to exaggerate the effects of, especially, mass communication" (my emphasis).

This "tendency to exaggerate" mass media effect is one which be seen to persist today, with either organizations or communication practitioners having what could be unrealistic expectations of mass media messaging. However, even as early as 1949, theories were posited to refute the notion that mass media could be as all-powerful as it had seemed. These theories are outlined in the following sections.

2.1.4 "Two-step flow" and "multi-step flow" models of communication

An important piece of research carried out during World War Two was one looking at the effects of mass communication during an election campaign (the 1940 US presidential race). Paul Lazarsfeld and his team analysed whether mass media was able to influence political attitudes, and found that there was no significant effect from mass media (newspapers and radio, specifically). This "undermined widespread assumptions at the time that media operated according to the stimulus-response model" (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 63).

The researchers found that people where being influenced, not by the media, but by

other people. This led to defining the "two-step flow" model of communication, whereby "opinion leaders" received their information from the media and then helped transmit it to others in interpersonal interactions. Lazarsfeld et al. asserted that "ideas often flow from radio and print to the opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population" (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944, p. 151).

Another important finding was that when the political campaign persuaded at all, it served more to activate and reinforce voter predispositions than to change attitudes. They concluded that "exposure is always selective; in other words, a positive relationship exists between people's opinions and what they choose to listen to or read" (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944, p. 161).

Later revisions of the model saw it change to being a "multi-step flow", with people accessing information and ideas from the mass media directly, but using input from opinion leaders in determining how they will react to what was communicated by the media. Further research indicated that a highly variable number of relays can exist between the media, the message receivers, and attitude formation (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 130). "According to this model, mass media do not operate in a social vacuum but have an input into a very complex web of social relationships and compete with other sources, ideas, knowledge and power" (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 63).

The two-step and multi-step models are important ones, as their reasoning for the use of credible and trusted opinion leaders, is reflected in many behaviour change campaigns, including some of those included for study in this thesis, in following chapters.

2.1.5 Defining Mass Media Effects

W. James Potter provides an important perspective and analysis of the decades of research on mass media effects in his article "Conceptualizing Mass Media Effect" (Potter, 2011). He argues that the nine decades of research on mass media has provided a variety of different effects, but no consensus on a formal definition of mass media effects. He illustrates this complexity by outlining nine different "definitional considerations" in agreeing to a common understanding of what we mean by media effect (Potter, 2011, pp. 897-898).

Potter proposes a definition and a methodology for assessing media effects in the future. His definition (Potter, 2011, p. 903) is as follows:

> "A mass media effect is a change in an outcome within a person or social entity that is due to mass media influence following exposure to a mass media message or series of messages."

Potter argues for the need for a formal definition of mass media effect, providing one which "posits 4 general kinds of mass media effects: gradual long-term change in magnitude, reinforcement, immediate shift, and short-term fluctuation change" (p. 896).

This breakdown of the axes of effects – magnitude and latency – helps to provide a framework in which a communicator's own perceptions and assumptions about the power of mass media to change an individual's behaviour can be assessed.

Potter explains that "[p]atterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving are continuously being created, altered, and conditioned by the continual stream of media exposures. Therefore, media effects are ongoing and in a constant state of flux. Some effects occur immediately during a media exposure session, whereas others take a while to show up. Some effects are temporary and dissipate after a few seconds, whereas other effects once they are manifested last a lifetime" (Potter, 2011, p. 906).

Another complexity in measuring, analysing and evaluating the effect of mass media on changes in behaviour comes from the illusive nature of the change. "[S]ome media effects are manifested, whereas others are latent. Latency does not mean that effects do not exist, only that there are effects that cannot be observed at a given point in time." (Potter, 2011, p. 906)

The issue of latency is one that is important in evaluating behaviour change campaigns, as some behaviours could change in the short-run, but then revert to earlier norms. In my analyses of the interviews and answers given by the practitioners involved in my research, their reflections of the complexities described above will help gauge the relative sophistication of campaign design and their approach to the use of mass media.

2.1.6 Media Effects – Summary

In analysing the decades of research and analysis of the effects of television on the attitudes and behaviours of viewers, Jowett & O'Donnell provide a summary that is as useful when extrapolated to explain other mass media.

> "The multitude of studies on the effects of television on human behaviour has underscored society's concerns with effects. It is generally accepted that the media do influence individuals but do so among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences. Mass media are a powerful contributory agent but not the sole cause in the process of reinforcing existing conditions or in bringing about change." (1992, p. 25)

The multi-faceted factors which must be considered, in determining whether the use of mass media in a behaviour change campaign has been effective, will be discussed further in the proceeding sections of this chapter. The process of changing behaviour

is also discussed in light of more nuanced approaches than mere messages carried through a mass medium – such as persuasion and social marketing and educational entertainment.

2.2 Persuasion

Icek Ajzen (1992, p. 1) defines persuasive communication as follows: "Persuasive communication involves the use of verbal messages to influence attitudes and behaviour". He also argues that despite the "untold experiments that have been conducted to unravel the intricate web of factors that appear to play a role in determining the effectiveness of a persuasive message….[t]hese attempts have revealed a degree of complexity that seems to defy explanation and that poses serious obstacles to theory construction" (1992, p. 1).

Despite the above caveat, I will outline some of the theories that seek to unravel the complexities of persuasive messaging and communication, starting with studies into how attitudes are formed and changed.

2.2.1 Changing Attitudes

An important component of understanding how mass media can motivate or propel an individual into undertaking new behaviours is derived from analysing the factors that drive an individual along the knowledge-attitude-behaviour continuum.

According to Jowett & O'Donnell (1992, p. 126) most of the research undertaken in the 1920s and 1930s to understand persuasion was actually research into attitudes. They argue that Gordon Allport's 1935 definition of attitude was one of the most important: "An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness organized through experience, and exerting a directive influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related".

This definition helps to clarify the effect of deeply-held beliefs and pre-judgements that audiences bring with them when faced with a communication message which aims to change their behaviour. Attitudes then have some influence over whether knowledge is translated into action.

Ascribing attitudes with "drive value" is also included in the definition provided by Lowery and De Fleur in their book "Milestones in Mass Communication Research". (1988, p. 140). They devote an entire chapter of their book to the work of Carl Hovland and this team at Yale University, in particular the 1935 "Communication and Persuasion", as it provided the bases and framework for their body of work on how attitudes and opinions are shaped and modified by persuasive communication. Hovland's contribution to mass media theory has already been referred to above (see

section 2.1.5), however his contribution to understanding persuasion, attitudes and behaviour change deserves further study.

Explaining the contributions Hovland made to the field of persuasive communication theory, Lowery & De Fleur (1988, p. 140) provide the following overview:

> "Hovland and his associates measured persuasion in terms of the amount of attitude and opinion change. They viewed attitudes and opinions as intimately related, yet analytically distinct. …While opinion was used to refer to a broad class of anticipations, attitude was more exclusive: it was reserved only for explicit responses approaching or avoiding some object, person, group or symbol. In other words, attitudes posses 'drive value'."

The scientific rigour brought to the study, in which the changes in attitude and opinions were measured, is thus highlighted by Lowery & De Fleur, as is the important distinction between opinions and attitudes, especially in terms of my review of literature on what drives a person to change, adapt or adopt a new behaviour.

2.2.2 Hovland's "Magic Keys"

Lowery and De Fleur (1988, p. 137) sub-titled their chapter on the work of the Yale group "The Search for the Magic Keys". This refers to the one of the driving aims of the Hovland research team: to use scientific methodology to uncover the "laws" of persuasion in order to help society achieve positive and pro-social goals.

They devised controlled laboratory experiments to help explain real-life reactions to conversations, lectures, speeches and written passages. Importantly, they did not make use of actual media campaigns or mass communication (1988, p. 138). The Hovland team relied on a series of assumptions about opinions and attitudes and how these affect an individual's actions. The variables that affect the learning of new attitudes (Lowery & De Fleur, 1988, p. 141) are summarised as follows:

1. Attention: in order for a message to have an effect on someone, it needs to first grab their attention,
2. Comprehension: even when a message is noticed, it may not be understood, especially if it is too complex or too ambiguous.
3. Acceptance: this variable is largely influenced by the proffered incentives to accept the message.

Each of these points provides an important finding for my research. It is important for a communication campaign to 'grab' the attention of its target audience, especially given the multitudes of mass media messages that person is exposed to. This variable is obviously even more important now, in 2016, than in 1946.

Secondly, ensuring that the message is comprehensible is based on understanding the

people your message is targeting.

And finally, the acceptance of the messaging based on a changed attitude will take place only if the incentives for making a new response are greater than the incentives for making the old response.

Other important findings resulted from the research carried out by the Hovland team, from 1946 to 1961. The characteristics of the communicator, in particular credibility, affect how well a message is received. According to Lowery and De Fleur (1988, pp. 145-146) the researched showed that: when a message is attributed to a low-credibility source, it is considered to be more biased and unfair than when it is attributed to a source with high credibility; and that a high-credibility source can cause a more immediate effect on audience opinion than a low-credibility source.

However, the effects of both types of sources tended to disappear over time; and the variables of "attention" and "comprehension" were not significant in the immediate effects on opinion. Rather, the variations in source credibility are what influence the motivation of an audience to accept the messages imparted.

Another important consideration is to do with what is said and how: the content and structure of the message: in terms of content, Hovland and associates focused on analysing the effectiveness of "fear appeals", which rely on depicting unpleasant consequences for not accepting the conclusions of the message. What they found was that "a minimal amount of appeal is the most effective in terms of persuasion. Moderate and strong appeals may be effective in arousing interest and a high degree of emotional tension, but decrease the overall effectiveness of the presentation…" (Lowery & De Fleur, 1988, pp. 146-148).

In addition, they found that the way arguments are presented and structured in a persuasive communication can have an impact on its effectiveness. Lowery and De Fleur summarize Hovland's conclusions on this topic as being "the most effective message is one in which a conclusion is explicitly drawn and both sides of the argument presented; the order of presentation does not really make a difference" (1988, p. 151).

A third significant finding centred on how audiences respond, and in particular the duration of opinion change. Lowery and De Fleur (1988, p. 157) summarize the findings of research on retention effects as being when an individual may be exposed to a communication and accept its arguments and conclusions, at first. However, after some time, the person may revert to originally held beliefs, or to drop those espoused by the communication. Conversely, the individual could at first reject the argument made in the communication, but in time come to accept and adopt it.

Issues of retention are central to the work of James Potter (Potter, 2011), as discussed in section 2.1.7 above.

Once again, the complexity of the issues around changes in attitudes, brought on by the myriad differences between individuals, makes it difficult to extrapolate the "Magic Keys" being sought by Hovland and associates and their successors. Jowett & O'Donnell (1992, p. 126) argue that although research into attitude and attitude change "has received more attention than any other topic in social psychology or communication, yet scholars are still far from achieving conclusive links between attitudes and behaviour".

In summarising above the important aspects of Hovland's "Magic Keys" I have sought to provide a theoretical framework to which practitioners interviewed as part of my research may refer, and which will then help in assessing the congruency of assumptions of the practitioner, the campaign and the organization under review.

Whilst the "Magic Keys" theory is a pivotal one, other theorists have sought to add and expand the academic understanding of the effects of mass media. I will look at some of these theories in the following sections.

2.2.3 McGuire's Model of Persuasion

An important successor to Hovland was William J. McGuire (1968), with his work on how persuasion can be resisted, as well as a persuasion model. According to Jowett & O'Donnell (1992, p. 134) McGuire's model was based on five processes: 1. attention; 2. comprehension; 3. yielding; 4. retention; and 5. action.

Expanding on the Hovland approach to persuasion through attitude change – which Jowett and O'Donnell summarise as "a message is more likely to change an attitude if by adopting the position advocated in the message the person receives positive reinforcement" (1992, p. 134) – McGuire focused on the important facet of retention.

Once a message is presented, attention is paid to it, it is understood and adopted, or yielded to, it must remain in effect over time for there to be consistent change in action as a result of the persuasive message. "McGuire extended the idea that persuasion stopped with attitude change by recognizing that to achieve persuadee action at a later time, retention of the message was necessary" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 134).

Another important finding from McGuire's research was through his work on the conditions that affect an individual's willingness to pay attention to the persuasive communication. He argued that receptivity is affected by the individual's own self-esteem and level of intelligence.

> "McGuire found that receivers with high self-esteem were receptive to persuasive messages because they have confidence in their initial positions. Yet they were resistant to yielding because they were satisfied with their existing attitudes. He also found that receivers with high intelligence were

> receptive to a message because they have longer attention spans and are better able to comprehend arguments. Yet they, too, resisted change due to confidence in existing attitudes. This demonstrated opposite effects on receptivity and yielding in a curvilinear relationship between the variables. This also led him to conclude that receivers with moderate levels of self-esteem and intelligence will be more affected by persuasive messages" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 134).

McGuire's models of persuasion, and contribution to understanding the factors which affect the success of a behaviour change campaign, provide further understanding of the complexities facing a communication practitioner charged with using mass media to change people's behaviours. Not only should the message be attention grabbing, it must be comprehensible, and persuasive enough for the audience to yield to it, and strong enough for it to be retained and acted upon.

2.2.4 Reasoning and persuasion

In trying to persuade individuals to act in a certain way, many practitioners rely and reasoned arguments and appeals to facts. Whether a campaign, such as the one run by SANRAL is successful in its appeal through legitimacy is dependent on the strategy and structure of the messaging.

Ajzen argues (1992, pp. 2-3) that the most successful method of exerting social influence – when compared with the alternative strategies of "coercive persuasion", "hypnosis and subliminal perception", "conditioning and affect transfer", "subterfuge" and "heuristics" – is that of persuasive communication:

> "Of all the available strategies it is the only one that appeals to reason, attempting to bring about change and compliance by convincing the individual of the validity or legitimacy of the advanced position".

Ajzen expands on this by breaking down the structure of a message into three part: an advocated position, or a stand on a particular issue; a set of general arguments in support of the advocated position; and specific factual evidence designed to justify the advocated position and arguments. (1992, p. 1)

In summary, persuasion is a more successful strategy in compliance gaining than those that rely more on external loci of control for the individual. However, the message must be one that is based on factual arguments and advocated through a position of legitimacy. This is an important consideration when assessing the SANRAL e-toll campaign. Another factor in that analysis is whether the source of the message is seen to have power over the receiver of the message. This issue of compliance-gaining is discussed further in next section of this chapter.

2.2.5 Compliance

An important area of study, especially for an understanding of self-agency and volition, is the research undertaken into methods of gaining compliance. Gerald Marwell and David Schmitt (1967) carried out a study that sought to identify a set of strategies people use to get others to act in the way they want. By focusing on the outcomes for those being persuaded, rather than on the content of the messages, Marwell and Schmitt developed 16 "compliance-gaining" strategies with both positive and negative consequences, including reward, punishment, debts, altruism, and conformity.

An important component of their analysis was the power that the persuadee perceives the persuader to have, including reward power, coercive power, legitimate power or expert power. Jowett & O'Donnell (1992, p. 17) summarise this as follows:

> "…inherent in a successful compliance-gaining attempt is the persuader's power… − the perceived bases of control that a person has over another person's behaviour that would not have otherwise occurred… . Perceptions of power vary with an individual's sense of whether external forces are more controlling than internal strength."

As mentioned above, the notion of self-agency, and whether the persuader uses some perceived power over the individual, are key aspects in assessing the strategy and implementation of behaviour change campaigns.

2.3 Behaviour Change

In conducting my review of appropriate literature to help answer the central question of my thesis – whether practitioners have a congruent and consistent understanding of the power of mass media to change behaviour, and whether they are able to put that understanding into practice in their particular organizations – an important field of theory was that of behaviour change.

This section therefore looks at various theories that try to explain the use of mass media in direct attempts to change behaviour.

2.3.1 Psychodynamic Model

In their book, "Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication", McQuail and Windahl (1993, p. 59) devote a chapter to stimulus-response models, including the simplistic "magic bullet" theory discussed above (section 2.1.2). They also include an analysis of one of the later modifications of that basic theory: the De

Fleur psychodynamic model.

The model is based on the assumption that "the key to effective persuasion lies in modifying the internal psychological structure of the individual". Such a modification - through a persuasive message that either changes or activates a latent psychological process such as attitude formation - then leads to a change in behaviour (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 60).

Acknowledging this version as too simplistic, McQuail and Windahl (1993, p. 60) argue that it is, nevertheless, an important model. This is especially so given that it forms the basis for much our thinking about mass media, and that it has given rise to the naïve notion of mass communication "as merely a process of persuasion". Another criticism is that the stimulus-response theory of mass communication promotes an "exaggerated idea about the omnipotence of the mass media" (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 60).

The De Fleur Psychodynamic model is, despite the reservations pointed in above, key in analysing practitioner assumptions and strategies to change behaviour, as it introduces the internal workings of the audience member into the theoretical landscape.

2.3.2 Attitude, Intention and Behaviour

As I have discussed in pervious sections, the way that attitudes (and their changes or confirmation through consumption of mass media) effects behaviour is an important area of study. Theories that look at changes in attitudes have been discussed in depth in section 2.2.1 above. In this section, therefore, the focus is on the strength of the effects of both attitude and intention on a change in behaviour.

There are two aspects of the links between attitude, intention and behaviour that are relevant. The first is the attitude of the individual toward the relevant behaviour, based on beliefs regarding the behaviour and its likely outcomes. Second, how the individual perceives the attitudes of significant others (i.e. subjective norms), toward the desired behaviour will also be taken into consideration before an intention is acted upon (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 137).

Zimbardo and Leippe (1991) explain that attitudes may predict behaviour when an attitude is strong and clear; when the attitude is relevant to the behaviour called for by the situation at hand; when the attitude and behaviour have strong links to the same components of the attitude system; and when the attitude is important to the individual. (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 15)

Icek Ajzen (1991, p. 179) argues that there is a strong link between an attitude to behavioural intentions, and that intentions are a good indicator for actual change in behaviour. He summarises his findings as follows: "Intentions to perform behaviours

of different kinds can be predicted with high accuracy from attitudes toward the behaviour, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control; and these intentions, together with perceptions of behavioural control, account for considerable variance in actual behaviour" (Ajzen, 1991, p. 179).

2.3.3 Theory of Planned Behaviour

Based on his own earlier theory of reasoned action (which he had written about in 1975 with Martin Fishbein and which argues that a positive attitude and supporting subjective norms lead to stronger intentions and actual actions) Ajzen (1991) proposed a revised Theory of Planned Behaviour. He explains (1991, p. 181) that the modification was made to the original theory (of reasoned action) as it did not fully take into account "incomplete volitional control" of a person over their own behaviour, despite a positive attitude and good intentions. He illustrated the model as shown in figure 2 below:

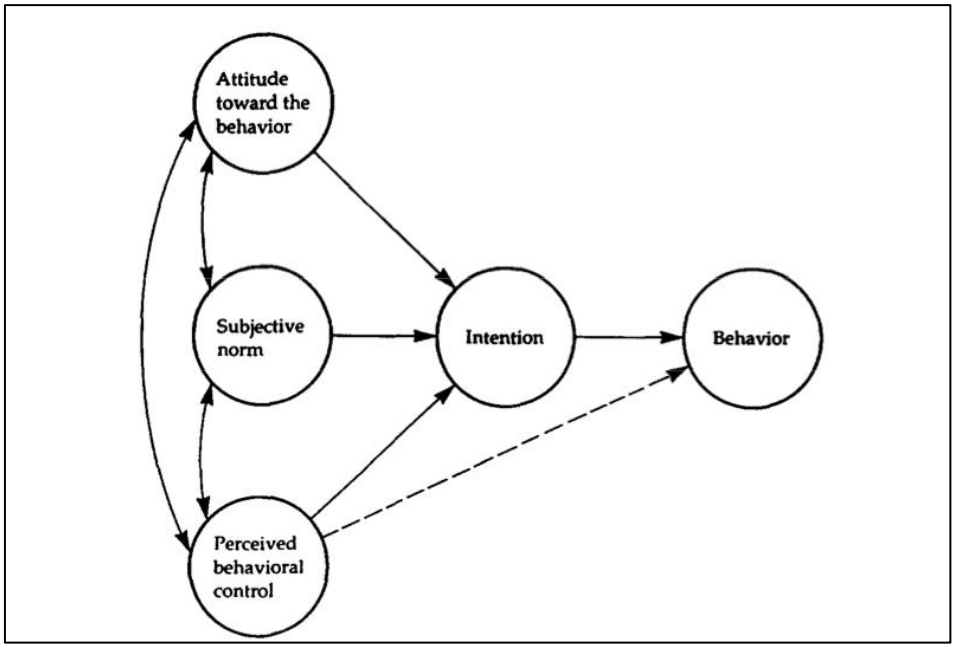


Figure 2: Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991 p.182)

Ajzen argues (pp. 181-182) that the stronger the intention of an individual to perform a behaviour, the more likely they are to translate that into action. However, despite the best intentions and the most positive attitude, there are circumstances that limit an individual from carrying out their desired behaviour. This includes dependence on non-motivational factors such as time, money, skills, and cooperation from others. "Collectively, these factors represent people's actual control over the behaviour. To the extent that a person has the required opportunities and resources, and intends to perform the behaviour, he or she should succeed in doing so" (Ajzen, 1991, p. 182).

The Theory of Planned Behaviour is an important model to understand when

constructing mass media campaigns which aim to change behaviour. This is especially so given its understanding of the effect of agency and self-efficacy (the ability to, and the belief that one can, direct one's own actions).

In evaluating the use of the Theory of Planned Behaviour in devising a mass media campaign to reduce speeding in Scotland, Stead et. al (2005) found empirical support for its integration into the design and evaluation of the campaign. They argued that "the advertising was effective in triggering desired communications outcomes, and was associated with significant changes in attitudes and affective beliefs about speeding" (p. 36). Another significant finding was that "subjective norms and planned behaviour change are less susceptible to change, by communications means alone, than attitude, because they comprise external as well as internal dimensions" (Stead, Tagg, MacKintosh, & Eadie, 2005, p. 48), supporting Azjen's arguments about the importance of agency and self-efficacy.

The use of behaviour change methodology in devising mass media messaging is discussed further in the 2006 article Media Messaging: a synthesis of lessons from the literature to inform HIV prevention amongst young people (Selikow T.-A. , Flisher, Mathews, & Ketye). The authors argue that the target group should not be seen as homogenous and that they should "not only be the 'target' of messaging initiatives but should play a central role in their design and implementation" (2006, p. 61). In terms of media-messaging itself, the authors see it being "most successful when it uses a multi-media approach and when it is combined with interpersonal communication" (Selikow T.-A. , Flisher, Mathews, & Ketye, 2006, p. 61).

The importance of context is highlighted by Warren Parker (2004), in his report for the Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE) which looks specifically at HIV and AIDS messaging aimed at behaviour change. He argues that existing behaviour change theories and approaches do not provide "an adequate framework…especially when applied to the contexts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean" (2004, p. 1). He attributes this to the failure of an underlying theory – that there is a "simple, linear relationship between knowledge and action" – to take into account "variation among the political, socioeconomic and cultural contexts that prevail". Also problematic is ignoring issues of self-efficacy, power and agency, as well as "the assumption that decisions about HIV/AIDS prevention are based on rational, volitional thinking with no regard to more true-to-life emotional responses…" (Parker, 2004, p. 1).

The emphasis on the agency and volition of the 'audience' is further examined by Teke Ngomba (2011). He sees the concept of 'the audience' as old-fashioned and no longer useful. He advocates seeing people as "agents rather than objects" and capable of analysing their own situations and designing their own solutions. Importantly, he points to the rise of new media, including social media, as enabling people's active participation in the production of messages and texts. "This convergence of the cultures of media production and consumption has significantly extended the 'scope

and importance' of the active audience theory, especially as audiences and users of new media are now shown to be increasingly active, selective, self-directed, producers as well as receivers of texts" (Ngomba, 2011, p. 11).

As I have shown in this section dedicated to theories of behaviour change, there are several factors that need to be considered in analysing the success of behaviour change campaigns, and impact on the assumptions held by practitioners in doing so. These include attitude formation, the perceived power of the message source, the psychodynamic internal workings of the audience member, the contexts affecting the individual and the perceived and real agency of that person to enact the behaviour change asked for through the mass media.

2.3.4 Educational-Entertainment

In my thesis, one of the three organizations that I have researched in greater detail is Soul City. Its use of mass media to deliver a product that is billed as both entertainment and educational is key to its operations and strategies. One of the other organizations I have selected, loveLife, also uses this methodology, but not as frequently. In this section, I will outline the background and philosophy behind the educational-entertainment (EE) model, as well as provide examples of its use in other parts of the world.

Thomas Tufte, in his journal article "Entertainment-Education in Development Communication: Between marketing behaviours and empowering people" (2005, p. 162) defines EE as "the use of entertainment as a communicative practice crafted to strategically communicate about development issues in a manner and with a purpose that can range from the more narrowly defined social marketing of individual behaviours to the liberating and citizen-driven articulation of social change agendas".

Tufte (2001, p. 27) argues that EE has grown out of marketing as well as the theories of persuasion and diffusion of innovation (see sections 1.6, 1.2 and 1.5 above respectively). He cites EE as having overcome some of the issues inherent in other communication strategies: "EE has managed to transcend traditional dichotomies found within both development theory and communication theory – binary thinking of either arguing for diffusion of innovations or participatory strategy, either modernisation strategies or a dependency strategy, either top-down or bottom-up, etc.".

An important conclusion of his paper is about the evolution of development communication as a field: "Because social and structural inequality lie at the core of the problem, the EE-initiative will advocate for social change –not excluding but often in addition to individual behavioural change– in order to find solutions. From a communications perspective, communication for social change is emerging as the key concept" (2005, p. 166).

An example of a project which uses EE as its foundational methodology is "Kyunki… Jeena Isi Ka Naam Hai". In 2007, the India-based office of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) embarked on a project to use popular media to deliver important social messages: "UNICEF came up with the idea of Kyunki... Jeena Isi Ka Naam Hai (Because... this is what life is), a teleserial meant to deliver social messages and initiate individual and community transformation. … [In 2011 and after] 501 episodes … Kyunki Jeena... [was] the longest running entertainment education soap opera in India [and] the most watched show across all channels in India in its time band … watched by over 145 million people, with 61 percent of viewers being unreached women in the age group of 15-35" (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2011, p. 1).

Importantly, a midterm assessment "showed a significant increase in knowledge and perceived importance of issues, creating favourable attitudes to take socially responsible actions. Interesting results (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2011, p. 57) included:

- 9 percent viewers report to new learnings from the show.
- 74 percent viewers report to discussing the show.
- Consistently, the show impacts positively on knowledge and perceived importance of issues covered.
- Positive impact on attitudes while impact on self-efficacy, social norms, and behaviours not significant during the Mid-term Assessment in 2010.
- Positive impact on gender norms as a cross-cutting theme.

The report (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2011, p. 18) ascribes the success of the show to the potential of EE to have positive social impact:

> "By bringing together life improving educational messaging with state of the art entertainment programming, EE seeks to provide vital information to its audience. Capable of promoting interpersonal communication among viewers it is often the case that EE soap operas also contribute to behavioural and societal transformation".

Silvio Waisbord (2001, pp. 14-15) points out that some studies have shown that EE methods and strategies "are successful in attracting large audiences, triggering interpersonal communication about issues and lessons from interventions, and in engaging and motivating individuals to change behaviour and support changes among their peers". In contrast other studies are unable to show the desired changes in behaviour in a statistically significant way (Waisbord, 2001, p. 15). The conclusion that Waisbord draws therefore is that EE campaigns "are effective in stimulating people predisposed to change behaviour to engage in a new behaviour (e.g. use contraceptive methods). They provide the push for those already inclined to act to behave differently" (2001, p. 15).

The ability of television to affect the behaviour of individuals described by Jowett and O'Donnell (1992, p. 144) as "one of the most important agencies of socialization in our society", as "television has become a major source of observational learning for millions of people".

Observational learning was a theory that Albert Bandura (1986) used to explain how people's behaviour changes through exposure to mass media. He links behaviour and behaviour change to modelling that people observe in their homes, among their peers, and in the mass media. According to this theory, "modelling influences produce new behaviours because they give people new information about how to behave. Through observation, people acquire symbolic representation of modelled activities that serve as guidelines for their own behaviour" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 137).

As I have argued above, the impact of the use of educational-entertainment to impart new ideas and to elicit pro-social behaviours from individuals has been seen in many instances around the world, including in South Africa itself. In addition, the ideas of observational learning and of mass media triggering interpersonal communication are reflected and touched on throughout my analyses of practitioners' assumptions and the campaigns they have worked on.

In the next section, I will look at theories that look at the behaviour change communication process from the point of view of the audience.

2.4 Audience-centred approaches

The understanding of the audience, their consumption choices and utility of media are also important. Theoretical models that explain mass communication in this perspective are the uses and gratifications and the dependency models, as well as the combined uses and dependency model. These theories are discussed in the following sub-sections.

2.4.1 Uses and Gratifications

In a model that sees the audience as active agents - making active choices on what to consume and how much, and whether to be influenced by that media or not – Blumer and Katz (1974) set the tone for the various "uses and gratification" models that have succeeded it. One such model is that of the expectancy-value approach (McQuail & Windahl, 1993) based on the idea that "media use offers rewards which can be expected (thus predicted) by members of the audiences, on the basis of past experiences with the media" (p. 136).

According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1992) the uses and gratifications theory sees the consumer of media is viewed as an "active selector and goal-directed user of it. The

assumption is made that the user of media is responsible for choosing media to meet psychological and sociological needs" (p. 146).

A revision of the uses and gratifications approach was provided by the 1989 Renckstorf Social Action model (McQuail & Windahl, 1993, p. 143). This approach sees the individual (with his or her own psychological profile, life history, needs and desires) using mass media (as well as other with social, political and cultural agents) in both routine and problem-solving activities. "The model thus represents media use as both motivated and not motivated…[and as] subject to evaluation by the individual…" (p. 144).

The application of uses and gratification theories in explaining internet media consumption is analysed by Robert LaRose and Matthew Eastin (2004), having looked at how habit affects media usage.

> "Uses and gratifications research, including Internet studies, have tended to subsume habit in other gratifications dimensions, usually under either an entertainment or "pass time" factor. Here, it emerged as a powerful and independent predictor of media exposure even after the effects of gratifications sought/expected outcomes had been accounted for. This finding supports the conceptualization of habit strength as a distinct construct from gratifications/expected outcomes." (LaRose & Eastin, 2004, p. 372)

The authors thus argue that our expectation of the gratification we receive from a media source or product is based on previous experiences and helps shape future consumption decisions.

The theories of attitude formation (see section 2.2.1 above) are linked by Jowett and O'Donnell (1992, p. 146) to how an individual forms expectations of the media, and how they learn to evaluate it. The cyclical process sees expectations get intensified once one's needs are satisfied. They classify needs into four clusters "self and personal identity, social contact, diversion and entertainment, and information and knowledge about the world" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 146).

These finding are critical in evaluation campaign strategies, and how it takes into account its target audiences' choice and use of mass media products. The theories that try to explain an individual's consumption patterns and choices are discussed in the following section.

2.4.2 Dependency perspectives

Looking at media consumption choices from a dependency perspective focuses on the social and structural environments in which that choice is made. Rubin and Windahl (1986) relate dependency to patterns of media use: from using media content in an "instrumental" way to gratify needs; and from using mass media in a "ritualized

fashion to gratify habitual, time consumption and diversionary motives" (p. 190). They further argue (1986, p. 191) that dependency results when there is a heightened need or motive for media use (such as during war, or political campaigns), and that this increases susceptibility to media influence. "Dependency may determine what media and content are selected by an audience member. Audience motives for media behaviour though, affect not only what media and content are selected, but why and how a medium is used and the content is processed and interpreted" (1986, p. 191).

2.4.3 Uses and dependency model

In responding to the individualistic criticism of the uses and gratifications model, Rubin and Windahl (1986) combine it with the social-structural perspective of the dependency model: "such a synthesis overcomes dependency's limitations of diminishing the role of the active individual in selecting and interpreting mediated messages, as well as uses and gratification researchers' hesitancy to address questions of media effects" (Rubin & Windahl, 1986, p. 184).

According to Jowett and O'Donnell (1992, p. 146) the Uses and Dependency model allows analysis that acknowledges both that individuals can make choices in their media consumption, and that the media has the power to influence individuals too.

They explain that the model shows an interaction between two systems: societal and media. These systems interact with audiences to create needs in individuals. "The needs influence the individual to choose both media and non-media sources of gratification, which subsequently lead to dependencies on the sources. Effects are cognitive, affective, and behavioural, as in dependency theory, and the results are then fed back into the societal and media systems" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 146).

2.4.4 Diffusion and Convergence

As I have shown in the preceding sections of this literature review chapter, there is a continuum of theories that have evolved over time to explain how mass media can be used to elicit a change in an individual's behaviour. In the following sections, I will look at theories that explain how a new idea, method or innovation is diffused and encouraged through mass media.

Everett Rogers has, since the early 1960s, written about the diffusion of innovation. He defines innovation as follows: "an idea, practice or object that is perceived as new by an individual or another unit of adoption. An innovation presents an individual or an organization with a new alternative or alternatives, with new means of solving problems". (1995, p. xvii).

McQuail and Windahl (1993, p. 73) summarise the Rogers and Shoemaker model of innovation diffusion (based on their 1973 book "Communication of Innovations") as

having several distinct steps. The first is knowledge: being exposed and aware of the existence of innovation. The next step is persuasion, forming either a favourable or unfavourable attitude toward that innovation. Then a decision is made to either adopt or reject the innovation. The last step is confirmation, where reinforcement is sought for the decision made. If none is found, it is possible that the decision would be reversed.

In the fourth edition of his book "Diffusion of Innovation" (1995, p. xv), Rogers discusses the fifty years of diffusion theory scholarship, and offers an updated theoretical framework. The update looks to overcome one of the most critical weaknesses of the classical diffusion model: its linear view of such communication as being top-down and from the "expert" to the uneducated.

He argues (1995, p. xvi) that a better description of diffusion is offered by the convergence model which sees communication as being created and shared by participants. An individual will look for information on a new innovation from a network of "near-peers", in particular canvasing for their subjective view of the innovation. "This information exchange occurs through a convergence process involving interpersonal networks. The diffusion of innovation is essentially a social process in which subjectively perceived information about a new idea is communicated. The meaning of an innovation is thus gradually worked out through a process of social construction" (Rogers, 1995, p. xvii).

A useful analysis of the convergence model is provided by McQuail and Windahl (1993, p. 35) which they describe as being a "cyclical process of moving towards greater mutual understanding based on the giving and receiving of information. Several cycles of information exchange occur before mutual understanding is reached and this does not have to be complete". One of the strengths of this model is its emphasis on the relationships – between interconnected people linked through flows of information – which constitute a network. The authors have little criticism to offer, praising its applicability in developing countries which exhibit power gaps between receivers and senders.

Identifying the diffusion and convergence models as a multi-step ones (see section 2.1.6 above), Jowett and O'Donnell (1992, p. 138) explain the complex factors which effect whether a new idea – however well it has been communicated through the mass media – will be adopted. The process of diffusing a new idea may well take a long time, often out of the range of most research studies to be able to detect, thus proving a major challenge in the evaluation of the success of the initial media campaign.

Other factors which Jowett and O'Donnell identify as having influence over the adoption of innovation include the characteristics of people (their variables, including personality, social characteristics, and needs); of the social system; of the innovation; and the decision to adopt (whether optional, collective or authority-driven).

Importantly, Jowett and O'Donnell (1992, p. 138) argue that interpersonal networks are crucial to the process:

> "Mass communication channels may stimulate change, but interpersonal networks are crucial to the process. Innovation occurs as the result of interaction along the links of a network. Individuals can modify innovations as part of the adoption of them. This theory is of particular importance to those who are interested in attitudinal and behavioural change in a natural setting, such as in a developing nation or an organization".

In summary, the theories included in this section have looked at how a new idea can be diffused through the use of mass media, and how once that new idea is persuasively passed along, and the decision is made to either adapt or not adapt that idea into a new behaviour, interpersonal networks are crucial in ensuring that the decision is a sustained one.

2.5 Development Communication

Having outlined various theories that explain the process of communication to elicit behaviour change from the point of view of the source and the power the medium has over individuals, I have then looked at theories that look rather at the process from the receiver's point of view. In this section, I will outline some of the theories that have a wider, societal scope, in particular those that fall under the umbrella of development communication.

The field of development communication is large and well-researched. This has led, in some instances, to a diluted understanding of the field and dissonant methodologies and orthodoxies. As Silvio Waisbord (2001) explains in the paper "Family Tree of Theories, Methodologies and Strategies in Development Communication:

> "Since the 1950s, a diversity of theoretical and empirical traditions has converged in the field of development communication. Such convergence produced a rich analytical vocabulary but also conceptual confusion. The field has not experienced a unilinear evolution in which new approaches superseded and replaced previous ones. Instead, different theories and practices that originated in different disciplines have existed and have been used simultaneously" (Waisbord, 2001, p. 1).

Some of the important theories are included in "Approaches to Development Communication", edited by Jan Servaes. An important reading from that book entitled "Involving People, Evolving Behaviour: The UNICEF experience" (McKee, Manoncourt, Chin, & Carnegie, 2002), in which the understanding of the individual – as a member of a community and affected by her environment – is well articulated.

> "It seems interventions in development communication must be integrated

> with a number of other efforts so as to nurture new behaviour in people. Once motivated with information and awareness about a new practice, people need to learn and master new skills to enable them to apply it.
>
> At the same time their environment need to evolve in such a way that they are encouraged to practise their new skills and knowledge. In other words, interventions in development communication must be integrated and coordinated with other interventions in education and, policy advocacy and implementation aimed at nurturing the new behaviour".

Development communication, therefore, is a practice that uses communication techniques, including the use of mass media, to affect changes in the behaviour of individuals, as well as changes in structural contexts of that individual. This way of approaching communication campaigns is central to my analyses of the campaigns I have selected to include in my thesis. The responses of my interviewees will be assessed against the understanding proffered by development communication theories, especially given the developing country context that those campaigns are being conducted, in South Africa.

In the next sections, I will take a closer look at two key theories that fall under the development communication umbrella: the social marketing model and communication for social change.

2.5.1 Social Marketing Model

A theory which has its roots in the diffusion of innovation theory discussed in the previous section is that of "social marketing", which is outlined by Silvio Waisbord (2001) in the paper "Family Tree of Theories, Methodologies and Strategies in Development Communication". This model uses the techniques used by advertising and marketing agencies for commercial purposes to instead promote development and pro-social behaviour and products. Social marketing techniques have been successfully used both in first world and developing countries in promoting condom-use, breastfeeding, road safety etc. (Waisbord, 2001, pp. 6-8).

Marketing techniques and research have been used to affect attitudes and opinions, about more than just consumption, since the early days of mass media. Marketing research and sampling techniques were refined in the 1920s and 1930s through consumer surveys, which were used to poll political as well as consumer preferences. (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 4)

Although it has been criticised for being too manipulative (Waisbord, 2001, p. 8) social marketing has proponents who point to its ability to position products and concepts in traditional belief systems, using input from targeted communities, gathered through qualitative methods such as focus groups and in-depth interviews (Waisbord, 2001, p. 10). "The inclination of many programs to forgo in-depth

research of targeted populations for funding or time considerations, social marketers suggest, reflects the lack of understanding about the need to have basic research to plan, execute and evaluate interventions. (Waisbord, 2001, p. 9)

Waisbord provides (2001, pp. 10-11) a summary of lessons learnt from social marketing theory. The first is that persistence and a long-term perspective are essential. Only programs with sustainable support and commitment have proven to have impact on diffusion of new ideas and practices, particularly in cases of complex behaviour patterns.

She also argues that segmentation of the audience is central. Some researchers have identified different lifestyle clusters that allow a better identification of different market niches. In addition, mapping target groups is necessary. Designers of interventions need to know where potential consumers live, their routines, and relations vis-à-vis multiple messages.

Waisbord also highlights the importance of community participation, which builds local awareness and ownership. Integrating support from different stakeholders sets apart social marketing from commercial advertising as it aims to be integrated with community initiatives. And feedback makes it possible to improve and refine programmes.

As I have argued in this section, the social marketing theory is one which is often reflected in the assumptions of communication practitioners. In upcoming chapters of my thesis, I highlight where various interviewees and survey respondents have provided answers which fall in line with this, more modern, theory. In particular, the approach of both Soul City and loveLife may be said to reflect this approach.

2.5.2 Communication for Social Change

An interesting model of development communication is that of "communication for social change" or CFSC. Looking to overcome criticisms of earlier communication models as being too individualistic or downplaying an individual's agency and choices, many theorists based in developing countries – in particular from Latin America – worked to articulate a model which best described real-world experiences. In particular, the need to understand limitations on individual action created by socio-economic constraints and constructs, as well as the need for collective action to enable pro-social behaviour, needed to be better understood and described.

> "The theory of reasoned action … may all work quite well for communication projects designed to persuade individuals to reduce unsaturated fat in their diet, quit smoking and drinking, and practice safer sex, especially in situations where external constraints (social or physical) do not prevent or discourage individuals from taking action by themselves.

> Even in these situations, however, models of individual change reach their own, inherent limitations. For example, when the research shows that social influence and peer pressure are the major determinants of smoking and drinking, then finding the best rational arguments against smoking and drinking are simply not sufficient. Collective, institutional changes, policies and laws — such as the smoke-free workplace and a maximum, legal blood-alcohol level — are also necessary.
>
> In other situations, the prevention of a disease may only be possible by means of collective action. The risk of getting dengue fever can be reduced by eliminating all of the standing water sources (e.g., tin cans, old tires, etc.) around one's house. This individual behaviour is ineffective, however, if none of one's neighbours within the range of flight of mosquitoes eliminates the standing water around their houses as well. If everyone does not do it, what is the point of anyone doing it? The response must be collective. Some type of community dialogue and collective, cooperative action is required to solve the problem" (Figueroa, Kincaid, Rani, & Lewis, 2002, p. 3).

The basic fundamentals of the CFSC, as described by Figueroa et. al (2002, p. ii) are important to note.

In terms of the ownership of communication process, sustainability of social change is more likely if the individuals and communities most affected own the process and content of communication.

Communication for social change should be empowering, horizontal (versus top-down), give a voice to the previously unheard members of the community, and be biased towards local content and ownership.

In terms of agency, communities should be the agents of their own change. Emphasis should shift from persuasion and the transmission of information from outside technical experts to dialogue, debate and negotiation on issues that resonate with members of the community. In addition, emphasis on outcomes should go beyond individual behaviour to social norms, policies, culture and the supporting environment.

The emphasis placed on a horizontal, more democratic form of communication and diffusion of information and change is one which is reflected in the interviews and survey conducted for this research.

2.6 Summary

The literature that I have reviewed in this chapter began with those that sought to explain the use of mass media as it was first used to elicit a change in behaviour from individuals – ones which saw the process as one where the power was held by those

in charge of the media and the message, and very little by those receiving the communication.

Next I outlined theories that are more audience-centred, and explain the communication process from the point of view of the targeted audience or persuadee.

In the final sections of this chapter, I turned to more theories that take into account the state and structure of the society in which the individual is placed.

Particular attention was paid to the evolution of our understanding of the way mass media works and its ability to affect our knowledge, attitude and behaviour.

Depending on a range of factors, including how much exposure a practitioner has had to the latest and differing theories and academic literature, their underlying attitudes – towards the effectiveness of the use of mass media in campaigns – will be biased towards one or the other of these theories. And if one believes more strongly in the "hypodermic needle" model than the "two-step flow" model, for instance, the way mass media is used in campaigns will be different. Furthermore, even the expectations of the effectiveness of the campaign to change the behaviour of individuals will differ depending on how one views the power of the mass media to effect that change.

At the start of this thesis, I outlined the central question of my research: What are the assumptions held by practitioners about the impact and role of media in their campaigns that aim to change behaviour and which theories and concepts can be discerned in these assumptions? This literature review has outlined some of these theories and concepts, in order to provide a framework for the interviews and analyses of the following chapters.

3. Case-Study 1: loveLife

In previous chapters, I have outlined the premise of my research question: that the assumptions communication practitioners have about the efficacy of using mass media in their behaviour change campaigns may play a key part in determining the success of those campaigns.

By focusing on the point of view of the communication practitioner, this research seeks to explore whether there is a difference between how a South African practitioner assumes an individual reacts – to a mass media campaign that advocates a change in behaviour – and how mass media theory expects that individual to react?

In this first chase-study chapter, I will analyse the organization loveLife, looking at its establishment, past campaigns, the Play4Life campaign as a case-study, and finally the results of the interviews I conducted with three communication practitioners who worked on the Play4Life campaign.

3.1 Background

Launched in 1999, loveLife is a national South African HIV-prevention intervention for youth, "combining high-powered multimedia with nationwide community-level outreach and support programmes to promote healthy, HIV-free living among South African teens" (loveLife, 2015).

The organization uses an interesting mix of community-based interventions and media products, especially when viewed in light of my preceding chapter, and the assessments of the approaches to behaviour change which focus on interpersonal interaction and/or societal interventions.

loveLife's corporate web site (loveLife, 2015) boasts the following:

> "Our programmes are implemented by a national youth volunteer service corps known as groundBREAKERs in partnership with more than 200 community-based non-government organisations, 5 600 schools and 500 clinics across South Africa. These programmes reach 500 000 youth every month through direct face-to-face interaction - and are complemented by an integrated media campaign on TV, radio, print, mobile, outdoor and the web.
>
> We also provide training and support services, such as toll-free helplines for youth and parents, to provide comprehensive, factual and personalised sexual health and HIV/Aids education to deliver on our mission to help ensure a generation of complete, creative and connected youth who have the tools to stay HIV free."

In this way, loveLife is able to combine an approach to the individual (through integrated media campaigns) with programmes directed at both the peer and community (such as the use of groundBreakers), and structural interventions (with the establishment of Y-Centres). This mix is key to assessing what theoretical approach the organization has towards the use of mass media to change behaviour, as well as the congruency of the loveLife practitioners' own related assumptions with those of the organization.

3.2 Establishment, Strategy and Campaigns

3.2.1 Establishment

In the forward to a historical narrative of the founding of loveLife "Beyond the Billboards – the loveLife story" (Robbins, 2010, pp. vi-xi), the members of the organization's Technical Advisory Group provide an analysis of its strategies. Representing heavy-weight international organizations such as the World Health Organization, the World Bank and the Bill and Melinda Gate Foundation, the members of the Technical Advisory group describe loveLife as "an innovative social experiment", "an excellent example of a large-scale, comprehensive, national HIV prevention programme" and as having set "a global standard for communication by portraying sexual health decisions in the framework of future orientation" (Robbins, 2010, pp. vi-vii). They also describe the organization's approach to the use of mass media as follows:

> "loveLife's emphasis on sophisticated communication strategies is central to its mission. The media initiative was among the most pioneering of loveLife activities, although this innovation proved to be a double-edged sword." (Robbins, 2010, p. viii)

> "Early on, loveLife realised the need for a combination of HIV prevention. To decrease HIV among young people required a range of interventions that would have an impact on different outcomes and determinants, so-called ABC…Z. In addition to the well-publicised media interventions, its work in the education and health sectors was provided through existing structures, to ensure that the additional resources would strengthen government programmes and thereby contribute to longer-term sustainability." (Robbins, 2010, p. ix)

Other researchers have echoed these assessments. In a paper entitled "Challenge of evaluating a national HIV prevention programme: the case of loveLife, South Africa", the authors describe loveLife's activities as "broad ranging in scope, content and level of engagement, and they operate at multiple levels: the individual, peer group, family and community, and nationally at a societal/cultural level. Media programmes,

including billboards, television, radio and printed materials, promote HIV risk reduction and the concept of a positive lifestyle to South African youth by providing limited factual information, challenging social norms and stimulating public debate around issues relevant to HIV risk, such as condom use, multiple partners and gender norms." (Pettifor, MacPhail, Bertozzi, & Rees, 2007, p. i72).

This support my argument above, that the use of mass media to act as a starting point for conversations on difficult issues that impact HIV infection rates – conversations difficult in households where such issues are taboo for discussion, is the entry point for the loveLife community and structural interventions.

As a measure of the success of loveLife's reach, Pettifor et. al point to a 2003 survey result in which "85% of all youth reported awareness of loveLife, ranging from 65% in rural farming areas of South Africa to 93% in urban formal areas, and over a third reported participation in loveLife's programmes" (Pettifor, MacPhail, Bertozzi, & Rees, 2007, p. i72).

Despite the many claimed successes of the loveLife methodology and programmes, it has met with some severe criticism (see section below). Having spent over R1-billion in the first ten years of its existence (Robbins, 2010, p. 295), and one whose budgets continues to dwarf that of others working in the sector, loveLife's approach to the use of communication and mass media remains instructive. It is a useful barometer of the way HIV prevention messaging in particular, and behaviour change campaigns in general, in South Africa.

In the next section, I will take a closer look at the specific strategy that loveLife has articulated, with a particular focus on its use of mass media.

3.2.2 loveLife Strategy

As I argued in the previous section, it is useful to track the strategic thinking of loveLife since its inception, in my assessment of the Play4Life campaign, and of the responses given by the loveLife practitioners.

The evolving understanding of the organization, of what the necessary components of a HIV prevention communication strategy, is encapsulated by a strategy document drawn up after 6 years of operation. The document outlined loveLife's strategy as follows:

> "loveLife's strategy had always been based on best available evidence of models of projected impact, and on the belief that programmes needed to get to as many as possible as rapidly as possible. In addition, the triad of individual, social and structural determinants driving the HIV/AIDS epidemic

> demanded a comprehensive response – which meant that communication campaigns needed to address individual decision-making as well as those societal norms in which the individual operated, and then to place this dual messaging into the context of efforts to overcome social and economic marginalisation." (Robbins, 2010, p. 216)

The overview provided by Robbins supports my own assessment of the work of loveLife and its "triad" focus on individual, social and structural factors driving behaviour that increases HIV risks.

In addition, in terms of their focus on programmatic priorities, it has been argued that loveLife bases its work on its understanding of several important theories, some of which I have covered in my literature review chapter. In their 2007 paper, Pettifor et. al (p. i71) argue that "the theoretical framework for loveLife's behaviour change process draws on a number of behavioural theories including diffusion of innovations, ecological theory and the theory of reasoned action".

Pettifor et. al (p. i71) also provide an overview of the loveLife programmatic approach. Social networks and young people are seen as the change agents to implement and diffuse programmes. Addressing the various levels at which HIV risk is manifest (individual, small group, community, organisational and societal) is key to HIV-prevention, as is working to change norms and attitudes that influence HIV risk behaviour. Importantly, loveLife also focuses on providing comprehensive, factual and personalised sexual and reproductive health and HIV/AIDS information; providing positive lifestyle experiences for youth, which give them skills and motivation to reduce their HIV risk (motivation, art, music, debate, creative problem solving, health and fitness programmes, HIV/STI/pregnancy risk reduction skills); and on providing comprehensive, quality sexual and reproductive health services for adolescents.

The use of social networks, therefore, reflects the two-step and multi-step models of communication, as well as that of diffusion of innovation. The theory of reasoned action (see section 2.3.3 above) argues that positive attitude and supporting subjective norms lead to stronger intentions and actual actions. This focus on instilling positive attitudes in order to elicit pro-social behaviour is a theme that we will see emerge in the following sections of this chapter, as it is key to the loveLife organizational strategy.

3.3 Previous Campaigns

Having introduced loveLife through a look at how it was established, and what its central vision and strategy have been, I now turn to a brief overview of the way it has used mass media in its previous campaigns.

From the first pre-launch 'teaser' campaign in 1999, which used billboards with photos of celebrities and one word: "foreplay", loveLife's use of mass media has been central to its strategies. Started at a time when South Africa faced profoundly shocking HIV and AIDS infection rates, loveLife was launched as a way to systematically change the way young people understood and reacted to the disease.

Its first mission was to establish a national HIV-prevention programme that uses a combination of services, outreach and media, under an umbrella of a marketing brand that young people would be interested in, and would want to be seen to be a part of. Robbins (2010, p. 2) gives a very useful explanation about the loveLife brand, which was set "to be a youthful, fashionable, closely related to popular culture, and above all forthright. Its goal was to get people talking about relationships, sex and HIV, using the media as a draw card for young people to participate face-to-face in outreach programmes and health services across South Africa".

Taken in this light – that the use of mass media is to trigger controversy, conversation and a desire to know more, thus leading the audience to seek inter-personal engagement with the organization – the use of billboards and other budget-consuming media products become easier to understand.

The emphasis on the basics of marketing, aspirational lifestyle modelling and brand were pivotal in the setting up of loveLife. As explained in section 2.6 of this thesis, the social marketing model explains such a methodology, with its roots in the diffusion of innovation theory, and that it uses the techniques used by advertising and marketing agencies for commercial purposes to instead promote development and pro-social behaviour and products.

Robbins (2010, p. 8) outlines the design of this "marketing package", and the creation of a brand which "would make use of the external, not least as articulated through popular culture, to satisfy internal needs… Only through this crucial synthesis, said the marketing experts, could consumer behaviour be manipulated…. The new initiative would use a marketing, brand-driven approach to promote access to a 'package' of face-to-face services and outreach programmes. It would harness many channels of popular media and youth culture to make HIV prevention part of youth lifestyle".

Quoting one of the founders of loveLife, Judy Nwokedi, Robbins (2010, p. 12) further expands on the reliance on the social marketing model: "We were selling not a neatly defined and packaged product but something much more dynamic. We were selling behaviour change."

Spending 70 per cent of its first annual budget of R30 million on media (Robbins, 2010, p. 20), the first loveLife campaign continued to be ambiguous and shocking, with a strap line "talk about it" under texts such as "use your mouth", "what's your position". Results of assessments of the first campaign were mixed: whilst it grabbed the target audience's attention, respondents reported not having discussed the messages with anyone. Another major concern was the sophistication of the messages and that "the chic advertising was perceived to reinforce materialistic attitudes and gender stereotypes" (Robbins, 2010, pp. 22-23). In other words, there was a marked change in awareness but no changes in behaviour.

One interesting view of why this was the case was put forward by Clem Sunter, then Chairman of the Anglo American Chairman's Fund: "one side of the behaviour change debate would argue that loveLife's advertising is altogether too mild that it has its roots in persuasion model and that persuasion into a healthier and more positive lifestyle is not as effective as the shock approach about the consequences of HIV prevention" (Robbins, 2010, p. 25). As outlined in section 2.2 of this paper, the vast field of research into persuasion shows the complexity in determining the effectiveness of such messaging.

The billboard advertising in each year's communication messaging reflects the various ways in which loveLife tried to stimulate the move from awareness to changes in behaviour. The following is a summary of some the campaigns as contained in Robbin's book, "Beyond Billboards – the loveLife Story" (Robbins, 2010):

2001: making informed choices is about individual behaviour characterised by self-esteem and assertiveness. Shared responsibility is characterised by respect and tolerance of others' decisions; and positive sexuality is an expression of lifestyle informed by the valued of informed choices and shared responsibility (p. 30).

2002: "love them enough" campaign tried to encourage parents to speak to their children about sex. This was based on a 2001 survey that found that whilst 83 per cent of young people believed open communication about sex could reduce HIV infection, only 42 per cent of parents agreed. This campaign, less "outrageous" than others, engendered positive endorsements and support (including participation by Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Tutu and Jacob Zuma) (p. 76). This campaign showed loveLife's understanding that to affect the behaviour of its target audience (the youth), it had to affect their community and the policy environments – loveLife was aiming to be a "vehicle for community mobilisation" (p. 78).

2003: "love to be there" was the new tagline adopted, showing a shift from being a purely HIV prevention strategy to becoming a motivational initiative for both

individuals and communities – "a new ear of self-belief and hope" that would act as a "potent stimulant" of behaviour choices that would see a downturn in the HIV-AIDS pandemic (Robbins, 2010, p. 116).

In the same year, "too smart for just anybody", "No pressure", "Sex –worth waiting for" and "Everyone he's slept with is sleeping with you" were some of the taglines used by loveLife in 2003. Interestingly, the most controversial was the latter tagline, with audiences disturbed by it s graphic imagery, but most successful in eliciting discussions. The use of the billboards were to position the loveLife brand; to provoke debate and discussion – 'talk about it'; and to encourage calls to the thethaJunction helpline) (Robbins, 2010, p. 124).

2004: "love to be there" aimed at motivational and aspirational lifestyles and choices, and focused on attitude: how you respond to your environment, your culture and your personal life experience. "The advertising strategy was now specifically intended to support the work being done in communities… to promote the loveLifestyle" (Robbins, 2010, p. 130).

2005: "get attitude" was the tagline for a campaign that was designed to reposition loveLife as defining the future of young people through the promotion of loveLifestyle – "a campaign that would extol independence, forthright opinion and personal control" (Robbins, 2010, p. 179).

In outlining some of the mass media campaigns that loveLife has conducted in the past, it is hoped that a clearer view of the organization has emerged, one that began with a very specific approach to the use of messaging and whose approach has evolved since. In the next section, I will outline some of the current thinking and work that loveLife has conducted, showing even further evolution.

3.4 loveLife's Current Programmes

As I have shown in previous sections, loveLife was established at the height of the HIV epidemic in South Africa, and planned to use mass media to shock people into "talking about it" – the taboo nature of subjects having been seen to help promote risky behaviour.

Since then, loveLife's programmes and activities have continued to run, but in a sector now vastly larger since its inception. Government and actors have numerous HIV and AIDS education activities, campaigns and programmes. loveLife's approach is differentiated in that it is aimed, not just at linear HIV-prevention messaging, but at life and lifestyle choices. It does this through campaigns and programmes that help build confidence and future-focus in young people.

In a report covering a recent impact assessment (carried out in 2011 as a collaborative project between loveLife and the Human Sciences Research Council) (loveLife, 2012) the current activities and programmes of loveLife are "aimed at inspiring confidence, resilience, pro-activity and creativity". The report reiterates the assessments made in previous sections, pointing out that loveLife continues to look at the what is affecting risky behaviour at the individual (e.g. low self-esteem), social (e.g. tolerance of domestic violence) and structural (e.g. unemployment) levels.

The reports cites some aspects of success for this approach, giving a summary of the impact of loveLife on young people in South Africa: nearly all young people know about loveLife; one in three had participated in one or more of loveLife's programmes; loveLife programmes have a positive impact on young people's communication with community members, relatives, teachers and friends; exposure to loveLife improved young people's sexual health; participation in loveLife gave four out of five young people a sense of purpose in life; and while almost all young people said all South Africans should participate in loveLife, three quarters felt loveLife needs to reinvent itself to remain relevant

As this summary shows, loveLife can be said to have had success in raising brand awareness of its brand, with nearly all its target audience knowing about its work. However, the claims that exposure to the programmes were, in themselves, responsible for improving young people's sexual health may be overestimating the loveLife impact given the high number of other HIV-messaging campaigns.

As we will see in the next section, there are a number of critiques of loveLife that academics and experts have made in the past.

3.5 Evaluations and Critiques

There have been many who baulk at the extravagant claims made by loveLife over the years on its impact and successes. I will outline some pertinent arguments, especially those that will help in my later assessment of loveLife practitioners' assumptions about the use of mass media to change behaviour.

In particular, Warren Parker has questioned the validity and methodology of loveLife evaluations and reports. Parker (2004), for instance, cites the complexity of HIV prevention communication as a factor that is unaccounted for in loveLife reporting:

"Approaches to monitoring and evaluation by loveLife have largely focused on reach of the programme – for example, quantifying the number of billboards, the number of advertisements broadcast, print media coverage, or calls made to the national helpline… . This approach does not take into account the potential impacts of parallel

HIV/AIDS interventions, let alone the complex of factors that might influence HIV prevention amongst youth." (p. 114)

In a paper presented at the South African AIDS Conference in August 2013, Parker lists a series of inconsistent claims made by loveLife as a way of illustrating what he calls "a common feature of many of loveLife's publications and publicity materials – the use of unreferenced research findings to construct a sense of urgency in relation to the South African HIV/AIDS epidemic, and to convey the sense that little has been achieved in any previous or parallel interventions. More often than not, the findings, projections and contexts referred are inconsistent with research studies available at the time" (2003, p. 3).

In the same paper, Parker (2003, p. 15) accuses loveLife of employing mono-causality and obscuring the complexity of factors that contribute to behaviour: "Condom use, for example, involves multiple steps including procuring a condom, having a condom available and effectively negotiating condom use. Furthermore, how can complex behaviour be reduced to causality based on the extraordinarily flimsy pretext of 'having heard of loveLife'?".

Parker also offers a critique of the aspirational "loveLifestyle" focus of messaging: he accuses loveLife of being "unaware of what constitutes youth culture in South Africa…. Youth are repositioned from committed activists well capable of addressing urgent social issues in their communities to self-oriented individuals whose only relation to their contexts is through television, music and sports" (2003, p. 8).

This is echoed in an assessment by an advertising expert, as quoted in Robbin's book. Billboards failed: "because in the cluttered and competitive communications environment today, if you can't get your message across in two seconds, you won't ever get it across. No-one is talking about the loveLife ads – except to say they don't understand them." (Robbins, 2010, p. 32)

Furthermore, according to Prishani Naidoo, the loveLife approach "brings with it a concept of exclusivity that is attached to a single vision of how young people should engage with the world. Specifically a 'lifestyle' that affirms individualism and aspiration to materialism…. [it] causes further divisions between parents and children by promoting certain ideas, values, beliefs and aspirations that are foreign to the culture and expectations of most people…" (Naidoo, 2003, pp. 18-19).

In this section, I have outlined some of the major points of criticism of loveLife's approach to the use of mass media to change behaviour – in this specific case, to help change individual's attitudes to themselves in order to stop HIV-risky behaviours. The focus on the individual's attitude does seem to underestimate the influence of social and structural factors, despite loveLife's own stated strategy.

Next, I will outline a recent campaign run by loveLife, Play4Life, which was identified by the loveLife practitioners that I interviewed as a case-study, through which I then attempt to understand the assumptions that the practitioners have about the usefulness of mass media in behaviour change campaigns.

3.6 Case Study campaign – Play4Life

The campaign I chose to analyse was loveLife's recent "Play4Life" campaign. The campaign was run in December 2014, and used multi-media messaging to encourage non-risky behaviour during the holiday season. Appendix 1 below includes samples of some of the adverts and scripts used.

The genesis of the campaign was based on an understanding of the localised context, and trying to encourage students, whilst on holiday, to identify an enjoy "clean fun", including one without alcohol or drug abuse – both major drivers of risky sexual behaviour.

The core message of the campaign was to encourage young people to have fun, but have it without alcohol or unprotected sex or substance abuse. This focus is clear in the choice of the 'pay-off lines' used in the campaign. Play4Life was driven by the creative messages of better highs, better shots, better crowds. The messaging used a play-on words with the use of shots (selfies and opportunities), highs (achievements and drug/drink euphoria) and better crowds (of friends).

The campaign used multi-media platforms, with stories in the loveLife magazine UnCut, on social media and in radio inserts. Play4Life was mainly driven by social media, which the campaign hoped would take the messaging viral to create hype. loveLife challenged people to have alcohol-free fun, post it on loveLife social media platforms and get people to do the same and to win a prize at the end. A competition was run with a prize being a New Year's Eve party. In this way the organization hoped to reinforce its message that the individual is able to take control of their own circumstances, and to make positive decisions that will help them have an aspirational, and hopefully HIV-free, lifestyle.

In the next section, I will outline the responses I received when I interviewed 3 loveLife practitioners, all of whom had worked on this particular campaign. I also include their own assessments of the success of Play4Life, as an indicator of their understanding of what constitutes success and their assumptions about how well the campaign reached its goals.

3.7 loveLife Staff Interviews

At the start of my thesis, I outlined the central question of my research, which hopes to better understand the assumptions held by practitioners about the impact and role of media in their campaigns, and to try to pinpoint which theories and concepts can be discerned in these assumptions. In this section of my thesis, I provide an overview of the responses given to me in interviews I conducted with three loveLife staff, all of whom have responsibility for aspects of loveLife's communication and media strategy.

Name	Molefi Masunyane	Angelo Louw	Precious Magogodi
Current position	Head of RadioWise	Editor-in-chief UnCut and social media director of Play4Life	Senior Manager Pscyho-Social Support Programme
Educational	Certificate training in Sound engineering, completing Bcom	Honours in journalism and media studies from Wits - 2008	Social worker, Wits University graduate. Trying to finish Masters in clinical social work. No communication qualification
Length of time working in communications field	More than 10 years	9 years.	Has been with loveLife for 4 years. Was working at employee wellness and consultancy with UNAIDS and Hope Africa, Mandela Children's Fund. Some messaging responsibility.

3.7.1 Strategic and day-to-day operations for communications at loveLife

In this section, I give an overview and an initial assessment of how each of the respondents views the strategic and operational structures at loveLife. These questions are important in assessing the way practitioners are able to put their understanding of the mass media into practice – to see if the practitioner is working within an organization that sees the role of mass media in behaviour in the same way.

When asked to describe how they work within a team of communications practitioners, and who makes strategic decisions about the organization's communications campaigns made, the three respondents gave similar answers.

They described a process at loveLife where an executive committee or Exco makes decisions about "where we want to go and how we are getting there". Those decisions then filter through an operations committee, through senior managers, to various departments to implement. One respondent described the Exco as "communications experts", saying that they make decisions reflecting a 3-year strategy cycle but that they are open to initiatives and innovations from the rest of the team. Another respondent explained that Exco works to devise focus areas, aligned with strategy of organization, and when there is funding opportunity that fits in with that focus, to devise activities and programmes to include in a funding proposals.

Each of the respondents has a mandate to make day-to-day and operational decisions for a specific area of work, which fall within strategic plans made by the Exco. All three said they are able to use their experience and understanding of the media (of which radio station would be most effective, or which multi-media platform should be used, for instance) to ensure the messaging of the loveLife campaigns reaches its target audience.

One respondent has a more senior role in communication decision-making: "I'm the person that says to the communication team: make it work! This is the messaging, this is what we are looking for. I'm responsible for developing the concept, what the messaging should be, what we intend to do, doing the research behind it, establishing budgeting and finding funding."

As can be seen by the above responses, the practitioners expressed similar answers about the working environment at loveLife: that an executive body makes the decisions on what messaging is used and on what medium, but that they are all able to use their expertise to help carry out the campaign.

When asked to articulate how they understand the loveLife philosophy, respondents said the following:

> "Healthy living for young people who are the future of the country, young people whose ideas can be embraced, young people who we can look up to, to say "this is the future of the country". They can solve problems. So that why we address the root cause of what hinders them and their creativity to be innovative."
>
> "Our campaigns are aimed at young people. Of course parents will also see it. Parents will see it and they may not agree with it. If we have a billboard encouraging condom use, the parent will see it and even though they are very

> strict and traditional, and they don't agree with the message, it doesn't stop their child from also seeing the billboard. This could spark conversation between the child and parent. E.g. BornFree Dialogues."
>
> "Our strategy is: building up complete young leaders who are connected, creative, are able to see a future and are able to invest in that future by making healthy decision that will enable them to get to that future."

These responses are congruent with the strategy articulated by loveLife itself, as I have discussed in previous sections. All three respondents were able to express the current focus of the loveLife campaigns: that young people need to take charge of their own future and to make pro-social choices. This aspirational approach has been criticised, an assessment I outlined in section 3.4 of this chapter.

In reflecting on past successes of behaviour change campaigns run by loveLife, and how the organization's strategy has evolved over time, one respondent explained:

> "When loveLife consortium started, it was "talk about it" at height of AIDS infections and lack of HIV education, needed more conversations around uncomfortable topics (sex, sexuality and sexual reproductive health), bring the topics into the open. This was the only way to have an impact on the scourge of HIV. This is why we used provocative and controversial messages on billboards, and on TV. We are not shy, especially around sexuality and sexual reproductive health. We needed to get nation talking: young people, parents too. Needed to have voices of young people to be heard, understood and to be incorporated in the strategies to reduce HIV.
>
> We did really well and have become very well established. So how do we further develop further, changed strategy from high media impact to now also look at youth leadership, self-agency, sense of future and self-esteem and self-worth.
>
> The reason why, despite success of high impact media, there was a shift in strategy is that there was a need for deepened engagement (grass roots, community level engagement with the young people there and engaging them in our youth leadership initiative) which doesn't come from use of high impact media.
>
> We need to have communities to have buy-in, programmes not just about young people as individuals but also as agents of change for the communities who are challenging traditional cultures norms and values. This is reflecting an international trend of seeing young people as agents/revolutionaries who create change within their environment."

In the responses I have quoted above, the respondents are able to show an understanding of the progression of the strategic thinking of loveLife as an organization, moving from the shock tactics of the earlier stages to an approach which now is starting to take into account the social and environmental factors affecting risky behaviour choices of their target audience – the youth.

When asked to reflect on loveLife's claims of the success of its high-impact media messaging to young people, against the rise in the number of HIV infections reported in some of those same age groups, one respondent said:

> "Higher numbers of HIV infections reported in some of the older youth (who have been exposed to many years of HIV messaging) could be because people are learning to get tested, which is a marker of success too.
>
> What captures people attention now, given all the "noise" from so many messages vying for our attention? The generation that we are speaking to can see through "bullshit". We can't speak down to our audience. That's why social media is so important, to get interaction and engagement and that's why the use of GroundBreakers is so important. It needs to be dialogue rather than messaging."

This respondent reflected aspects of the "magic keys" theory of Hovland et. al (see section 2.2.1 in the literature review chapter of this thesis), which pays particular focus to the need to gain the attention of the audience, especially when the individual is the target for many, sometimes conflicting, messages. This includes, for instance, mass media programmes that glamorise illegal or risky sexual behaviour, as well as those that advocate avoidance of those same activities.

One respondent expressed a rather naïve understanding of indicators of the success of a behaviour change campaign, explaining that the rate of calls to a call centre would be a good sign of success:

> "When somebody responds to your campaign, that's a sign of whether you've reached someone and had an impact or not. The history will tell you, in my view, that there has been a whole lot of behaviour change, in that the rate of HIV dropped and that was the initial thing that loveLife wanted to achieve. They came very close to achieving that drop in the rate and that's a sign of success of the organization. We have been preaching the message around HIV and we believe people heard the message."

This respondent, I argue, is "naïve" in that he ascribes success of the campaign from the number of calls made to a call centre, whereas the increased call rate could well be

because of the ambiguity of the original messaging, for instance. He also states that the HIV messaging has been heard because there was an initial drop in the rate of infection. He does not take into consideration that success, in some estimations, needs to be sustained over time.

3.7.2 Analysis of Play4Life by the Respondents

The way in which the loveLife practitioners perceive their organization's approach to the use of mass media to change behaviour has been outlined in the previous section, which also dealt with the environment and structures within which the interviewees work. In this section, I will look at how the respondents perceive the successes of the case-study campaign.

When asked to provide their personal assessments of the loveLife case-study campaign – Play4Life – the respondents' answers reflected assumptions that seems to fall more in line with the methods used in the Social Marketing model I have described above (section 2.6). In particular the use of marketing techniques was made clear – that the messages were contained in catchphrases such as "better shots" and "better highs", as well as the use of a competition to drive the interest of the target audience.

However, the underlying attention to structural challenges in making lifestyle choices (as articulated by communication for social change in section 2.8.1 above) was nonetheless taken into consideration:

> "The goals of campaign were two-fold 1. for youth to have alcohol-free fun; and 2. for them to highlight activities in communities that do not involve alcohol.
>
> Because, you can tell a young person not to drink but what is the alternative?"

The respondent thus showed that the campaign had attempted to look at the social and community environments within which the target audience is living. However, highlighting the activities that could be described as "clean fun" is perhaps not as effective as interventions that ensure that clean fun is available to everyone in that community.

The interviewees all felt that the campaign had been successful, but found it difficult to assess the use of mass media in the campaign in isolation of the rest of its components.

> "The campaign was integrated and infused between media and personal interactions, including face-to-face. It widens the net of people exposed to the message."

> "We were able to use a wide range of media to flight the campaign: community radio, commercial radio, campus radio. We created a real hype around it. The reach of those stations was high. Also, social media engagement extended that reach. The campaign fits into the whole organization's behaviour change focus."

> "The campaign was not as massive as other loveLife campaigns, smaller scale, not involving billboards etc. When we have billboards, these cause a lot of mixed feelings (especially from parents). Those were much bigger campaigns. Don't know what the future of the campaign is, whether we will start to put up Play4Life billboards etc."

The differences in the assessment of the success of the Play4Life campaign – where one sees it as having been successful, and another stating that it was not given the same resources as other loveLife campaigns points to differing definitions of success, and differences in the assumptions of the respondents.

When asked to assess whether play4Life had been successful in using mass media to change behaviour of individuals, the respondents gave a range of answers, showing differences in their understanding of what this constitutes.

> "Play4Life was successful because lot of young people participated in the competition part of the campaign. But clean fun has not yet been achieved."

> "There was lots of engagement (more than 150 *selfies* were posted), and I hope we kept a lot of people out of trouble."

> "Behaviour change is difficult to measure, which is only determined over a period of time. The awareness raised by the campaign was good."

3.7.3 Personal Understanding of the Power of Mass Media

In this section, I provide a table of the answers given by each of the respondents to the bank of questions I asked regarding their own personal understanding of the power of mass media. In doing so, I am able to show their answers side-by-side, assisting with the assessment which I will provide at the end of the section.

Using textual analysis and key words in the respondents' answers, I look to determine which of the media theories outlined in my literature review chapter they reflect.

Please give a short summary of your own personal understanding of the power of the mass media to impact the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of an individual:	Media is most effective method and tool that we have at our disposal to impart knowledge and to change behaviour. We watch TV soapies and dramas. What happens on the soaps is what happens out there. Rhythm City was soap but also doing campaign on *nyaope*. Most effective tool to get message out there. Automatically what you see now affects how you choose your behaviour.	1. loveLife has had a positive impact on my own life. The daring message was what made it breakthrough for me. I saw a billboard when I was 14, which spoke about sex. I grew up in a conservative neighbourhood, and nobody spoke about sex. For the first time, through one billboard, my friends and I had a conversation. Shock tactics appeal to a youth audience. It felt like the billboard was designed for me, especially in terms of the identifiable branding (bright and in-your-face), that's what broke through to me. Shift from traditional billboard messaging – I wasn't being sold a pair of Levi's. Mass media can help change behaviour of older people too	Mass media is influential, it works on the psychology of people. When you want to fit in and conform, if you don't have a sense of who you are and what your values and what your limits are you can be easily swayed. We see trends, social media has such impact on a young person's choices and behaviours, without processing the consequence of what they are doing. Media is very powerful, not necessarily positive.

		e.g. campaigns that encourage better parenting and involvement of fathers, especially when using an appeal to emotion, it is likely to work.	
Do you think that the mass media can have an impact on the community, and does this affect an individual's choices? Please explain your answer:	What does it take for the messaging (misogynistic for example) that you have grown up with to be replaced by a new understanding of the world? Message alone doesn't cut it. Wearing a t-shirt, you move on, pass a billboard, read the message, you pass you move on. It takes personal interaction (playing soccer together and then having discussions on important issues e.g. peer to peer training and modelling of behaviour).. "Positive peer pressure".	Yes, if your reach and influence enough individuals in a community, you will have influenced on that community.	If enough individuals start listening to that message, then it impacts a community. Peer information affects this. There are different levels of engagement on a particular issue. Attitudes and fear of the unknown stop you from taking on the new behaviour. Seeing someone else do it, helps you get over that: "it works, go for it". Word of mouth helps.
Conversely, can the individual have an impact on prevailing behaviours in a community (as in the case of the use opinion leaders in media campaigns)? Please explain your answer:	Modelling is very strong in consuming media, especially when showing positive role models. When showing positive consequences for certain actions it will help reinforce that behaviour. It will	Very useful. We have used a few, for Gender-based violence campaigns, e.g. Eusebius McKaiser Faith Mangope. They get to promote the message as well. It depends on the target audience. So not just	Credible opinion leaders can affect behaviour. Important when they represent a cause. They are looked up to by young people. When they are true representatives of the cause not just celebrity.

	also help to show contrasts with your own life and choices.	appeal to intellect, but also celebrity appeal.	
How do you think the mass media impacts on the self-agency (the ability to act) of individuals or communities?	Reinforcement of messaging through different mediums e.g. advert on TV, then on billboard, hear it on radio, hearing the same ad. Start to pick up the message, even if too young to understand how campaigns and adverts work. Helps to build behaviour change.	Yes, and the most powerful way is through learning. We always have learning outcomes for our media content. Education empowers you, and when you have self worth because you know more, then you make positive choices.	Can help build sense of awareness and education. Can provide you with alternatives and options … especially through digital information and the internet. It arouses interest to know more and compel you to take action.
Given the personal perceptions that you have described above, how do these inform and affect the way you design and implement communications campaigns that aim to change an individuals' behaviour?	In personal opinion, loveLife campaigns should all be directed at youth (rather than parents or community). Would direct campaign to young people: our core mandate and reason we exist is because of youth. Would put in support structures for parents and community, but would give 100% of resources to campaigns targeting youth. Because parents and community also see the campaigns and hear the conversation.	Yes, definitely do. Cross-platform thinking. We always have to think about how the original article can work beyond just being an article. We need to be strategic and think about what papers and mediums we use.	Yes, it does. Mass media is the first point that generates engagement – whether telephonic or face-to-face. It helps build traffic and gets interest.

In the textual analysis of the answers given by each of the respondents, I argue that the theories reflected by each place them along the continuum of theories as follows:

Respondents one: the answers provided by this respondent – such as describing the media as "the most effective method and tool" in behaviour change, and the power of positive modelling and positive peer pressure, point to this interviewee as being more inclined to believe in the power of the media to change the individual – reflecting both the "magic bullet" and a two-step models.

Respondent two: this interviewee reflected assumptions that show both a belief in the power of the mass media to change the individual through sparking inter-personal conversation, as well as an assumption that credible opinion leaders are important in gaining compliance for behaviour change messaging. This respondent seems to reflect the multi-step model of communication, as well as the Hovland "magic keys", which relies on persuasion to change attitude and opinion and therefore have a positive impact on behaviour.

Respondent three: the answers provided by this respondent reflected answers that had aspects of the "magic bullet" theory – "media is very powerful" – as well as aspects of the De Fleur Psychodynamic model as well observational theory: "Attitudes and fear of the unknown stop you from taking on the new behaviour. Seeing someone else do it, helps you get over that".

3.8 Summary

At the beginning of this chapter I outlined the importance of evaluating the organization, the campaign and the practitioner against a backdrop of the available theory on the use of mass media to change behaviour.

A particular focus has been placed on the assumptions and perceptions of the communication practitioner, in order to assess whether a gap exists between the understanding of the practitioner and their organization they work for in carrying out the work in the behaviour change context.

As a summary of the arguments I have made above regarding loveLife as an organization, I look once more at the organization's approach as provided on the organization's web site (loveLife, 2015).

loveLife aims to support young people in making positive choices that will deter them from behaviours that drive HIV infection – including unsafe sexual practices, and drug and alcohol abuse.

An important aspect of its strategy is the focus on the troika of individual, social and structural factors. It looks to impact all three in order to be able to effect sustained change.

A third aspect is that of the content of the messaging: aspirational campaigns that look

to give individuals a sense of power – or agency – through the pro-social choices that they make.

Furthermore, the history of the use of mass media by loveLife is a very interesting one. It began as a high-impact media campaign, which used provocative media messages to shock young people (and their parents) out of complacency about the HIV epidemic.

It was premised on an understanding of the media described above (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.1) of the Hovland magic keys – attention, comprehension and acceptance. In order to change attitudes, they had to first grab the attention of the target audience, help improve their knowledge of the causes and effects of HIV, and then hope to gain their acceptance of the prevention messages of the campaign.

The environmental and societal factors that characterised the fight for HIV prevention in South Africa – including numerous other educational programmes and campaigns – saw loveLife having to readjust its approach. Its strategic focus seems to be best described by the development communication models of communication for social change (see chapter 2, section 2.8.1). The model advocates a mix of approaches needed to effect lasting behaviour change: ownership of communication process; horizontal communication; agency; from persuasion to dialogue; and an enabling environment.

In its use of community centres (YCentres), of young peer educators (Groundbreakers), communication messaging that aims to improve the agency of young people and their care givers (Parent Line, GoGoGetters), and the use of mass media to spark conversation and interpersonal communication (BornFree Dialogues), the loveLife strategy seems to be reflecting that same understanding.

In assessing the Play4Life campaign, I argue that although the campaign had attempted to look at the social and community environments within which the target audience is living, highlighting the activities that could be described as "clean fun" is perhaps not as effective as interventions that ensure that clean fun is available to everyone in that community.

Other issues with the campaign included a seeming lack of shared understanding between the respondents of whether it had been successful. This could point to a lack of post-campaign evaluation, or a breakdown in communication if such an evaluation had been carried out.

The Play4Life campaign seems to rely more heavily on the Lazarsfeld two-step and multi-step models of communication, wherein the mass media is used as a way to trigger discussions between the target audience and their social and family circle. It also reflects some of the approaches advocated by the Social Marketing theory, in using catchphrases and providing a prize through an online competition.

The practitioners I interviewed also reflected some of these theories in their responses, but showed a more powerful belief in the power of mass media to change behaviour than is indicated in my assessment of loveLife as an organization, or of the Play4Life campaign.

In my next chapter, I will provide a second case study – that of the South African National Road Agency (SANRAL) and its attempts to persuade road users to use e-tags and pay e-tolls in Gauteng. The last case study will be of Soul City, also an HIV prevention organization. Once these case studies are also assessed in terms of the central question of my thesis – that of the theoretical assumptions held by practitioners when conducting behaviour change campaigns – I will provide an overall analysis of all three case studies.

4. Case-Study 2: SANRAL

In my attempt to help answer the question that underlies my research and dissertation, I have provide an outline of relevant theories that add to our understanding of how mass media affects the individual's behaviour. I have also taken three case studies to help understand the South African context, and to understand the working environment of communication practitioners in particular. In this way, I hope to be able to provide, even a partial, answer as to why some behaviour change campaigns seem to be successful in this country, and why others do not.

In this second chase-study chapter, I will analyse the SANRAL organization, looking at its establishment, past campaigns, the e-toll campaign as a case-study, and finally the results of the interviews I conducted with two communication practitioners who worked on the SANRAL campaigns. SANRAL's communication campaign, which tried to persuade South African's to buy e-tags and to pay for the use of e-tolls, was one that seemed to have been problematic and seemingly fell short of its objectives.

Another rationale for including the SANRAL campaign in this research was because it was one that had received extensive media coverage. In addition, its e-tolls campaign had the difficult task of persuading the South African public to participate in a highly unpopular scheme i.e. to buy an electronic tag in order to pay for the use of the open-tolled highways in Gauteng. This task was made even more onerous given the well-organized and highly vocal and visible opposition to the tolling. I will therefore include a detailed outline of the opposition campaign, in so far as it helps define the case-study campaign itself.

4.1 Background

The South African National Roads Agency SOC Limited (SANRAL) was established in 1998 as an independent, statutory company registered in terms of the Companies Act (2008). The South African government, represented by the Minister of Transport, is the sole shareholder and owner of SANRAL. (SANRAL, 2015, p. 2)

As a state agency, SANRAL's mandate is the national road network - to finance, improve, manage, maintain and upgrade its 21,403km of roads. SANRAL has two primary sources of income. Non-toll roads (85 percent of the total national road network) are funded from allocations made by the National Treasury. Toll roads (15 percent of the total national road network) are funded either through public-private partnerships or capital market borrowings (SANRAL, 2015, p. 2).

A major project embarked on by SANRAL in recent years has been the Gauteng Freeway Improvement Project (GFIP), which connects the Johannesburg and Pretoria cities with an expanded highway. The freeway is tolled using a new technology (for

South Africa), an electronic tag, or e-tag, which charges the road user as the car passes under the electronic gantry.

Since tolling tariffs were announced in late 2012 (IOL, 2012) SANRAL has faced an organized and vociferous opposition to its implementation of the new tolling system in Gauteng. Asides from political and legal battles, the agency faced the challenge of persuading road users to purchase and use e-tags.

4.2 SANRAL Communications Unit: Establishment, Strategy and Campaigns

In terms of my central question – of the effect that practitioner assumptions have on their use of mass media to change behaviours – it is important to take a closer look at the unit in which the two SANRAL interviewees work. I will look at how that communications unit was established, its strategic direction, as well as the way in which it operates.

A communications function was established in SANRAL in 1998, with one staff member. By 2014, the unit consisted of 9 staff throughout the country (SANRAL, 2014, p. 85).

It is important to note that SANRAL's communication strategy is guided by that of the national government's:

> "As a state-owned company SANRAL's communication objectives are aligned with the broader aims of Government and there is close liaison with both the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS) and the Department of Transport's communication unit." (SANRAL, 2014, p. 85)

As this shows, there are guidelines and frameworks within which the SANRAL communications unit must operate, and as will be outlined throughout this chapter, this has an effect on the team's ability to effectively conduct its behaviour change campaign.

This tie-in to government strategy and practice helps explain the tone and method of the SANRAL media campaigns. In its 2015 annual report, SANRAL breaks its marketing and communications section (SANRAL, 2015, pp. 82-86) into the following sub-sections, included here as an overview of its activities:

1. Leadership reputation: mainly dealing with giving interviews to, and placing opinion pieces in, the media (this is discussed further in sections below).

2. Stakeholder engagement: interaction with academia, professional organizations and the engineering and construction industry; and produces a quarterly electronic publication called **N-Route**.

3. Own media platforms:

    a) **By the Way** - "a consumer publication that highlights the agency's operations and includes book reviews, recipes and crossword puzzles. It is a bimonthly, full-colour tabloid publication, with a print run of 300 000 copies distributed nationally" (SANRAL, 2015, p. 84).

    b) A **72-page book** showcasing community development activities

    c) **Newspaper supplements**: "to showcase the organisation's individual pillars in supplements in mainstream and community print media. During 2014/15, the unit printed two supplements: Investing in Road Safety and Investing in the Community" (SANRAL, 2015, p. 84).

    d) **The People's Guide**: SANRAL's annual report presented "in a summarised, easily understandable manner" (SANRAL, 2015, p. 84).

4. Community goodwill and outreach initiatives: "SANRAL initiated a campaign to introduce itself to South Africans through activities such as mall activations and business breakfast meetings" (SANRAL, 2015, p. 84).

5. Social media: In its 2014 annual plan, SANRAL explained that it would consider "the merits of social media platforms and engagements". In January 2015, SANRAL set up a corporate YouTube channel to share its video content, including interviews, project updates and traffic information. In February 2015, SANRAL opened accounts with Facebook (sanralza) and Twitter (SANRAL_za). (SANRAL, 2015, p. 84).

As at 2 December 2015	**SANRAL**
Total Facebook Page Likes	23,557
Total Twitter Followers	1,376 = 1,009 (@SANRAL_za) + 367 (@SANRAL_etoll)

The reliance on more traditional modes of communication – on printed pamphlets rather than social media, for instance – shows an approach to communication that is more aligned to public relations. In addition, its reporting of the number of pamphlets printed as an indicator of success is problematic, in that it does not show the number of people who chose to read that pamphlet, but rather how many were distributed.

Furthermore, the lack of the use of social media to build up an interactive brand could

arguably be one of the main factors in the low uptake of the e-tags, which I will address in following sections of this chapter.

4.3 Case Study campaign – E-Tags and E-Tolls

The e-toll campaign which was conducted by SANRAL had to accomplish a series of objectives: to educate road-users on the new payment process, to persuade people that the "user pays" principle was fair and legal, and to help translate that information and attitude to action – the purchase of an e-tag.

Communication on e-tolling was outlined as part of the tender documents for the Gauteng Freeway Improvement Project (GFIP), to delineate what would need to be done by the contractor and what would need to be done by SANRAL itself. These were included in the tender documents drafted in 2008. As the respondents explained in their interviews (see the section below), the devising of the communication plan so far in advance was detrimental to the campaign, as it did not foresee the extent to which others would oppose their messaging.

There were two distinct sections of the campaign. The first explained policy regarding SANRAL's mandate to improve the road infrastructure and to promote the user-pays principle. The second is the consumer-based information.

The laws of South Africa dictate that for major infrastructural projects, an Environmental Impact Assessment must be carried out, a process followed by SANRAL for the GFIP. This also included a community participation process and stakeholder engagement.

In 2009 a formal campaign was started, to introduce e-toll as a product. The concept of the campaign was to take SANRAL from "zero to hero". The concept was based on the fact that in order for people to trust their money with SANRAL they needed to know what it is. This was mainly carried out through advertisements in newspapers.

However, as I will refer to again in a later section, the SANRAL communication team was not able to fully implement its plans at the start as it faced internal restrictions: according to government policy, its funds cannot be used to advertise government services or products. Once the e-tolls were being implemented, budgets became available, with the result of mostly inserts and advertisements in national newspapers. A sample of these is included in Appendix II of this thesis.

Another significant challenge faced by the communications team was the circumspection required whilst legal challenges (see section 4.4 below) were being heard in court. The communication team was not able to communicate directly about issues that were before the court, which prevented them from being able to provide a counter point to those opposing the e-tolls.

As I had indicated at the start of this chapter, a comparison of the campaign to stop users from buying e-tags – in direct and simultaneous opposition to the case-study campaign to persuade road-users to buy the tags – is necessary to ensure a better understanding of the context and conditions under which the SANRAL practitioners had to work.

4.4 Evaluations and Critiques

4.4.1 Opposition to Tolls

Although SANRAL has expended significant amounts of its budget on urging those who use the tollroads to pay for their use, and since the system is designed in such a way that it is possible to go through the payment gantries without having to stop, many South Africans have simply refused to do so.

According to the Mail & Guardian (Mail & Guardian, 2013) SANRAL spent "about R25.3-million during the period January to October [2013] on campaigns to encourage the public to buy e-tags. This was in addition to about R11.3-million spent in November and December [2012]." However, as of the date of the article, out of 2 107 000 e-tags procured by SANRAL over the three previous years, as many as 1 427 900 had still not been sold.

Since the toll tariffs were announced, there has been a public outcry to the tolling from religious bodies; businesses and associations; the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and opposition political parties (The Citizen, 2013).

However, the most visible and vocal opponent to the tolling tariffs is a coalition calling itself OUTA – Opposition to Urban Tolling Alliance. It was established in February 2012 to ensure "a coordinated strategy to oppose e-Tolling of Gauteng's freeways" (OUTA, 2012). The alliance has carried out both legal and media campaigns against the e-tollling, arguing that the highway should be paid for through taxes and the fuel levy and that e-tolling is "an inefficient, costly and unnecessary additional burden on road users" (OUTA, 2012).

Outa believed the system to be unlawful and launched legal challenges that were heard in the North Gauteng high court, the Supreme Court of Appeal and the Constitutional Court, but failed to stop the e-tolling (see Figure 2 below).

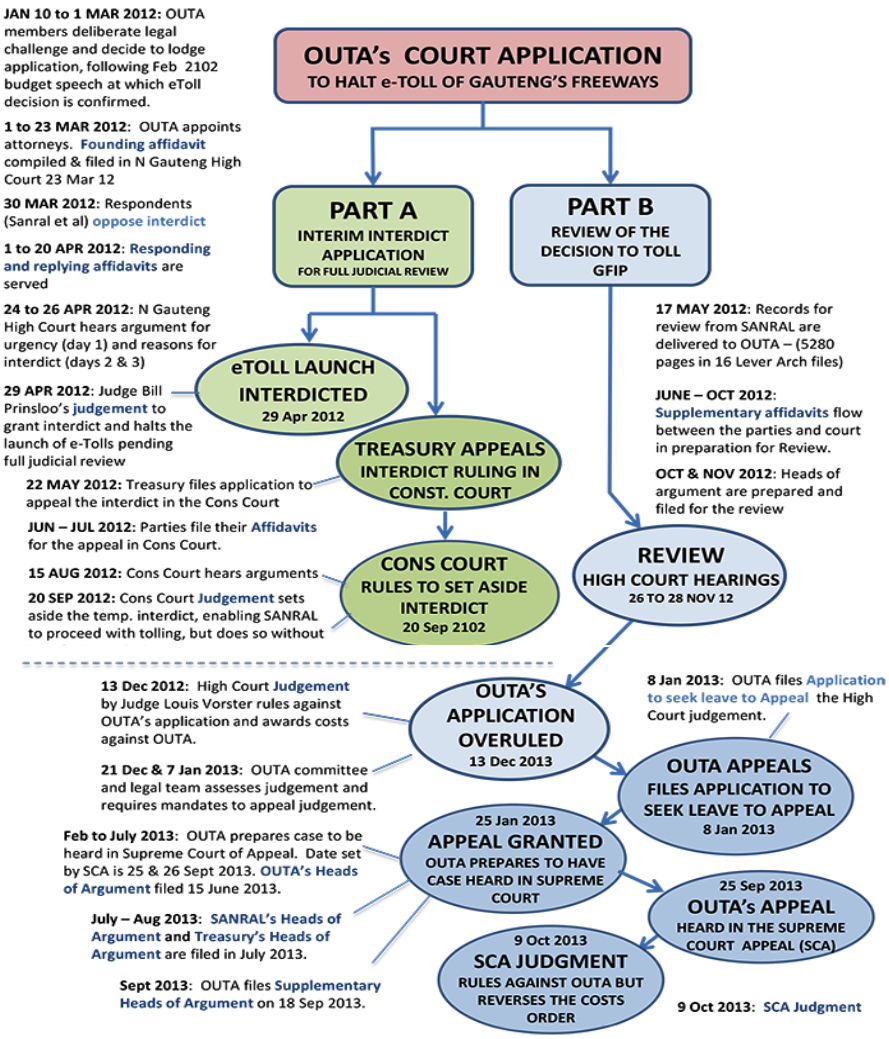


Figure 2: A Chronology of OUTA Legal Challenges to Tolling (OUTA, 2015)

OUTA continues its campaigns, including one launched in July 2014, entitled "the Rule of Law" campaign, which it explains (OUTA, 2014) as follows:

> In this campaign, we want to assist individual citizens who are prosecuted and who share OUTA's belief that e-tolling is unlawful in saying to SANRAL and to Government
>
> - "If you want to govern us and if you want to toll us, you must do it lawfully."
> - "Your decision to e-toll Gauteng's freeways was not lawful. Furthermore, it was not reasonable and it did not respect the rights of the people of South Africa and in Gauteng to be informed of the decision and in a manner that would enable their participation therein."
> - "By e-tolling you are crippling us. And now, by prosecuting us for not complying with a system that is actually unlawful, you are victimising us."

The campaign also promised to challenge any prosecution of non-compliant road users, promising that it would use "the immense evidence it has gathered, to be argued and heard in court, as and when the first motorist is summonsed for prosecution for non-payment of e-tolls…." (OUTA, 2014)

Although it denies that it is running a civil disobedience campaign (OUTA, 2014), the messaging clearly urges users to not comply with the e-tolling dispensation, and to continue to use the highway without purchasing an e-tag or paying a toll.

This builds an alternative call to the consumer from one that is made by the SANRAL communications campaigns: that the user-pays principle[4] is fair, that the tolling is legal and that e-tags are efficient.

4.4.2 Consultations, Reviews and Commissions

In August 2014, most likely as a result of the intense and continued unpopularity of the e-tolls, the Gauteng premier convened the "Advisory Panel on the Socio-economic Impact of E-tolls", to which various constituencies were invited to contribute (IOL , 2014).

The panel had two main recommendations, as outlined in its report tabled in November 2014 (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2015). The first vindicated SANRAL in that it reiterated that the new highway had "benefited the economy and the people of the province". The second recommendation also reinforced SANRAL's argument about the fairness of the user-pay principle, but said that "in its current form, the e-toll system is unaffordable and inequitable and places a disproportionate burden on low and middle income households", as had been consistently argued by OUTA et. al..

As a result of the recommendations made by the panel, the Deputy President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa announced a new dispensation of tariffs, seeing them reduced by 50 and 60 per cent; and that shortfalls for funding the road would be met by the Gauteng Provincial Government (Business Tech, 2015). In November 2015, the provincial government announced a R123 million bailout to cover the gap created by reduced e-toll prices for motorists (Eyewitness News, 2015).

Despite this reduction in tariffs, by November 2015 the compliance figures had not improved. According to an EWN report "the current compliance figure is around 30% and the amount of debt owed is R5.9 billion" (Eyewitness News, 2015). The same report quotes a tolling official as attributing this gap to a "challenging" and incorrect public perception that the tolls were not affordable.

[4] "The principle that a user of a service or resource pays directly for the amount they use, rather than the cost being shared by all the users or a community equally." http://www.dictionaryofengineering.com/definition/user-pays-principle.html

4.4.3 Perception Problem

It would be outside the frame of this thesis to fully analyse all the anti-tolling media output: the articles, tweets, Facebook posts, blogs, adverts that qualify as such are numerous. However, as an illustrative example, a hybrid of these is discussed here.

Nando's, a South African fast food chain, placed a full-page advert in newspapers a day after tariffs first came into effect, in December 2013. The advert falls in line with the very successful marketing strategy of Nando's to humorously comment on a current event whilst advertising its product.

The Times Live article which covered the advert and the responses to it (Times Media Group, 2013) is a typical example of the public and media reaction to the tolling, much of it distinctly oppositional:

> "The full-page advert, which appeared in newspapers this morning, says '"SANRAL, at least you could have taken the people to dinner first."
>
> For those living under a rock, the joke here is that SANRAL screwed the people over with e-tolls….
>
> SANRAL and the ANC have been unyielding throughout the implementation of e-tolls on Gauteng roads, with the public up in arms against it.
>
> Cosatu, the DA, the FFPlus and anti-tolling organisation Outa have all been unsuccessful in their bids to stop e-tolling, calling for the public to not buy e-tags.
>
> Thousands of people succumbed to the party and road agency's bullying tactics, but many have opted for either alternate routes or just did not buy an e-tag in defiance." (my emphasis).

Written by a staff reporter, the article suffers from being unbalanced and careless with statistics, but nonetheless shows the vocal antipathy to the tolling, and to SANRAL itself. The last paragraph bears close scrutiny: by using words such as "succumb" and "bullying", the news article sets a frame of reference that a communication practitioner would have difficulty shifting in favour of SANRAL.

One of SANRAL's explanations as to why people have refused to buy the e-tag is that the media has been biased and incorrect in its reporting. Nazir Ali, the CEO of SANRAL said in EWN article dated 6 November 2014 (Eyewitness News, 2014), that media deliberately spread false information about the system, after a story broke about the financial solvency of the agency. Ali is quoted in the same article as asking:

> "How do we change the perception? It's all over the news. And to deliberately

not check the facts and turn around and call our minister a liar and deliberately misleading the public, I think it's totally unfair."

There is a clear, perhaps justified, sense of victimhood that comes from the SANRAL staff. Whether their ability to control the message is also a factor in the poor uptake of the campaign will be discussed in further sections.

In its 2014/2015 annual report (SANRAL, 2015, p. 82), SANRAL explains how it works to correct incorrect reporting in the media:

- Media channels were monitored daily;
- senior executives and SANRAL Board members briefed on issues and opinions to facilitate an effective response to developing issues; and
- Regular letters were written to the media to correct wrong impressions and factual inaccuracies.

The report claims that its strategy ensured that SANRAL received a "substantial share of voice in both the print and electronic media" (SANRAL, 2015, p. 82) but does not include media monitoring reports to quantify what is meant by "substantial".

On the other hand, there is support for the assertion that the "number of opinion articles in mainstream press doubled from the year before, including pieces written by the Minister of Transport in The New Age, SANRAL CEO Nazir Alli in Business Day…". In the performance indicator table on page 91, against a target of 6 "positive messages in national/regional press per month", it is reported that 15 were published on average per month.

Another metric used to measure the success of its communication strategy is that of "spontaneous awareness". In both the 2014 and 2015 annual reports, SANRAL lists the goal of increasing spontaneous awareness of its brand as a target. In 2014 (SANRAL, 2014, p. 102) an external survey found a 1% increase, over the 2013 baseline of 21%.

According to the Marketing Research Association, spontaneous awareness is a "measure of how many respondents can quote a brand name without any assistance on behalf of the interviewer" (Marketing Research Association, 2015). This makes it a rather facile metric for an agency as complex as SANRAL, since the media coverage of the tolling controversies would ensure it being "top of mind", but not necessarily in a positive way.

4.5 Analysis of SANRAL's Media Strategy

Before moving on to the sections dealing with the answers given by the communication practitioners who took part in my research, I will first provide a brief

assessment of the communication strategy of the organization as a whole.

The seeming underlying reasoning behind SANRAL's communication strategy appears to be best explained by the "compliance gaining" theory outlined in Chapter 2, section 2.4 above. Compliance gaining uses the power – both perceived and real – of the persuader over the audience to get others to act in the way they want. Some of these "compliance-gaining" strategies are reward, punishment, debts, altruism, and conformity.

An illustration of this is provided in a recent exchange between SANRAL and OUTA, as reported by IOL in an article dated 30 November 2015:

> "Vusi Mona, the communications general manager at SANRAL, said the announcement of the new e-toll dispensation by Ramaphosa was affirmation that the user-pay principle would be retained as the major funding method for the Gauteng e-toll system.
>
> Mona said SANRAL was the implementing agency of this system and non-payment of e-tolls, while using the roads, was civil disobedience.
>
> He said Outa had become militantly opposed to e-tolls and had adopted an entrenched position on the matter.
>
> "The difficulty with ideologues is whatever compromises you make or rational arguments you advance, they will never change their position," he said." (IOL, 2015) (my emphasis).

The words and phrases I have underlined to support my argument, including "civil disobedience", "militant", and "rational argument", show a top-down approach which expected the message to be complied with as it was rational and came from an authority.

A relevant theory to explain SANRAL's e-tolling campiagn (which is necessarily tied to government communication strategies, as explained above) is that of Lasswell's Formula. As outlined in Chapter 2, section 1.4, this theory assumes that the communicator is trying to persuade the receiver through a persuasive process, and in which messages are seen as always having an effect. It is based on an understanding of media as a very powerful tool, against which individuals have little power.

Furthermore, SANRAL's communication strategy appears to be best explained by the "compliance gaining" theory. Compliance gaining uses the power – both perceived and real – of the persuader over the audience to get others to act in the way they want. Some of these "compliance-gaining" strategies are reward, punishment, debts, altruism, and conformity.

In what can be described as the battle for the public's minds, SANRAL seems to assume that it needs to merely present its case in the media, and counter the case made by others in the same medium. In its 2014 annual report, the approach to communication was described as follows: "SANRAL followed a direct approach to communication based on its conviction that misconceptions must be addressed and deliberate falsehoods exposed" (SANRAL, 2014, p. 85).

Another illustration of this approach, of an almost linear top-down messaging to people who have little input into the communication process, is the decision not to have official SANRAL social media accounts, until mid-2015 (see above).

I began this chapter explaining that I had chosen, as a case-study, the SANRAL e-tolls and e-tag campaign because of the push-back it had received from organized opposition and from the public. The next section provides an overview of the interviews I conducted with SANRAL staff, assessing their assumptions about the use of mass media in behaviour change campaigns, as well as their own particular working context.

4.6 SANRAL Staff Interviews

Two members of the SANRAL marketing and communications unit were interviewed in March 2015.

Name	Priya Pillay	Wanda Cloete
Current position	Advertising and Corporate Communication Manager	Project manager communications
Educational	BTech Public Relations	BA in Communication Science
Length of time working in communications field	17 years	13 years

4.6.1 Strategic and day-to-day operations for communications at SANRAL

When asked to describe the day-to-day running of the communications unit at SANRAL, both participants explained that it is a small unit which must work with other arms of SANRAL, and within the structures and processes of government communication strategies:

> "I work on project team and have project-specific responsibility: all the customer service touch points - which includes all shops, mobile pay stations, any kiosk, call centre, - I am the link with that work group. In addition, all direct communications to customer goes through me, to ensure correct branding.
>
> In terms of marketing, if specific trend or issue is identified via call centre then we find a solution on how to communicate a response to that: e.g. if e-tags are not reading, it could be that they have not been installed properly, so we use a mix of how-to-videos, leaflets, article in newspaper."
>
> "I will approve a campaign for communication, but the director of communication still determines whether ad can go ahead, given the impact on SANRAL as a whole, especially if there is a political implication."

4.6.2 Communicating on tolling

When explaining the purpose of the dedicated communications unit, one interviewee explained that SANRAL's mandate is to "implement road infrastructure, and the toll is a means to that end. That's why we need people's buy-in for the toll to work".

> "We came up with a marketing strategy for that process, seven years in advance of actual implementation and in the absence of actual figures. We used international case studies, which could not predict the reaction that we had to the e-tag and the tolling campaign."

The understanding that buy-in was needed from the public seems to not be coupled with a way to bring that about, other than inserting information into the newspapers:

> "Around 2006-2009 we did publicize the fact that we were going to implement a toll system. Anna Cox wrote a lot of articles on it. But people say they didn't know this was coming."
>
> "We didn't do a lot of advertising, except for what was required to be done by law like roadwork schedule".

The relative importance given to the credibility of the communicator by the interviewees reflects that described by the Hovland "magic keys" (see chapter 2, section 2.1). The perceived characteristics of the communicator are seen as critical in being able to change opinions and attitudes through the use of mass media.

> "In 2009 started a formal campaign to introduce e-toll as a product. The concept of the campaign was to take SANRAL from "zero to hero".

> The whole concept was based on the fact that in order for people to trust their money with SANRAL they needed to know what it is."

An important explanation of how certain decisions were made by the SANRAL communications team is expressed by one of the interviewees as follows, explaining why some of the "zero to hero" adverts were not made:

> "But, because of the restriction on government funds being used to advertise service delivery or government products, many of our concepts for ads did not get far as we did not have sufficient funding to air them".

Factoring in government communications methods and strategies, as well as having to execute very specific messaging of their own, was also a challenge identified by the respondents.

> "What we managed to do in the past, even when government asked for specific mediums and messages we tried to keep to our strategy with our allocated budget. But that's not always possible. For instance, we presented marketing strategy to ministry officials. They made suggestions which were, in certain instances, in keeping with our strategy, but sometimes not e.g. use of billboards was suggested, and though it had not been part of the original plan (because of safety issues), we added billboards to our campaign, but did not use them on national roads."

The above two responses show a level of interference in the running of the campaign that is inherent to a government-run agency: it has to comply with strict communication guidelines set by a central department, and it has to take into consideration the wishes of principles who may not have sufficient understanding of their campaign's parameters.

Another significant challenge faced by the communications team was the circumspection required whilst legal challenges (see section 4.4.1 above) were being heard in court.

> "We faced the first hurdle then [after the tariffs were announced in December 2012] when people said they hadn't know about the tariffs and when the first court action started.
>
> Once it was before the courts we were gagged and unable to communicate directly. Once again, we had strategies but couldn't implement them due to external factors. There were 7 court challenges during this time and this meant that we often were faced with a few topics that we could legally talk about."
>
> "In 2012, opened registration for e-tags. This was a marketing campaign about how, where and when to get tags. In all this time, the communication was determined by the legal challenges being faced, the political environment we

are operating in, as well as the external opposition being mounted."

"When we couldn't communicate freely, because of pending court action, it had a detrimental effect on the communications message, which was now completely out of our hand."

Both respondents expressed frustration at not being able to convince the public that the user-pays principle and tolling were justified and necessary – despite their best efforts.

"It was a difficult campaign because e-tags were not something people thought they needed to have. There were complex issues – the economy, politics – that affected how well people would receive the message. Our target market was LSM 9-10, people who own cars and are road users. But we had to also get messaging to LSM 1-9 because we are part of the government and we have to explain what happens to government's money.

We have to explain to taxi users why the taxi needs to have a tag, or to the middle class road user why having a tag is for the good of the country."

"When we started in 2009, we knew we faced a tough challenge, because tolling is never easy. By 2011, we couldn't believe we had done everything right, had public engagements and so on, and still people wouldn't believe us."

The above explanations show that the understanding of "the market" and segmentation of the audience by LSM (the advertising industries standard stratification tool of living standards measure) reflects an approach to the SANRAL e-tolling campaign that treats it more as convincing people to buy a product and less a way of changing their behaviour. However, this approach is not necessarily incorrect as argued by proponents of the Social Marketing theory (see chapter 2, section 6 above). Further evidence of this approach is shown in the explanations below:

"In beginning, we only used mass media (advertising and non-paid content) and public relation. Public relations was used when the information to be disseminated is too content heavy to say in an advert. Then we would produce a document or host press session. So much to tell people and so little time to do it in, when using advertising."

"The biggest challenge faced was that there wasn't much awareness of SANRAL before e-tolling project began. We didn't have budget for advertising before, because government doesn't approve budget for advertising service provision. But that's a challenge because people need to trust you before they give you their money."

"We segmented the market. Looked at who we wanted to reach, with what message. What media do they consume: Reach, impact and frequency? We did

it quite scientifically. In some instances we were requested by government to do certain media, which we did."

"Choosing the right medium is important: have to look at the complexity of the message. For instance, radio is a popular medium but it is difficult to explain a complex concept on radio. That is why, a lot of times, we favoured print, because of the complexity of the messages that we had to convey. Or the "You", "Huisgenoot" and Drum magazine are a good consumer outreach platform, for flow charts and longer explanations and not just for short ad, or information, or listing benefits."

When explaining the SANRAL communication unit's use of evaluation techniques in their planning and monitoring of the tolling campaign, the interviewees outlined a process that further reflects marketing and advertising norms and practices.

"Baselines were carried out at the start. And we've had evaluations in the last two years, where we tracked awareness of SANRAL and of e-toll - did people see ads, what did they think of it?"

"You can't do a strategy if you don't do the research: what they need to hear, what they want to hear and where they want to hear it. It also provides a benchmark to test how well you did or not."

"We do an evaluation once a year to make sure we are on track. Research is very expensive, but we share an external contractor, to do marketing surveys, with various other government departments. We do continuous testing of SANRAL, e-tolls and road safety."

"We don't like to shoot in the dark: like shooting twenty bullets and hoping one hits. We look at it strategically and plan when to flight campaign ads. For instance, intensive campaigns are run before school holidays etc. and use strategic placement, not just print but radio and pamphlets: when people are on holiday, will they read newspapers? Or is it better to try to reach them via another medium like TV and radio?"

The earlier over-reliance on traditional media seems to have affected the success of the campaign, according to the respondents. Importantly, the lack of the use of social media (other than to monitor it) can be identified as a major gap in the SANRAL strategy.

"Only afterwards we started using personal interaction when it became clearer that this was the way to go. Only used social media this year, but monitored it in the previous years."

"To only use mass media to do this is not possible. That's why our campaign involves a myriad of tools: the biggest that we use is stakeholder engagement.

> We have a responsibility to disseminate information but also have an obligation to talk to people and to try and get them to understand us."
>
> "We started social media pages in March [2015] for SANRAL and slowly introduced a dedicated account for e-tags too. Now that there is an engagement and it is staffed, people are more positive."
>
> "We introduced our own media platforms, because we weren't being treated fairly on other platforms and have a number of publications: *N Route* once a month, *By the Way* every two months and distributed at toll plazas and shops, the *SANRAL Investing in… series*."
>
> "We use a lot of different campaigns across all our offerings (non-toll related) to help build SANRAL brand and trust. We only introduced social media in March 2015. You can't be on social media if you don't have someone 24/7. For the two years before social media was so highly negative for us, so we couldn't be involved: we didn't want to play in the gutter and we didn't have the human resources to manage it. We monitored it but did not engage with it."

These explanations for SANRAL's lack of social media engagement shows a very traditional approach to the tolling campaign: the use of advertising to help build brand, publishing in-house magazines to distribute, and providing interviews and rebuttals to news stories. In contrast, the OUTA defiance-campaign's astute use of social media to frame the argument as David vs Goliath, could well be part of the reason for its apparent success.

Furthermore, both respondents gave answers that reflect an understanding of the importance of peer-to-peer and interpersonal interactions – components of the two-step and multi-step communication model.

Both respondents explained ways in which their planning for the campaign had been affected by the challenges they had faced in implementing the tolling messaging previously.

> "We now also use billboards and electronic boards, but only those that comply with road safety considerations."
>
> "We are trying to push print content, especially complicated messaging, into community media (TV, print, radio) and use simpler language."
>
> "We also will be holding stakeholder engagements – meet the media, academics, business leaders and communities, all around the country."

In assessing the success of the use of mass media in the SANRAL tolling campaign, the two respondents pointed to the many challenges faced, and were realistic about its success:

> "Probably 4 or 5 out of 10. It was not very successful. Accessing budget wasn't the biggest issue. We needed to have better engagement with people – not mass media only, to disseminate information, or a public service announcement – but to communicate with people directly, face-to-face through activations, open days and town hall meetings."

> "Previously, in SANRAL, stakeholder engagement was part of project not part of marketing and communication. That is why the communications team is so small, because people thought it is just placing an advert or an article "how difficult is it to write a press release once a year?" Stakeholder engagement was just a tick list on a project plan, not a way to engage people in conversation.

> The changes we see now in this attitude is not just in our project, but shows how marketing and communication is understood differently. It reflects the change in society: people are more informed now and want to be engaged on a subject not just be told."

> "I would rather have had a dedicated stakeholder engagement unit and not just using mass media as it was done."

> "We are rolling out the e-tag to other provinces, but it will be difficult because of the mistrust and negative perceptions people have now with this product, which is simply a more efficient method of payment of tolls (in exiting toll schemes)."

> "The problem is that people see SANRAL as being part of the government and any negative associations or feelings of mistrust they have for the government then is also applied to SANRAL and the tolls."

> "In order to persuade people that user-pays and tolling was the best decision, and to explain the fiscal policy of SA, the messaging must come from Treasury and Ministry of Finance, not SANRAL. While we can influence it, that does not help the person on the street understand what happened with their money. People see tolling as a waste of money but it is an international best practice to develop infrastructure. Similar state-owned agencies like Eskom, SAA also face the same issue."

The issue of having to tailor a communication campaign based on objectives and priorities that are personality or politically driven was also touched on by the respondents. Speaking in a general way about government communication practices,

one respondent said that the use of new and social media would not be too rapid:

> "Traditional media will keep being used. Can't see that changing much, because people still see it has a way of reporting their success: we've placed twenty ads. They (corporate people) don't particularly care if the ads have been seen by the right people. As long as their own photos is on the ad and lands up on their desk, they can tick it off their list."

As the above explanation shows, there is a clear effect when the behaviour change campaign has to deviate from its strategy and plans, especially following decisions made by "corporate people" who do not necessarily understand behaviour change strategy.

In summary, the most prominent hurdles the communication team faced was being "gagged" whilst 7 cases were being heard in court; having to deal with an unfavourable perception of government agencies as a whole, not necessarily their own brand; and an over-reliance on traditional forms of communication (newspaper advertising, for instance). In the next section, I will outline what the two communication practitioners personally understand about the power of mass media to effect changes in behaviour.

4.6.3 Personal Understanding of the Power of Mass Media

As in the previous case-study chapter, I provide a table of the answers given by each of the respondents to questions regarding their own personal understanding of the power of mass media. Using textual analysis and key words (which I have underlined for emphasis) in the respondents' answers, I look to determine which of the media theories outlined in my literature review chapter they reflect.

Please give a short summary of your own personal understanding of the power of the mass media to impact the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of an individual:	Quite strong. If mass media had been a little bit more objective, then we might have had more behaviour change. But mass media was very negative from 2012-2014 about tolling and we are still seeing the effect now. But people are consuming media, and they are influenced to change their behaviour not to buy the tag.	People make a behavioural decision based on many factors, and media consumption is only a small point of that decision. That's why we cannot say mass media can change behaviour. Mass media can change knowledge if you disseminate lots of information to people Attitude is aspect of what makes up someone's behaviour but not the defining one. Your personality and attitude has a role in how you make your

		decision. A lot of choices that you make is based on who you are as an individual: whether I follow the law is never a choice. That's how I was brought up. And that's why I don't question whether the law is correct. But some people will question even that. Some people will see something in the mass media and question it, but some people will just blindly accept it: "it is in the newspaper so it must be the truth". It is about whatever you come with, not necessarily what is in the media.
Do you think that the mass media can have an impact on the community, and does this affect an individual's choices? Please explain your answer:	Depends on the messaging, if appropriate.	<u>If you disseminate the same information with the same consistency in the same type of community, the likelihood is that people will accept what is said.</u> If you go to church, read the Beeld, read Huisgenoot, you'll probably accept whatever it says. People influence one another, when trusted peers (people that are the same as me) give you a recommendation then you follow that. The media, if it is one-side, can influence a community. If there is more than one voice and opinions being portrayed to the community through the media, it is more difficult. Communities can influence individuals. More than one voice and opinion, that becomes more

		difficult.
Conversely, can the individual have an impact on prevailing behaviours in a community (as in the case of the use opinion leaders in media campaigns)? Please explain your answer:	3rd party endorsements were tried. But they were shot down in social media and attacked them personally. Trying it again now. Using famous actresses and sports stars. Will know soon if it works or not. 2012-2014 it didn't work yet. Taxi rank engagement was not mass media. Looked at international best-case practices and saw that it used often. Mass media is effective if message is correct, targeted at right person and there are no negative environmental impacts.	We've tried one or two, had a lot of push back. Stopped and now will be used again. It depends on which community and the person's clout and the appropriateness. Won't listen to anyone I can't find rapport with. Someone you want to aspire to be. They can make a huge difference. They can be used successfully in campaign. It is about timing. It is easier to sell coke-cola than to sell toll.

How do you think the mass media impacts on the self-agency (the ability to act) of individuals or communities?	Mass media is devoured but it must be impactful to my life in some way. Depends on your messaging, which can be better in groups and face-to-face. Mass media is great for coke. When it comes to more personal issues people don't want to be approached on a mass media platform. They need a more intimate manner of communication.	Firm believer that if you have knowledge then you have power. Also believe that if it doesn't resonate with you, or if you aren't pre-conditioned, it won't change your behaviour. Don't think media is final push. It will make you aware, but to make final choice you need personal engagement and face-to-face has a much bigger impact than seeing something in the newspaper.
Given the personal perceptions that you have described above, how do these inform and affect the way you design and implement communications campaigns that aim to change an individuals' behaviour?	Over the years a bit of both: gagged at some points. When gagged can't communicate at all. Sometimes we are told we have to be on a platform and so we look for messaging that is appropriate. Must have proper aim and be able to back it up when questioned. We have strategy and plan, and try to involve what "they" want into the plan without stepping out of strategy. E.g. billboards used because of ministry request. Some campaigns pulled: not because of budget (based on what they have), but because of political environment and legal issues with court cases. Have lots of strategy but asked to withdraw	A lot of the realization has come through the experience of working on the project. I was naïve about how people consume media, and how newspapers work. I've done media theory, but experiencing it first hand, it made me see that a lot of the stories we read are not quite true. When we do communications now, we have brought in a whole new component on activations and outreaches and start going to people and explaining. Traditional media will keep being used. Can't see that changing much, because people still see it has a way of reporting their success: we've placed twenty ads. They (corporate people) don't particularly care if the ads have been seen by the right people.

	campaigns due to political considerations. "we are not here to clothe the nation": no t-shirts and caps. Rather things that help you e.g. slapawrist band to help you be visible on the road.	As long as their own photos is on the ad and lands up on their desk, they can tick it off their list. We have changed. We have remained doing mainstream mass media, are doing it smarter. Are engaging more frequently and on different platforms. Social media is the way to talk to someone individually. Helping someone directly not just sending them information. Opening a dialogue. We are changing, but it is a slow process: need to bring everyone with you in decision-making process. People like their graphs and the value of the ad-spend. Metrics are powerful, but can't determine whether someone's life has been affected.

The respondents showed a degree of understanding of the factors that affect behaviour change, and the likelihood of doing so through the use of mass media.

In the textual analysis of the answers given by each of the respondents, I argue that the theories reflected by each place them along the continuum of theories as follows:

- Respondent One – describing the power of mass media as "quite strong" this interviewee seems to the Hovland "magic keys", when discussing attention, compliance and acceptance processes: "Mass media is effective if message is correct, targeted at right person and there are no negative environmental impacts. The respondent also gave responses that show the importance of interpersonal communication – which reflects the two-step model.

- Respondent Two: this interviewee gave answers that showed understanding of knowledge and attitude formation, which are key to the De Fleur

> Psychodynamic approach: "Mass media can change knowledge if you disseminate lots of information to people. Attitude is aspect of what makes up someone's behaviour but not the defining one. Your personality and attitude has a role in how you make your decision."

4.7 Summary

I began this chapter on SANRAL explaining why it is important to assess the case study from the organizational level, then to look at a the chosen campaign and then to analyse the responses given by the communication practitioner. This process is in order to better understand the practitioners' working context, as well as their own understanding of the use of mass media in behaviour change campaigns.

Using the models and theories outlined in the literature review section of this thesis, I aimed to better understand how the communication practitioners interviewed understands is the power of the mass media to impact behaviour change, especially given the particular South African context in which they work. Although all three of the case-studies I present are all "home-grown", it can be argued that the SANRAL one shows a quintessential South African campaign, especially as it highlights some of the challenges that could face other campaigns run by government agencies.

As a summary of the arguments I have made above, I start with the heart of the analysis, which is that despite millions spent on the campaign to persuade South African road users to purchase e-tags, the vast majority have not.

According to the Mail & Guardian (Mail & Guardian, 2013) SANRAL spent "about R25.3-million during the period January to October [2013] on campaigns to encourage the public to buy e-tags. This was in addition to about R11.3-million spent in November and December [2012]." However, as of the date of the article, out of 2 107 000 e-tags procured by SANRAL over the three previous years, as many as 1 427 900 had still not been sold.

By early December 2015, the news was still highly unfavourable for SANRAL. In an article dated 5 December 2015, an estimate is given of less than 1% of e-toll debts being collected in the first month of the discounted, new dispensation. (IOL, 2015). Quoting OUTA in the first half of the article, it said:

> "The Opposition to Urban Tolling Alliance (Outa) has had the last laugh regarding what it has termed a failed e-toll collections system in the province by SANRAL…. the public had spoken and sent a strong message to the government that they would not be coerced, intimidated or fooled into paying these irrational e-toll taxes."

The paragraph quoted above helps illustrate the key problem facing SANRAL: it

failed to persuade users that the tolling scheme was legitimate and that the user pays principle is legal and fair.

4.7.1 Important findings

Some of my findings, through the assessment of the first case-study, are important to highlight.

There are guidelines and frameworks within which the SANRAL communications unit must operate, and as will be outlined throughout this chapter, this has an effect on the team's ability to effectively conduct its behaviour change campaign. This tie-in to government strategy and practice helps explain the tone and method of the SANRAL media campaigns.

There seems to be a detrimental effect when the behaviour change campaign has to deviate from its strategy and plans, especially following decisions made by "corporate people" who do not necessarily understand behaviour change strategy. This was encapsulated in a comment made by one respondent who said that there would always be newspaper advertisements (whether they were the most effective tool to be used or not), because "people like to see their picture in the paper".

The most prominent hurdles the communication team faced was being "gagged" whilst 7 cases were being heard in court; having to deal with an unfavourable perception of government agencies as a whole, not necessarily their own brand; and an over-reliance on traditional forms of communication (newspaper advertising, for instance).

Previously, in SANRAL, stakeholder engagement was seen to be part of the scope of the project team, and not part of marketing and communication. This was given as the reason why the communications team is relatively small, "because people thought it is just placing an advert or an article "how difficult is it to write a press release once a year?". Again, this point to a lack of understanding of the importance a well-resourced communication unit, one which is able to make strategic decisions based on the campaign objectives, on the part of decision makers and executives at SANRAL.

Table 1: Comparison of Social Media Platforms for SANRAL and OUTA, on 2 December 2015

The reliance on more traditional modes of communication shows an approach to communication that is more aligned to public relations.

Reporting of the number of pamphlets printed as an indicator of success is problematic, in that it does not show the number of people who chose to read that pamphlet, but rather how many were distributed.

	OUTA	SANRAL
Total Facebook Page Likes	40,720	23,557
Total Twitter Followers	7,076	1,376 = 1,009 (@SANRAL_za) + 367 (@SANRAL_etoll)

The lack of the use of social media to build up an interactive brand could arguably be one of the main factors in the low uptake of the e-tags. The comparison to the way OUTA was able to mobilize popular support through social media is encapsulated through Table 1. SANRAL has almost half of the followers OUTA does on Facebook, and just less than seven times less the number of Twitter followers. As discussed above, the policy of the communication team was not to engage on social media, as it would need to be monitored "24/7" and it would provide a platform for attacks on their product. The lost opportunity, of using social media to build bridges to their target audience, could perhaps have added a dimension of participatory communication to the campaign.

SANRAL's communication strategy appears to be best explained by the "compliance gaining". Compliance gaining uses the power – both perceived and real – of the persuader over the audience to get others to act in the way they want. Some of these "compliance-gaining" strategies are reward, punishment, debts, altruism, and conformity.

Respondent one, describing the power of mass media as "quite strong", seems to the Hovland "magic keys", when discussing attention, compliance and acceptance processes.

Respondent two showed understanding of knowledge and attitude formation, which are key to the De Fleur Psychodynamic approach.

In the next chapter of this thesis, I conclude the series of case studies by presenting the Soul City example. Though it is another health-related communication organization, it has a different methodology to that of loveLife, and seemingly understands the role of the media in a different way to SANRAL.

5. Case-Study 3 – Soul City

In this last case study presented in my thesis, I explore the establishment, strategy and methodology of one of South Africa's most successful behaviour change organizations, with a world-wide reputation for its innovative use of mass media, in particular of educational-entertainment, to advance its pro-social, developmental agenda.

The practitioner I interview as part of my research is one whose work is often cited by her peers, and who is acknowledged as an expert in the use of mass media to change behaviour.

I will begin, then, with a look at how the organization was started, its strategy and theory of change, and then move on to examine previous campaigns and the case-study campaign of Phuza Wize.

5.1 Background

The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication (Soul City) considers itself to be the "largest social change communication project in Africa" (2015) and is seen, by both global and national experts, to be a leader in using a combination of mass media, social mobilization and advocacy in health communication.

Soul City is described as being a "media and health NGO behind the large, multi-media, on-going, goal-oriented, media driven information and training initiative that works for social change in the South African society…" (Tufte, 2001, pp. 25-26).

Other researchers (Selikow T.-A. , Flisher, Mathews, & Ketye, 2006) describe the organization as being "explicitly located as a social-change project with aims to impact at individual, community and socio-political levels" (p. 67) and a "commendable South African example of the integration of prevention messaging with care, support and treatment messaging" (p. 66).

It is interesting, in terms of the focus of my thesis, to note the emphasis Soul City places on its use of mass media to change behaviours, through a particular focus on self-agency and rights-based advocacy:

> "Using a combination of mass media, social mobilisation and advocacy, the Soul City Institute aims to improve the quality of life and health of people in Southern Africa through strengthening individuals, communities and society based on active citizenship and principles of social justice. It is driven by the recognition that human rights are fundamental to health and development." (The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, 2015)

5.2 Establishment, Strategy and Campaigns

5.2.1 Establishment

Two medical doctors working in Johannesburg, South Africa established Soul City in 1992. Drs. Garth Japhet and Shereen Usdin teamed up to provide health education messaging through mass media, initially as a way to prevent child-death due to diarrhoea. Dr Japhet "was working as a medical doctor at a clinic in Alexandra, a township just north of Johannesburg. The number one cause of child-death in Japhet's clinic was diarrhoea, which was easily preventable death if mothers knew about how to rehydrate their child. Teaming up with another medical doctor, Dr. Shereen Usdin, Japhet launched Soul City, a health education initiative that was to reach the people through multimedia edutainment programming." (Lacayo & Singhal, 2008)

The choice of broadcast media, versus more traditional print media, to act as the vehicle for the Soul City health messaging, shows an understanding of the socio-economic contexts of the South African audience – namely the inaccessibility of placing messages in print media when so many of the target audience would have difficulty reading. "At this point TV and radio entered the picture. Despite resistance from scriptwriters and directors Garth Japhet, and with him Shereen Usdin, stood their ground and developed the idea behind Soul City I; the first 13 TV episodes with supplementing educational material." (Tufte, 2001, p. 27)

Soul City was thus formed to act as the delivery mechanism of appropriate, socially impactful educational and advocacy messaging. Arguing that Soul City has set an international best practice, Tufte (2001, p. 9) states that Soul City "has developed an inclusive vehicle where the core agents of change are the audiences although the unit of change transcends the individual viewers, listeners and readers, being the broad society". Tufte also outlines the strengths of this approach, identifying four main factors: 1. information has and continues to be made accessible, real and appropriate to the audience; 2. very thorough formative research stage; 3. the audience plays a crucial role in the overall message development process; and 4. the audience is ultimately the agents of change, deciding itself how and if to use the information provided.

The integration of evidence-based research and audience participation and interaction, with the use of mass media is an approach to behaviour change campaigns that fits in squarely in the scope of my research, and I will use the next few sections to unpack Soul City's strategy and campaigns.

5.2.2 Soul City Strategy

The strategic focus of Soul City, as well as its understanding of how behaviour change can be effected, is elaborated in the theory of change diagram (see figure 1 below), provided on the Soul City web site (About Us, 2015).

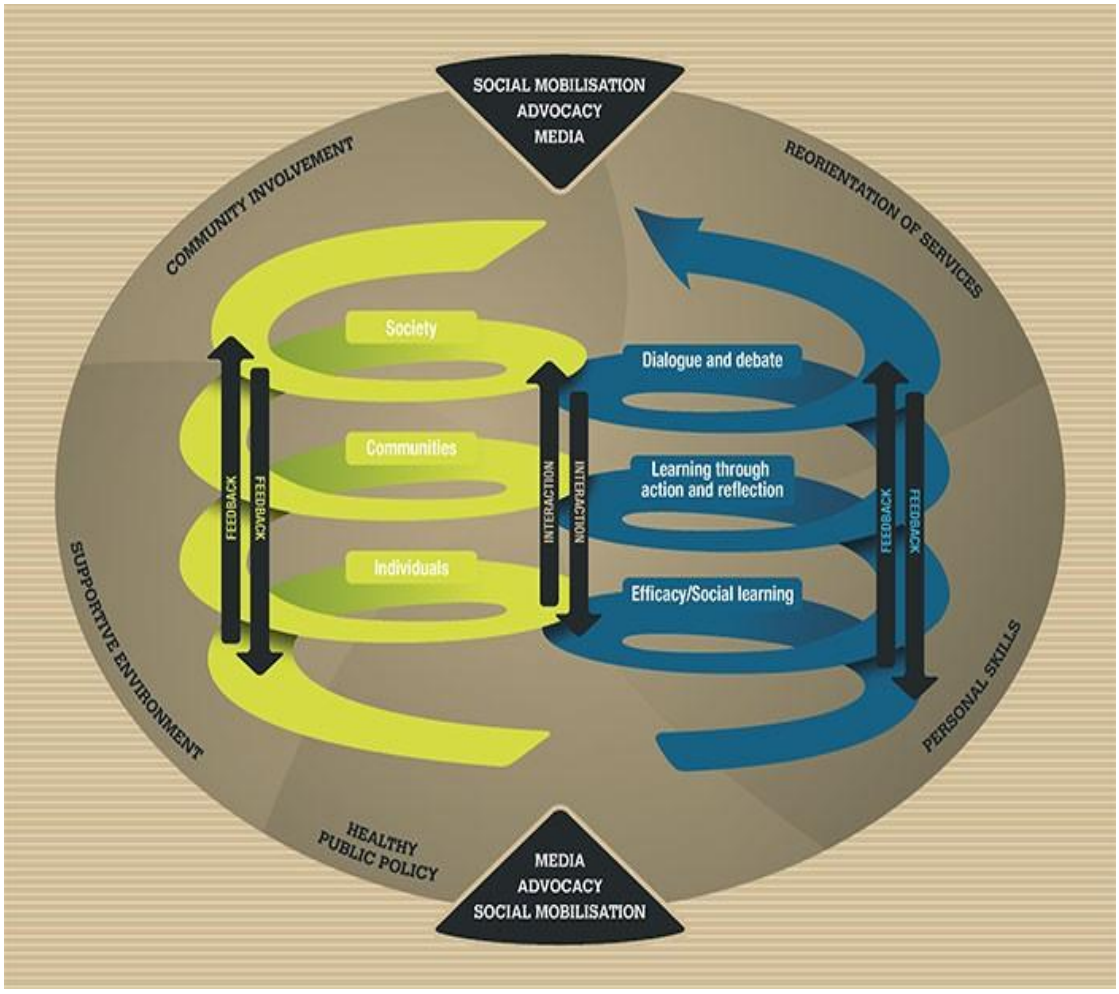


Figure 1: Theory of Change Diagram, Soul City (About Us, 2015)

The diagram shows how the organization sees circular and cyclical linkages between "social mobilisation, advocacy, media", and "individual, communities, society", all being affected through feedback and interaction with "efficacy/social learning, learning through action and reflection, dialogue and debate". This theory of change is a thorough and thoughtful one, and reflects an analytical and evidence-based approach to the work of behaviour change.

A framework within which to use communication to effect social change, through addressing enabling environments and contextual factors was proposed by Warren Parker (Parker, 2004, p. 4) many elements of which are present in the Soul City theory of change. This includes:

> "Moving away from people as objects of change, towards people and communities as agents of change; moving away from delivering messages, towards supporting dialogues and debate on key issues; moving away from a focus on individual behaviour, towards a focus on social norms, policies, culture and supportive environments; moving away from persuasion towards negotiation and partnership; and finally moving away from external technical expertise, towards integrating communities in assessing issues of concern at

local level."

In an evaluation of ten years of HIV prevention messaging (Noar, Palmgreen, Chabot, Dobransky, & Zimmerman, 2009), the authors given an outline of factors of successful campaigns, as follows:

> "Although in a sense all mass media campaigns in the HIV/AIDS area can be viewed as tools to raise awareness, an argument could be made that the shift toward campaigns for behaviour change necessitates that interpersonal components be increasingly integrated into such efforts. One example of this would be integrating individual- or group-level behavioural interventions under the umbrella of larger HIV/AIDS campaign efforts, as such interventions have demonstrated widespread efficacy in HIV prevention." (p. 22)

As I have previously argued, the shift from awareness raising and education, to a focus on changing sexual health behaviour is typified by the use of the research-based, audience-centred methodology carried out by Soul City.

A respect for the audience is illustrated in Soul City's approach to baseline evaluations and messaging formation. "The aim is to acquire a precise knowledge of what the audiences know about the highlighted issues and make sure that local cultures are respected and messages introduced in to the narrative in a way which is not harmful nor disrespectful to the audiences." (Tufte, 2001, p. 40)

Tufte further elaborates that the emphasis on community action and policy changes – and not just changes in individuals' knowledge, attitude and actions – is a major factor in Soul City's successes.

> "With Soul City we see the 'spreading' (diffusing) of culturally and linguistically adapted, localized, receiver-informed and receiver-oriented messages with broad geographical coverage. But not only do they provide information, articulating changes in attitudes and practices, they also strive to empower the local audiences to de facto social action and socio-political mobilization. One of the ways this is done is by incorporating community mobilization and action into the narrative.
>
> These elements in their strategy, combined with the advocacy and the strategic partnerships altogether suggests a more explicit social change agenda then traditionally seen in most entertainment-education, which has limited itself to speak mostly of individual behaviour change." (2001, p. 4)

In summary, the strategy and methodology carried out by Soul City follows a process which identifies, through research, an innovation or social learning, which it then uses the mass media to help promote, based on interaction and feedback from audiences. It also helps to provide a supportive environment, through structural and policy interventions, which assist the individual to change and sustain the behaviour change

being advocated in the campaign's messaging.

5.2.3 Soul City Campaigns

Explaining the methodology and process used by Soul City, Lacayo & Singhal (2008, p. 6) argue that the Soul City multimedia communication strategy of using television and radio drama to influence peoples' social norms, attitudes and behaviours, makes it "an international leader in public health promotion".

Importantly, Lacayo & Singhal attribute this success to the thorough preparations and evaluations carried out in the design of Soul City's campaigns:

> "Soul City uses an exhaustive research process to create highly compelling storylines. For each of its series, Soul City chooses prioritizes three or four health and development issues to address, and holds consultations with experts, civil society groups, medical doctors, and scholars. Its in-house researchers engage in a long consultative process with audiences, trying to understand what they know about the issue, how they feel, and what barriers prevent them from practicing desired behaviours. Accordingly, scripts are developed and pre-tested for their entertainment and educational value, clearing the way for production, broadcast, and distribution of multi-media materials." (Lacayo & Singhal, 2008, p. 6)

In a report based on an evaluation of the fourth series of Soul City, which was focused on gender-based violence, the authors argue that edutainment "has been shown to be a powerful mechanism to achieve social change objectives" (Usdin, Scheepers, Goldstein, & Japhet, 2005, p. 2435).

The importance of agency and "self-efficacy" is again highlighted as a pivotal factor in the success of behaviour change campaigns. Referring to edutainment as "para-social interaction", the authors explain the link, arguing that edutainment "allows for audiences to experience the lives of the characters vicariously and is an important device to enhance feelings of individual self and collective efficacy. The genre also allows for role modelling of positive norms, attitudes and behaviours, including help-seeking and help-giving actions" (Usdin, Scheepers, Goldstein, & Japhet, 2005, p. 2435).

An illustration of the continued success of Soul City's approach is provided by a 2012 audience survey. Assessing audience engagement through interactive and social media platforms, the research (Letsela, Button, Gule, Weiner, & Goldstein, 2013) found that the 13-episode, prime-time Soul City Series 11 TV drama reached an average of 6.8 million people an episode in 2011 on SABC 1.

The survey also showed that Soul City reached an estimated 12 thousand people per episode in 2012 through OneLove Talk broadcast on Soweto TV, and 1.5 million people through Kwanda Talk on SABC 1.

Having outlined some of the factors for the success of the campaigns that Soul City has conducted in the past – namely the process of engagement with its audiences to understand levels of information, types of attitudes and structural barriers to behaviour adoption, as part of the planning for the mass media campaign - I now turn to a specific Soul City campaign, which focused on alcohol use.

5.3 Case-Study Campaign: Phuza Wize

An example of a Soul City campaign, which uses research-based assumptions of how HIV-infection is spread to tackle specific risky behaviours, is the Phuza Wize campaign. *Phuza* is a commonly-used South African slang word for drinking alcohol[5], and Phuza Wize therefore can be understood to mean *to drink wisely*. This campaign is also an excellent example of Soul City's methodology: intensive research, edutainment and advocacy.

5.3.1 Linking Alcohol and HIV Prevention

The link between alcohol consumption and abuse, and an increase in risky behaviours is well-established, as are its concurrent effects: "along with its pleasures and benefits, drinking brings many problems for developing societies, including trauma, violence, organ system damage, various cancers, unsafe sexual practices, and injuries to the brain of the developing foetus. These are in addition to negative economic and social consequences". (The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, 2013, p. 4)

In a booklet (2013) it produced as a guideline for successful edutainment, Soul City provides the following insight, explaining the genesis of the campaign, citing Phuza Wize as a best practice case study:

> "In 2007, Soul City Institute was investigating topics for a new series and research showed that alcohol abuse and binge drinking in South Africa are extremely high.
>
> During focus groups, participants talked of how alcohol is commonly used in their communities by youth and adults. …People strongly linked violence and alcohol abuse. … Alcohol increases levels of interpersonal violence and incidents of unsafe sex. This research sparked the creation of the Phuza Wize Campaign, launched in 2010. "

Warren Parker (2004, pp. 2-3), in an analysis of the concept of behaviour change in the HIV/AIDS prevention framework, highlights the need to recognize and actively address what he calls "disabling contexts" such as "poverty, unemployment, labour migration, rapid urbanization, and war. Related factors include inadequate health and

[5] http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=phuza+thursday

social services infrastructure…varying cultural practices, gender power differentials…Such factors disable volitional control over sexual activity and contribute to overall vulnerability to HIV infection."

In a presentation on one of the associated Phuza Wize outreach campaigns (Kalideen & Weiner, 2013), the particular South African context is illustrated through findings of a community-based survey:

> "Risky sex is common after alcohol consumption. Furthermore, women are particularly vulnerable to sexual assault when they are in public drinking places or travelling home from drinking places. Women are also vulnerable to sexual assault when they are in the vicinity of the drinking place, even if they have not been there or are not drunk. Given the high prevalence of HIV in [the province], these stories of risky sexual behaviour and sexual assaults show that alcohol consumption by both men and women places women at increased risk of contracting HIV".

The national nature of this problem is shown by the results of a Youth Risk Behaviour Survey, carried out by the South African Medical Research Council in 2002 (Kalideen S. , 2010), which found that 31.8% of male and 26.4% of female students were drinkers (they had consumed alcohol within the month preceding the survey); and that the national average for students involved in binge drinking was 23%.

5.3.2 Phuza Wize campaign

Launched in March 2010, along with series 10 of the Soul City television programme, the aims of the Phuza Wize campaign (The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, 2016) were multi-pronged, and directed at the individual, the community and the policy environment. It sought to shift the social norms away from excessive alcohol consumption and related violence by promoting non-violent ways of resolving conflict; by building the capacity of communities to participate in the monitoring and regulation of alcohol trade; popularising the 10 criteria of Safer Social Spaces (see section 6.3.3 below); by promoting the need for alcohol-free schools; and by lobbying for legislative change to regulate the sale, marketing and consumption of alcohol.

As well as being central to the Soul City tenth series, Phuza Wize messaging was also included in the Soul Buddyz television drama, aimed at 8-14 year olds (Kalideen S. , 2010) and incorporated into the more recent Kwanda programme (The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, 2016).

An overview of the campaign strategy was provided in the Soul City 2013 Edutainment manual (p. 26), presenting Phuza Wize as a case study:

> "The Phuza Wize Campaign combined two television dramas, Soul City for adults and Soul Buddyz for children, with print materials, radio and on-the-

ground social mobilisation and advocacy.

A storyline in Soul Buddyz grappled with the issue of alcohol in school. The series is set at Klipville Primary School, where alcohol is a big problem. It wreaks havoc in the lives of the Soul Buddyz children and their families. Forget, a young boy, is bust selling alcohol and is terrified not only about his punishment from the school, but how he will deal with his brother who is involved with local gangsters. In the end, the children at the school collectively take action to stop alcohol being sold at the local shebeen/pub.

The Phuza Wize advocacy campaign helped selected provinces and departments develop alcohol laws. Phuza Wize held media roundtable discussions to open the public debate and published a guide for journalists on alcohol marketing in South Africa."

5.3.3 Advocacy

An important component of the Phuza Wize campaign was its attention to the structural factors behind risky behaviours linked to alcohol consumption. This included looking at the way alcohol is advertised and how and where it is sold.

One part of the campaign was to advocate for a **10-point Safer Social Spaces** criteria (The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, 2010, p. 17), for use by alcohol sellers (especially in poorer, marginalized communities):

1. Do not liquor sell to intoxicated people.
2. Do not sell to children under the age of 18 years.
3. Do not sell to visibly pregnant women.
4. Sell food and non-alcoholic drinks; and also make water available.
5. Have good lighting, clean toilets and adequate security.
6. Do not have more than 3 people per square metre.
7. Mark clearly and adhere to inside and outside serving areas.
8. Display safe sex messages and condoms.
9. Discourage customers from driving when drunk.
10. Opening and closing times:

    - 14h00 to 20h00 (Sun); 13h00 to 20h00 (Mon – Thur); 13h00 to 24h00 (Fri – Sat)

Partly as a result of the advocacy work carried out by Soul City – which included participation and presentations in conferences and seminars, and in regional and national partnerships (Letsela & Kalideen, 2014) – in May 2015 the Minister of Trade and Industry gazetted the National Liquor Policy[6], including many of the points included above. This achievement was hard-won, especially with a concerted opposition from the alcohol-producers and advertising industries.

In a media release (2015) commenting on the new Liquor Policy, Soul City explained some of the challenges in affecting changes in the policy environment and the structural factors affecting alcohol use. Of particular interest is the approach taken to mitigate structural challenges to realizing the goals of the Phuza Wize campaign: "the national rules, which are effective immediately, supersede local laws. This was a critical demand of the Phuza Wize campaign since 2009, when research identified the lack of synergy between national, provincial and municipal laws, effectively allowing provinces and municipalities to bypass good national alcohol laws".

The community mobilization aspect of the Phuza Wize campaign adds a further dimension to Soul City's reach. The community-based activities included dialogues, stakeholder mapping, training on community mapping for activists and interviews with affected youth. (Letsela & Kalideen, 2014)

4.1.1 Phuza Wize successes

An early indication of the success of the media component of Soul City series 10 was the viewership figures for the first three instalments. In a media release available on its web site (2010), Soul City boasts that two of its programmes (Soul City and Love Stories) were "amongst the most watched and enjoyed programmes in South Africa". The release also includes the following table of viewership figures for the Phuza Wize related Series 10.

	Soul City ***Audience Ratings (position)**
Week 1	20.8 (3)
Week 2	21.4 (3)
Week 3	20.8 (3)

These figures are borne out by a later evaluation of the campaign (Weiner, Kalideen, Connell, Mabhena, Goldstein, & Ndondo, 2013), which found of the population of South Africa aged 16-55 years, 45 per cent were exposed to the campaign and of those they were significantly more like to cut down on their drinking.

[6] http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/38808_gen446.pdf

5.4 Analysis of Soul City's Use of Mass Media

As a summary of the preceding sections of this chapter, and before looking at the answers given by the Soul City communication practitioner, I will provide an assessment of the way the organization uses mass media.

As I have outlined extensively above, the Soul City approach is one most often aligned with edutainment – a process which has been defined as (Tufte, 2005, p. 162) "the use of entertainment as a communicative practice crafted to strategically communicate about development issues in a manner and with a purpose that can range from the more narrowly defined social marketing of individual behaviours to the liberating and citizen-driven articulation of social change agendas".

Soul City is thus often used as an example to show the success of Educational-Entertainment, or Edutainment, as discussed in section 2.7 above. Its success and reach is often referred to as being in millions and its longevity and innovation provides support for such an assertion.

The linking of the underlying understanding outlined in the diffusion of innovation theory and of social marketing theory (see section 2.5 and 2.6 above) may also help explain the strengths of the Soul City model.

In a 2001 assessment of the Soul City communication strategy, Thomas Tufte argues that "Soul City's 'edutainment vehicle' is developed from within the social reality of South Africa, elaborating excellent social marketing strategies and combining them with participatory components that promote dialogue, challenge power structures and promote community-based action" (2001, p. 4).

As another example of the way Soul City seems to use its understanding of local contexts to its advantage is its choice to use broadcast media, versus print media, to act as the vehicle for the Soul City health messaging. As I have argued previously, this shows a respect for the difficulties being faced by target audiences, whose socio-economic contexts – including poverty and illiteracy – would put print-based messaging out of the reach of most.

Other theories and approaches which are reflected in Soul City communication strategies are those of Diffusion of Innovation (which it includes in its theory of changes, see above); as well as those under the Development Communication umbrella. In particular, the approach of Communication for Social Change (see section 2.9 in the literature review chapter) seems to explain the ethos behind the communication strategy, which is a horizontal, more democratic form of communication which takes into account structural barriers to sustained behaviour change.

5.5 Soul City Staff Interview

A founding member and senior executive of Soul City, Dr. Sue Goldstein, was interviewed on 6 July 2015.

Name	Sue Goldstein
Current position	Executive: Monitoring & Evaluation
Educational	Medical doctor in community medicine
Length of time working in communications field	22 years

4.1.2 Strategic and day-to-day operations for communications at Soul City

Since Soul City is, at core, a communication organization, most of the decisions made affect how it carries out communication for development. As the respondent describes the organization, "Soul City is a communication for health and development organization."

In terms of the expertise on her team, the respondent explain that some are experienced educators, and some people trained in public relations, and others are trained in social and behaviour change communication, through Wits, a degree which Soul City helped set up.

An executive team makes organizational and operational decisions, whilst a senior management team makes most strategic decisions. They have different departments, which include: a media unit which deals with traditional (radio, print, TV) media and social media; a community unit deals with social mobilisation and training; a team that deals with research, testing, and evaluation; and an advocacy unit.

All units work together around a common campaign. The process of devising campaigns begins with formative research - which includes literature review, target audience research and key stakeholder research. The advocacy unit conducts further research on issues which are raised through formative research.

Having been with Soul City since its formative years, the respondent was able to talk about the genesis and evolution of the philosophy of Soul City:

> "Our philosophy – the Soul City philosophy which has been developed over the years – is based partly on the 1986 Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion but also on our experience of the media, of social mobilization and the integration of those different parts into campaigns.

> The 1986 Ottawa Charter says we need to make the healthier choice the easier choice. This is still core to our philosophy."

Reflecting on why Soul City has been successful in South Africa, and how mass media has been a key instrument in that success, the respondent provided insight on its key audience, and their uses and gratifications (see section 2.4.1 above) from using mass media, in particular educational entertainment.

> "We used to think that the more media naïve someone is, the more power the media has on him or her. When we started Soul City in 1985, 60% had access to TV. As people have increased their socio-economic status slightly, the first thing they buy is a TV, because it is a form of escapism.
>
> Now people are less media naïve but they still really, really want to see themselves. Unfortunately, there is so much American TV, and there are even quite a few of our local soaps which are not reflecting the reality of most people."
>
> "When people (especially from poor communities) see something on TV, it seems to help validate it. They don't have a voice beyond their own, often small, framework. Very often it is young women, who even in their own families don't have a voice. So TV amplifies it and gives them [those on TV, community health worker for example] a voice."
>
> "This is part of why people love Soul City: because it is for working class and unemployed people, people who hardly every see themselves on TV. And they hardly ever get that recognition that they are people and have validity in life."

The success of using drama to have social impact and to effect behaviour change was also discussed.

> "The beauty of the drama is that people change at different parts in the process and different aspects of the drama will speak to them differently.
>
> Measuring it [impact of mass media on behaviour change] is very difficult, and it is difficult to show but anecdotally it is huge. We have been able to show associations between our drama and positive behaviour and shifts in some of the norms."
>
> "Mass media validates community-based work and gives entry to communities.
>
> For instance, we've just done a show on community health workers. Afterwards the health workers said it had helped explain what they do to their families, and to the communities in which they work. It helps validate their work – it had suddenly become real to them."

Throughout the interview, the respondent made references to research results – either from studies conducted by other experts, or Soul City's own. Much of the reasoning behind operational and strategic decisions seems to be made on these results.

> "Messaging can go horribly wrong unless do proper testing of the material. Can't assume people's thoughts. When messages are often developed by some expert and then inserted into the programme, it won't work."

> "Pre-testing is important. For example, there was an oral rehydration campaign that talked about using a 1L bottle of soft drink to mix the solution. But the people it was aimed at couldn't afford the bottle and didn't know how to translate the formula to use a cup, which they did have. So pre-testing would have saved that campaign and the wasted money. And it can save lives."

> "Most organizations don't do enough pre-testing. It is getting better. Soul City has been trying to encourage others in the sector to do regular, systematic pre-testing.
>
> And another issue is that very few actually do any evaluation afterwards either. When they claim success, you have to ask: how are you measuring that success and what do you mean by it?"

5.5.1 Analysis of the Phuza Wize campaign by the Respondent

When asked to describe the reasoning behind the Phuza Wize campaign, the respondent explained that it had originated in audience research in 2007 and that alcohol was soon flagged by Soul City as an important factor in HIV prevention messaging.

> "The Phuza Wize campaign started out as a violence prevention campaign. Through formative research process, saw that alcohol came up very strongly as one of the determinants of violence. So we decided to look at alcohol, and through the literature and the formative research and stakeholder consultation, we decided to focus much more on the structural aspects of alcohol, rather than individual education."

> "There is a strong weight of evidence across the world, looking at impact of alcohol. In 2012 the British medical council produced a very strong document which looked at alcohol and youth and what are the things that really impact. WHO has a very strong set of priorities for alcohol, and there have been international agreements on the issue, including on restriction of alcohol advertising, pricing and a whole range of factors."

> "The Phuza Wize campaign looked at making drinking places safer. We

> wanted to work with a range of groups and institutions to make any place that serves alcohol into a safer place. That means decreasing the amount of alcohol consumed, having food available, having soft drinks available, having formal delineated spaces where alcohol is sold, having better security, better lighting, proper toilets etc. Basically, what became the "10-point Safer Social Spaces" [see section 6.3.3 above]."
>
> "We worked with number of people, including Taverners' Association of South Africa. We separated alcohol producers from alcohol sellers. Sellers are often poor people in the communities and we wanted them to be part of the solution. Alcohol producers only have one intention and that is to increase their sales."

In terms of using the mass media to in the campaign, the respondent explained that Phuza Wize had followed the normal Soul City methodology of research, messaging, and policy intervention.

> "When we run a campaign, when we can afford it, we have a series on Soul City, which popularizes the concepts and ideas through story telling, through showing people behaving in a certain way – using Bandura's social learning theory [see section 2.7 above]."`
>
> "We had the TV drama, Soul City. Some PSAs [public service announcements] were flighted at fan parks during the 2010 world cup, but we did not have enough money to show it more than a few times on national TV.
>
> "With the Phuza campaign, we also had some PSAs, which we don't usually have because they are very expensive and we are not convinced of their value. It is hard to measure value of PSAs, but in the Phuza campaign we did have some of those, because we were encouraged by partners."
>
> We also had a radio talk show, broadcast after each episode aired, on SABC stations, in a number of languages, to discuss the issue.
>
> There was also some print material: a booklet called "Phuza Wize", which focused on structural issues, and an older booklet called "Alcohol and You", which focused on the effects on the individual.
>
> And we used "cut downs", which are segments taken from the drama, with open endings, to stimulate discussions around the issue in community dialogues."

The interviewee identified a weakness in the campaign's use of social media, when asked to assess the use of social media in the Phuza Wize campaign.

> "We didn't use social media so much for Phuza Wize, except for Twitter,

which we use as more as an advocacy tool.

We were not so good at using social media for Phuza Wize, it was not a major success. But back then social media wasn't really the way to reach the audience then given cellphone ownership in 2010. Our audience wasn't linked in to social media at that time."

Describing the community-based components of the Phuza Wize campaign, the interviewee described how relationships and partnerships established during previous Soul City projects, such as the Kwanda campaign, were taken advantage of in the implementation of the Phuza Wize social mobilization component. This include stakeholder mapping, on partnerships with existing networks and on interactions with communities.

"This component trained people in communities to map their communities (to see how many alcohol-sales and outlets there are, for example), to look at forming groups to deal with alcohol.

Building on Kwanda communities was useful. For example, we worked with a community policing forum to monitor places that sell alcohol, and to help drunk people get home safely, especially young women."

"Community dialogue was aimed at getting voices of people who are not often heard. Communities are not flat and the people who are most powerful are often bottle storeowners. In order to mitigate this power imbalance, we organized meetings between communities and tavern owners, for instance.

There is a very powerful way of communities engaging locally in a local way. People have more power than they know they have. If you help them organize and engage, they can access that power and make a change."

In the opinion of the respondent, one of the most successful components of the Phuza Wize campaign was its use of advocacy, or lobbying for changes in policy environments, which she described as being "especially effective". This analysis is borne out by other evaluations (see section 6.3.3. above).

"Advocacy included high-level advocacy, holding meetings, training journalists, going to inter-ministerial committee, but also the community-based advocacy, discussing these issues with the communities, getting people to look at what advertising they have around them."

"We made a number of presentations to inter-ministerial committee on alcohol, presenting ideas around alcohol and the Phuza Wize campaign, and about structural changes needed. We also suggested at looking at banning alcohol advertising and promotion; and that a dedicated tax from alcohol and tobacco industries fund a public health promotion foundation which would

fund prevention activities, including alcohol."

"Soul City is not prohibitionist: there is a place in society for alcohol but must be controlled and restricted. Harmful drinking practices need to change."

"Thankfully, our voice was heard. And this year [2015] they've made it into a national policy which uses almost all of our 10 safer spaces criteria. This is included in the Dept. of Trade and Industry's norms and standards.

There is also a new law which says that all provinces have to comply with the DTI policy."

The advocacy, although successful in that it helped produce new government policy, had substantial hurdles to overcome. This included lack of funding and of inconsistent national guidelines.

"One of the big issues is finding funding to do prevention work, especially for alcohol, for which funds dried up very, very quickly. Some of the funding we got was because of the link with HIV prevention, and some from the CDC. The only option that people kept suggesting to us, to fund Phuza Wize was the alcohol industry itself and we very vehemently refuse to take their money.

"We didn't have a lot of money for the Phuza Wize campaign, so we linked it to other campaigns."

"One of the major problems in alcohol advocacy in South Africa is that alcohol is not controlled at a national level, but only controlled at a provincial level. Even within some provinces there is no overall control and so each municipality has its own bylaws. For instance, in the Western Cape Fishoek is a "dry" municipality and sells no alcohol. But right next door is Kalk Bay, which does. So it is uneven and therefore ineffective.

"There is still work to be done around advertising restrictions. We are looking at the restrictions on tobacco advertising as a model. The alcohol producers have been very vocal in their opposition to this."

"In terms of success, according to the national communications survey (carried out in partnership with other organizations including loveLife, where they took a sample of 10,000 people and looked at their association between issues and their exposure), we had some success on individual level for the Phuza Wize campaign. But the big success was the advocacy. We've got very good reach for most of our work, and some of the alcohol community-based work is continuing, even though we no longer fund them."

An interesting analysis of the other alcohol safety campaigns being carried out in South Africa, and a point of difference with the approach taken by loveLife, was

given by the interviewee:

> "Industry [alcohol producers] is happy to fund campaigns in 3 areas: 1. underage drinking; 2. foetal alcohol syndrome; and 3. drinking and driving. But the way these are framed, they don't impact real alcohol consumption.
>
> For instance, if there is a million pregnant women every year, only a small percentage (less than 30%) of them drink anyway. They would then stop drinking for a period of time, or be drinking before they know they are pregnant.
>
> In terms of under-age drinking: in the US they found that when they had under-age campaigns, it glamorized drinking even more.
>
> With the "designated driver" campaigns, it says drink as much as you like, as long as one person is safe.
>
> These don't change the bottom line: we are selling as much, if not more, alcohol as ever.
>
> These campaigns are not changing drinking behaviours and customs and social norms."

The difference in philosophy, between other organizations' behaviour change messaging and that used by Soul City, is highlighted here: whereas others have a more advertising approach to behaviour change messaging, Soul City uses an approach that aims to change structural contexts for its audience.

In evaluating the success of Phuza Wize as behaviour change campaign, the respondent attributed it to the strength of advocacy, and the value audiences got from watching the Soul City series 10.

> "We reached a lot of people, despite the fact that one-off campaigns are normally less effective then those that go on for a period of time. To have another campaign on alcohol would be preferable."
>
> "Change takes a long time. It's a process, it is step-by-step, and it needs reinforcing.
>
> We underestimate the time needed to change behaviour. There is a belief that if you have a campaign then that's going to solve the problem. And it is a partial solution but it is not the whole solution."

Here, she provided valuable insights into behaviour change campaigns, including the understanding that an individual's behaviour change will often not be immediate, and that therefore campaigns that aim to change behaviour need to be sustained over time and to be planned and strategic.

5.5.2 Personal Understanding of the Power of Mass Media

Please give a short summary of your own personal understanding of the power of the mass media to impact the knowledge, attitudes and behaviour of an individual:	The shift from knowledge to attitude to behaviour is not linear. One of the things we've found over the years is that there isn't a huge association between attitude and behaviour, just knowledge and behaviour. Maybe attitude is harder to measure, because people express what they think they should be saying or what they think is the norm, rather than how they really feel. What we try to measure, rather, is perceived norms. And compare that to their own attitude to what they perceive to be the norm in their family and in their community. We find that their reported attitude is always more positive than perceived norms. This makes it more difficult to measure attitude and to know what is being measured. Sometimes behaviour or practice comes without either knowledge or attitude, just because of structural frameworks e.g. go to clinic, get vaccinated. We can change knowledge but not behaviour, or you can have negative attitude but change your behaviour to do what you think you should be doing. And, sometimes, people change their behaviour back.
Do you think that the mass media can have an impact on the community, and does this affect an individual's choices? Please explain your answer:	People discuss issues. There has been a clear link shown between discussion and adoption of behaviour. Media helps people come to a common way of thinking around things and framing how things are, which they may not have had before. A common way of thinking then creates the enabling environment needed for behaviour

	change. For example, there is the issue of smoking. Years ago, people used to smoke inside all the time. Now that is completely unacceptable. One of the important enablers of this change in smoking norms is change in government policy. People voted for their government and they really trust it. And if the government says that this is so bad we are controlling it as a substance, then people believe it, and starting changing how they perceive it. Also, if you make it difficult, it helps: smokers can't smoke inside anymore, you have to go outside etc. You're making the healthier choice the easier choice.
How do you think the mass media impacts on the self-agency (the ability to act) of individuals or communities?	There is a lot of anecdotal, qualitative evidence that self-agency is affected by mass media. People tell us that they saw something and realized they could change, or that they could do this, or do that. It has a huge impact. People change after watching progressing story, after observing change for themselves. We don't tell people what to do, but they are engaging emotionally with characters and seeing the change and understanding how it links to their lives. It also helps bring about change in socially unacceptable behaviours. Seeing the consequences of these behaviours helps the realization that this is unacceptable. By portraying certain actions as socially unacceptable, and if you "see" yourself on TV and it is depicted as socially unacceptable, what you are doing, it becomes clearer to you that you shouldn't be doing that.

Discussing her personal understanding of the impact of mass media on changes in behaviour, the interviewee made many references to research findings that support her belief that edutainment can help move an individual towards positive behaviours. This

is seen in her description of the effect of mass media on self-agency as having a "huge impact", and that messaging through mass media trigger conversations, which is important as "there has been a clear link shown between discussion and adoption of behaviour".

However, her explanation of the links between knowledge, attitude and behaviour change, and the need to rather look at perceived or subjective norms instead of attitude, seems to have been informed by some of the arguments made by Ajzen (1991, p. 179) – who argued that the way the individual perceives the attitudes of significant others (i.e. subjective norms), toward the desired behaviour will be taken into consideration before an intention is acted upon.

Elements of edutainment priorities are also reflected in the respondent's analysis of Soul City's approach to community mobilization:

> "We also very much believe in community action, of people working together for the common good, and organizing themselves, or being organized, for the common good, rather than the good of the individual. We are very against victim-blaming around some of these issues."

to advocacy:

> "And we believe that if we make structural changes than individual's health changes with it."

and to the use of mass media:

> "Soul City really believes in mass media. I really believe in mass media."
>
> "Our methodology is to see what media our target audience is already using and to harness that for our communication."
>
> using Bandura's social learning theory [see section 2.7 above]."`

This last analysis is especially important in light of the framework for success identified by proponents of the theory of Planned Behaviour, which says the audience should "not only be the 'target' of messaging initiatives but should play a central role in their design and implementation…" and that a campaign is "most successful when it uses a multi-media approach and when it is combined with interpersonal communication" (Selikow T.-A. , Flisher, Mathews, & Ketye, 2006, p. 61).

5.6 Summary

At the start of this chapter on Soul City, I provide a motivation as to its inclusion in this thesis: that Soul City has a reputation has a world-leader in the use of mass media to effect pro-social behaviours in general, and HIV prevention and health messaging

in particular. Furthermore, my interview with Sue Goldstein helped to provide answers on what her understanding is of the power of mass media to change behaviours and the assumptions on which these are based.

As I have argued throughout this thesis, it is necessary to provide assessments of the organization, the campaign and the practitioner taking into account theoretical approaches to the use of mass media to change behaviour.

As a summary of the arguments I have made above regarding Soul City as an organization, I look once more at the organization's approach as outlined in its theory of change. This theory of change relies on the reinforcing and recurring cycles of social mobilisation, advocacy and media, impacting on the individual, communities and society, through efficacy/social learning, learning through action and reflection, dialogue and debate.

In terms of its theoretical underpinnings, Soul City is a best practice example of the theory of Educational-Entertainment (or edutainment), as outlined in Section 1.7 above. In particular, it reflects the strength of using a mixture of mass media, community based-action, and advocacy for policy shifts, as described by Thomas Tufte "Because social and structural inequality lie at the core of the problem, the EE-initiative will advocate for social change – not excluding but often in addition to individual behavioural change – in order to find solutions. From a communications perspective, communication for social change is emerging as the key concept" (2005, p. 166).

Another approach which could help describe Soul City's strategy is that of Active Audience, which was referred to by Ngomba (2011, p. 11) as follows: "audiences and users of new media are increasingly active, selective, self-directed, producers as well as receivers of texts".

The case study campaign, Phuza Wize, is a good example of how mass media is used to provide knowledge and to facilitate observational learning, whilst concurrent activities take place to help overcome structural barriers. It thus is able to show the audience, who number in millions, using the tools of visual story telling, the impact of alcohol and substance abuse. However, knowing the context in which many of the audience members live, the campaign also aimed to impact the way in which alcohol is sold. This interaction between messaging and policy reflects the approach of Communication for Social Change.

In terms of the Soul City communication practitioner interviewed, it was notable the number of times the respondent made references to research results – either from studies conducted by other experts, or Soul City's own. Much of the reasoning behind operational and strategic decisions seems to be made on these results. The approaches that seem to be most indicative of particular theoretical assumption by the respondent in her interview were Edutainment, Theory of Planned Behaviour and Communication for Social Change.

6. Summary of Key Findings

I started this research wanting to identify assumptions held by communication practitioners about the use of mass media in behaviour change campaigns in South Africa. My motivation was to add to our understanding of the way behaviour change campaigns are run in South Africa, and hoped that part of that understanding comes from a better analysis of the points of view of the practitioners running the campaigns.

I asked three main questions:

I. What are the assumptions held by practitioners, about the impact and role of media in their campaigns that aim to change behaviour in South Africa?

II. Are these assumptions consistent with the way the mass media is used in their campaigns?

III. Is there a link between these assumptions and the apparent success, failure or difficulties faced by the campaign in changing behaviour?

In order to try to answer these questions, I selected three case studies, and tried to understand them from the point of view of the people that worked on them - in particular how the campaign used mass media. The case studies were of highly visible national organizations, each using the media in a particular way, with varying results: these were loveLife (one which has been controversial in its use of the media in the past), SANRAL (one that seems to have had trouble with its communication strategy) and Soul City (which runs seemingly successful campaigns).

The rationale for my thesis was based on my own experiences working in organizations that use mass media to effect changes in the behaviour of individuals. In addition, since South Africa is a developing country which nonetheless has an advanced media and active civil society, it makes it a particularly interesting context in which to study the way mass media is used to change behaviours of individuals. Some campaigns appear to be successful and yet others seem badly planned or ineffective.

Given the high cost of using mass media in a behaviour change campaign and the fact that in many cases it does not seem to have the desired effect, I wanted to understand what the practitioners assumed would be the effect of having media components in their behaviour change campaigns, and I also wanted to know in what theoretical approaches these assumptions were framed.

6.1 Literature Review

In order to address my first question – about the assumptions that practitioners may have about how mass media works – I needed to first identify and understand some of the relevant academic theories that try to explain the effects of mass media.

My first step then was to attempt to describe the normative frameworks within which the practitioner understands how media affects individuals. The normative framework, which I have outlined in the literature review chapter of this thesis, can be said to lie along a continuum, depending on how it views the power of the media to effect individual's choices, on whether peer-to-peer networks are important in this regard, and on whether it takes into account societal influences and structural barriers.

The literature that I reviewed began at the formative stages of mass media itself. Theories were covered that tried to explain the use of mass media as it was first used to elicit a change in behaviour from individuals – theories which saw the process as one where the power was held by those in charge of the media and the message, and very little by those receiving the communication. Key theories were the "magic bullet", Lasswell's Formula, compliance gaining and De Fleur's psychodynamic models.

Next I outlined theories that are more audience-centred, and explain the communication process from the point of view of the targeted audience or persuadee. Important here were Hovland's "magic keys", Lazarsfeld's two-step and multi-step, educational entertainment and diffusion of innovation theories.

In the final sections of this chapter, I turned to theories that take into account the state and structure of the society in which the individual is placed. In particular, I looked at the field of development communication and the approaches to social marketing and communication for social change.

Particular attention was paid to the evolution of our understanding of the way mass media works and its ability to affect our knowledge, attitude and behaviour.

As I have argued previously, practitioners' underlying attitudes – towards the effectiveness of the use of mass media in campaigns – will be biased towards one or the other of these theories, depending on a range of factors, including how much exposure a practitioner has had to the latest and differing theories and academic literature. This will then effect how the mass media is used in the campaign the practitioner designs, as well as the expectation of its efficacy.

In order to address my second research question – whether the assumptions held by communication practitioners are consistent with the way the mass media is used in their campaigns, I took a deeper look at the organization in which they work, and at a recent campaign of which they have been a part.

6.2 loveLife

This section is a summary of my findings from the case-study of loveLife. loveLife is a national organization targeting young people with health messages, especially HIV prevention. This organization was chosen to be included in my research because it has a history of a controversial use of mass media in behaviour change campaigns.

loveLife aims to support young people in making positive choices that will deter them from behaviours that drive HIV infection – including unsafe sexual practices, and drug and alcohol abuse. It focuses on the troika of individual, social and structural factors, aiming to impact all three in order to be able to effect sustained change.

The content of the messaging is aspirational, with campaigns that look to give individuals a sense of power – or agency – through the pro-social choices that they make.

loveLife has a history of using of mass media to spark controversy and dialogue. It has often used high-impact media campaigns, with provocative messages to shock young people (and their parents) out of complacency about the HIV epidemic.

This approach seems to be based on an understanding of the media described by the Hovland "magic keys" – attention, comprehension and acceptance. In order to change attitudes, they had to first grab the attention of the target audience, help improve their knowledge of the causes and effects of HIV, and then hope to gain their acceptance of the prevention messages of the campaign.

The environmental and societal factors that characterised the fight for HIV prevention in South Africa – including numerous other educational programmes and campaigns – saw loveLife having to readjust its approach. Its strategic focus seems to be best described by the development communication approach of the communication for social change model.

The Play4Life campaign, I argued, was effective in getting out the "clean fun" message, but an intervention that impacted the structural environment to ensure that young people would be *able* to choose "clean fun", could have improved the efficacy of the campaign, and justified its use of mass media components.

Other issues with the campaign included a seeming lack of shared understanding between the respondents of whether it had been successful. This could point to a lack of post-campaign evaluation, or a breakdown in communication if such an evaluation had been carried out.

The Play4Life campaign seems to rely more heavily on the Lazarsfeld two-step and multi-step models of communication, wherein the mass media is used as a way to trigger discussions between the target audience and their social and family circle. It also reflects some of the approaches advocated by the social marketing theory, in using catchphrases and providing a prize through an online competition.

The practitioners I interviewed also reflected some of these theories in their responses, but showed a more powerful belief in the power of mass media to change behaviour than is indicated in my assessment of loveLife as an organization, or of the Play4Life campaign.

One respondent seemed reflect more strongly aspects of the "magic bullet" and two-step models. The second appeared to believe more in the Hovland "magic keys" and the multi-step model. The third seemed to have assumptions based on the De Fleur psychodynamic theory.

6.3 SANRAL

In this section, I will provide a brief summary of some of my tentative findings about the SANRAL organization and its communication team. I chose to look at SANRAL as a case study because it has been running a campaign that seems to have fallen short of its objectives.

The South African National Roads Agency SOC Limited (SANRAL) was established in 1998 as an independent, statutory company registered in terms of the Companies Act (2008). The South African government, represented by the Minister of Transport, is the sole shareholder and owner of SANRAL. (SANRAL, 2015, p. 2)

A major project embarked on by SANRAL in recent years has been the Gauteng Freeway Improvement Project, which connects the Johannesburg and Pretoria cities with an expanded highway. The freeway is tolled using a new technology (for South Africa), an electronic tag, or e-tag, which charges the road user as the car passes under the electronic gantry.

Despite a multi-million rand budget for its communication campaign to encourage people to buy e-tags, SANRAL was unable to have nearly enough e-tags sold even when it had to resort to radically dropping its prices. I argued that the key problem facing SANRAL was that it failed to persuade users that the tolling scheme was legitimate and that the user pays principle is legal and fair.

There are guidelines and frameworks within which the SANRAL communications unit must operate, and this seems to affect the team's ability to effectively plan and strategize and conduct its behaviour change campaign. This tie-in to government strategy and practice helps explain the tone and method of the SANRAL media campaigns, seemingly following traditional lines of informing and instructing, rather than persuading.

There seems to be a detrimental effect when the behaviour change campaign has to deviate from its strategy and plans, especially following decisions made by "corporate people" who do not necessarily understand behaviour change strategy, or mass media theory. This was encapsulated in a comment made by one respondent who said that there would always be newspaper advertisements (whether they were the most

effective tool to be used or not), because "people like to see their picture in the paper".

The most prominent hurdles the communication team faced was being "gagged" whilst 7 cases were being heard in court; having to deal with an unfavourable perception of government agencies as a whole, not necessarily their own brand; and an over-reliance on traditional forms of communication (newspaper advertising, for instance).

Previously, in SANRAL, stakeholder engagement was seen to be part of the scope of the project team, and not part of marketing and communication. This was given as the reason why the communications team is relatively small, "because people thought it is just placing an advert or an article "how difficult is it to write a press release once a year?"". Again, this point to a lack of understanding of the importance a well-resourced communication unit, one which is able to make strategic decisions based on the campaign objectives, on the part of decision makers and executives at SANRAL.

The reliance on more traditional modes of communication seems shows an approach to communication that is more aligned to public relations.

Reporting of the number of pamphlets printed as an indicator of success is problematic, in that it does not show the number of people who chose to read that pamphlet, but rather how many were distributed. This could be an indication that thorough evaluations are not carried out.

The lack of the use of social media to build up an interactive brand could arguably be one of the main factors in the low uptake of the e-tags. The policy of the communication team was not to engage on social media, as it would need to be monitored "24/7" and it would provide a platform for attacks on their product. The use of social media could have introduced a more participatory model of communication to the campaign, and perhaps helped it bridge the gap created by using the compliance gaining approach only.

SANRAL's communication strategy appears to be best explained by the "compliance gaining". Compliance gaining uses the power – both perceived and real – of the persuader over the audience to get others to act in the way they want. Some of these "compliance-gaining" strategies are reward, punishment, debts, altruism, and conformity.

Respondent one, describing the power of mass media as "quite strong", seems to reflect the Hovland "magic keys", when discussing attention, compliance and acceptance processes.

Respondent two, showed understanding of knowledge and attitude formation, which are key to the De Fleur Psychodynamic approach.

6.4 Soul City

In this section, I provide some of my findings from my study of the Soul City organization, one that was included in this research as it has had a history of running apparently successful behaviour change campaigns.

Soul City is counted as one of the most important social change communication project in Africa and is seen, by both global and national experts, to be a leader in using a combination of mass media, social mobilization and advocacy in health communication.

The organization's approach is outlined in its theory of change. This theory of change relies on the reinforcing and recurring cycles of social mobilisation, advocacy and media, impacting on the individual, communities and society, through efficacy/social learning, learning through action and reflection, dialogue and debate.

In terms of its theoretical underpinnings, Soul City is arguably a best practice example of the theory of educational-entertainment (or edutainment). In particular, it reflects the strength of using a mixture of mass media, community based-action, and advocacy for policy shifts.

Another approach which could help describe Soul City's strategy is that of the active audience model, where audiences are active, selective, self-directed, as well as producers as well as receivers of communication messages.

The case study campaign, Phuza Wize, is a good example of how mass media is used to provide knowledge and to facilitate observational learning, whilst concurrent activities take place to help overcome structural barriers. This interaction between messaging and policy reflects the approach of the communication for social change model.

In terms of the Soul City communication practitioner interviewed, it was notable the number of times she made references to research results – either from studies conducted by other experts, or Soul City's own. Much of the reasoning behind operational and strategic decisions seems to be made on these results. The approaches that seem to be most indicative of her particular theoretical assumption were edutainment, theory of planned behaviour and the communication for social change model.

6.5 Conclusion

As I outlined at the beginning of this chapter, the aim of my thesis was to add to our understanding of how behaviour change campaigns are conducted in South Africa,

with a special focus on the assumptions underlying the choices made in the use of mass media in such campaigns.

The theoretical explanations of how mass media works, and how communication can be used as part of an arsenal to trigger behaviour change in individuals, is vast, and all add, in varying degrees, to our understanding of the South African context.

Having set out a theoretical framework to help answer the questions of what the assumptions of the practitioners were, my identification of the assumptions held by the practitioners and approaches that seem to be reflected in the organizations and in the case-study campaigns, for each organization, are matched as follows:

Practitioners	loveLife	Campaign
Respondents one: the answers provided by this respondent – such as describing the media as "the most effective method and tool" in behaviour change, and the power of positive modelling and positive peer pressure, point to this interviewee as being more inclined to believe in the power of the media to change the individual – reflecting both the "magic bullet" and a two-step models. Respondent two: this interviewee reflected assumptions that show both a belief in the power of the mass media to change the individual through sparking inter-personal conversation, as well as an assumption that credible opinion leaders are important in gaining compliance for behaviour change messaging. This	This approach seems to be based on an understanding of the media described by the Hovland "magic keys" – attention, comprehension and acceptance. In order to change attitudes, they had to first grab the attention of the target audience, help improve their knowledge of the causes and effects of HIV, and then hope to gain their acceptance of the prevention messages of the campaign. The environmental and societal factors that characterised the fight for HIV prevention in South Africa – including numerous other educational programmes and campaigns – saw loveLife having to readjust its approach. Its strategic focus seems to be best described by the communication for social change model.	The Play4Life campaign seems to rely more heavily on the Lazarsfeld two-step and multi-step models of communication, wherein the mass media is used as a way to trigger discussions between the target audience and their social and family circle. It also reflects some of the approaches advocated by the social marketing theory, in using catchphrases and providing a prize through an online competition.

respondent seems to reflect the multi-step model of communication, as well as the Hovland "magic keys", which relies on persuasion to change attitude and opinion and therefore have a positive impact on behaviour. Respondent three: the answers provided by this respondent reflected answers that had aspects of the "magic bullet" theory – "media is very powerful" – as well as aspects of the De Fleur Psychodynamic model as well observational theory: "Attitudes and fear of the unknown stop you from taking on the new behaviour. Seeing someone else do it, helps you get over that".		

Practitioners	SANRAL	Campaign
Respondent one, describing the power of mass media as "quite strong", seems to reflect the Hovland "magic keys", when discussing attention, compliance and acceptance processes. The respondent also gave responses that show the importance of interpersonal communication – which reflects the two-step	SANRAL's communication strategy appears to be best explained by the "compliance gaining". Compliance gaining uses the power – both perceived and real – of the persuader over the audience to get others to act in the way they want. Some of these "compliance-gaining" strategies are reward, punishment, debts,	A relevant theory to explain SANRAL's e-tolling campaign is that of Lasswell's Formula. This theory assumes that the communicator is trying to persuade the receiver through a persuasive process, and in which messages are seen as always having an effect. It is based on an understanding of media as a very powerful tool,

model. Respondent two, showed understanding of knowledge and attitude formation, which are key to the De Fleur Psychodynamic approach.	altruism, and conformity.	against which individuals have little power.

Practitioners	Soul City	Campaign
The approaches that seem to be most indicative of particular theoretical assumption by the respondent in her interview were educational-entertainment, theory of planned behaviour and communication for social change.	In terms of its theoretical underpinnings, Soul City is arguably a best practice example of the theory of educational-entertainment (or edutainment). In particular, it reflects the strength of using a mixture of mass media, community based-action, and advocacy for policy shifts. Another approach which could help describe Soul City's strategy is that of the active audience model, where audiences are active, selective, self-directed, as well as producers as well as receivers of communication messages.	The case study campaign, Phuza Wize, is a good example of how mass media is used to provide knowledge and to facilitate observational learning, whilst concurrent activities take place to help overcome structural barriers. This interaction between messaging and policy reflects the approach of the communication for social change model.

In trying to address my final question – whether there is a link between these assumptions and the apparent success, failure or difficulties faced by the campaign in changing behaviour – I conclude with some of my key findings, which may give some partial answers.

Some of those interviewed in the case study chapters seemed to understand the mass media through theoretical prisms described in Hovland's "magic keys" (of attention,

compliance and acceptance), whilst others argued that the messaging must change internal psychological makeup of the audience – as described in De Fleur's psychodynamic model. Whilst one practitioner was an advocate of edutainment and communication for social development approaches, others made repeated references to the power of inter-personal interactions, which are most in line with Lazarsfeld's two-step and multi-step models.

The organizations studied – loveLife, SANRAL and Soul City – seemed to have communication strategies that are in line with the two-step and multi-step, the compliance gaining, and with communication for social change models, respectively.

The campaigns assessed as part of the case studies – the Play4Life, the E-tag and the Phuza Wize campaigns – all seem to have somewhat similar strategic direction and theoretical assumptions ascribed to the organizations, as described above. However, there were some differences, for instance in the Play4Life campaign which did not seem to have many elements of the communication for social change model which the organization itself tries to follow. Given that both the Play4Life and E-tag campaigns aimed to change public attitudes in a relatively short period of time, and that all campaigns deal with issues of illegality and law-breaking – whether the refusal by the public to pay for the use of roads, or the underage consumption of alcohol and use of drugs – these could not be attributed as essential factors underpinning the approach to the media in the different campaigns. Rather my research may suggest the intriguing possibility that in politically contentious contexts, such as the e-toll controversy where significant public pressure was placed on SANRAL to drop the e-toll system, the media is more likely to be used as a tool for achieving public compliance, rather than as a medium of persuasion.

The strongest example of congruency between the practitioner, the organization and the campaign seems to be displayed in the Soul City example. Both the loveLife and SANRAL teams seem to have an inconsistency between the practitioners and the organizations.

The Soul City practitioner referred to theoretical underpinnings for the organization's work, as well as to research (both internal and external), which had informed its strategic decisions. None of the other interviewees did so, indicating, perhaps, a less rigorous planning process for their own campaigns. In SANRAL's case, some of the strategic plans were devised seven year's before they were implemented (during the tender process), thus seeming to make it less agile and responsive to the hostile climate it had not anticipated.

The importance of interaction with the intended audience, and their involvement in message design and campaign roll-out, is best illustrated in the difference between SANRAL and Soul City. The former did not engage on social media platforms until years after the start of the campaign, and arguably too late. The latter used interactions with focus groups to craft its message, as well as advocacy to help make

the structural changes it saw as necessary for the desired behaviour change to be adopted.

The apparent success of Soul City, and the difficulties faced – in varying degrees – by loveLife and SANRAL, perhaps point to the fact that the theoretical basis of the media strategies chosen by organizations need to be made more transparent and be better understood internally. The use of a theory of change, for instance by Soul City, seems to show that when a strong theoretical framework exists for how the organization will carry out its aims, there is better grounding for the practitioner and the campaign they are working on.

The use of academic theories and up-to-date models of communication seems to make planning a behaviour change campaign easier, as it helps provide an understanding of the power and limits of the mass media. In this way, other measures can be put in place to help mitigate for any gaps created by carrying the behaviour change messaging solely through the mass media, and enabling the individual to be able to effect that behaviour change in a sustained manner.

7. Appendices

7.1 Play4Life Campaign Materials

7.1.1 Play4Life Media Release

Win an EPIC New Year's Eve Party for you and your friends! And all you need to do is play4LIFE…

loveLife is giving away the dopest New Year's Eve party to one lucky loveLifer with its play4LIFE challenge running this December on social media. We're talking about an all-expenses-paid get down for you and your friends, in your 'hood, VVIP style!

Firstly, you have to pledge to have alcohol-free fun this December – because who needs to drink when they're already so much fun? Secondly, you need to follow the Steps 1 to 3 below:

Step 1: Do something fun and exciting in your 'hood – that doesn't involve alcohol.
Step 2: Take a selfie of you and your friends having fun
Step 3: Upload it on loveLife's Facebook page (click here)
The best entries stand a chance of winning loveLife alcohol-free adventures at some of the craziest places in the country, and the overall winner gets the sickest New Year's Eve Party of the year!

So, are you ready to play4LIFE?

http://www.lovelife.org.za/corporate/index.php?cID=468, accessed 22 November 2015

7.1.2 Play4Life Media Release



Figure 3: Play4Life advert, accessed on 22 Nov 2015 on loveLife Facebook page https://www.facebook.com/loveLifeNGO/photos/a.144681178876258.27660.143837118960664/906929645984737/?type=1&theater

7.1.3 Radio Scripts for play4Life



Script: You've had better highs

ALL: We're too hot to be cool, we're redefining youth lingo.
GIRL 1: For example, "Let's get high"…pshhh getting high on drugs and alcohol is soooo low. I've had better highs, how about you?
GUY 1: Being the first University graduate in my family!
ALL: Now that was high!
GIRL 2: Getting my driver's license!
ALL: Now that was high!
GUY 2: Learning to surf the waves eDurban!
ALL: Now that was high!
GIRL 1: Get high on life – sober looks better on you anyway.

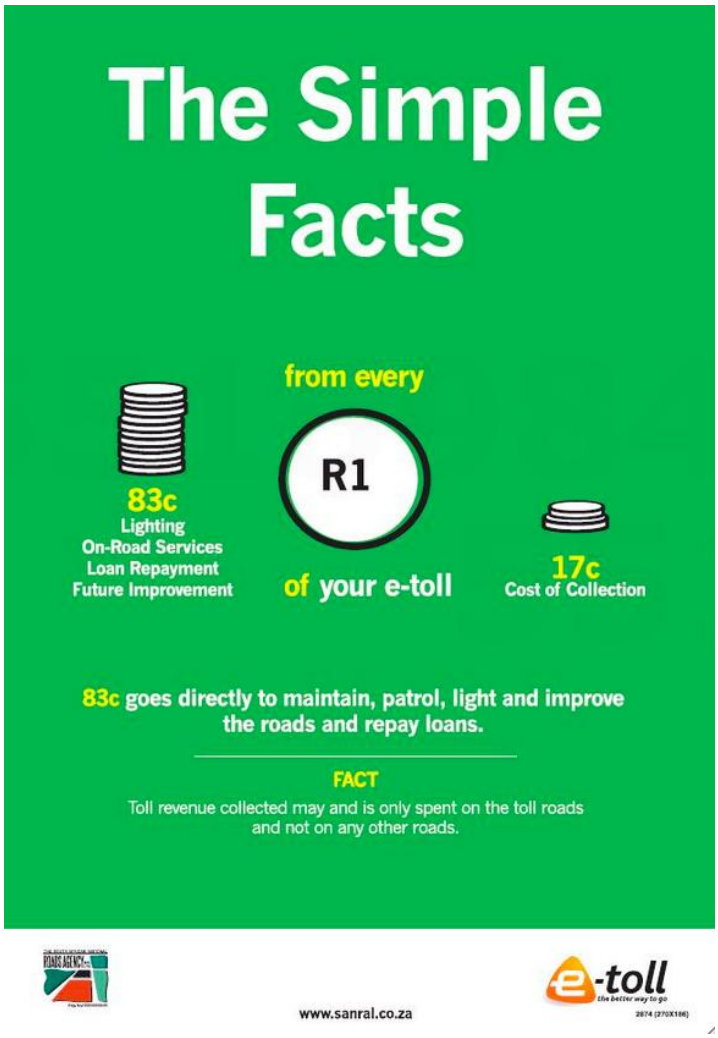
TAGLINE: Life is always on play, never on pause. play4Life.
DISCLAIMER: Underage drinking sucks, sober looks good on you anyway – this message is brought to you by loveLife.

Script: You've had better crowds

ALL: We're too hot to be cool, we're redefining youth lingo.
GIRL 1: So, you think the cool crowd is the booze crowd? Well, up your game! It's not hot that your drunk, acting the fool and everybody finds it amusing – come on, you've had and been with better crowds.
BOY 1: Yeah, my super phly skaters.
GIRL 1: My surfer dudes and dudettes.
GIRL 2: My crew of dancers.
BOY 2: My clique of hustlers.
ALL: Yeah, my sober movers and shakers.
BOY 1: Hands up for alcohol free fun - sober looks better on you anyway.

TAGLINE: Life is always on play, never on pause. play4Life.
DISCLAIMER: Underage drinking sucks, sober looks good on you anyway – this message is brought to you by loveLife.

7.2 Appendix II – Samples of SANRAL E-Toll Campaign Materials



Why not a fuel levy?



It's just not sustainable

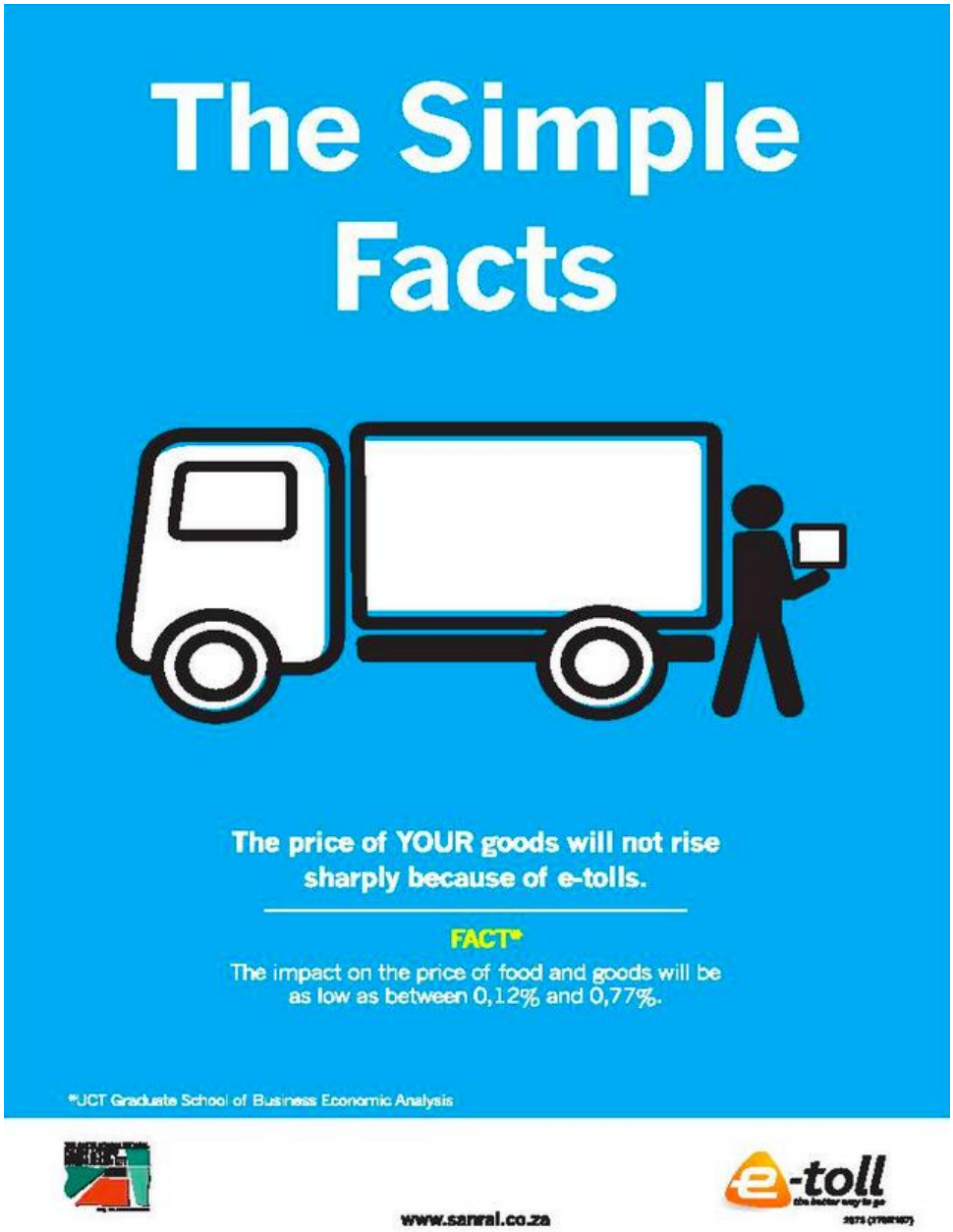
It all started in the 70's when the price of fuel increased sharply.
As a result, cars are getting more and more fuel efficient each year. So while the number of vehicles in South Africa has risen from 5 Million to 10 Million since 1995, the revenue collected from fuel levy hasn't kept up. The result is that the demand on road infrastructure is literally running away from us.

With a constant drive towards fuel efficiency and the introduction of hybrid and electric vehicles, the gap between fuel levies and the number of vehicles on our roads will keep getting wider. As cars become more fuel efficient in the future, fuel levies will produce declining revenues.

www.SANRAL.co.za

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL ROADS AGENCY SOC LTD

2929 (270X186)


The Simple Facts
The price of YOUR goods will not rise sharply because of e-tolls.
FACT*
The impact on the price of food and goods will be as low as between 0,12% and 0,77%.
*UCT Graduate School of Business Economic Analysis
www.sanral.co.za
e-toll

7.3 Appendix III – Phuza Wize Campaign Materials



Figure 5: From "Stories from Galeshewe" booklet, Soul City



Figure 4: Phuza Wize poster



Figure 6: Images from Soul City Series 10

Series 10 Story Overview (The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, 2013)

"It is love at first sight when Dimpho Miya and Menzi Maponya first lay eyes on each other at a rap battle where Dimpho's brother, Mandla, and Lindiwe, Menzi's sister are both performing. The next day, on her 18th birthday, Dimpho convinces Mandla to take her to the Corner Tavern where Menzi works part-time for his father, Philani Maponya, the tavern owner.

That night the tavern is packed with people, including Matric students Lucky Gumede and Kagiso Vomo and their friend, rapper Sixteen, all drinking heavily. Although Mandla has not been drinking, he is drawn into an argument with Sixteen over a scratched CD. Tempers flare, a fight breaks out, a knife is drawn and Mandla is stabbed. Mandla hits his head and slips into a deep coma. Lucky is the only witness but, out of loyalty and fear, he will not reveal it was tough-guy Kagiso who did the stabbing.

As the Miya family tries to come to terms with what has happened, Tifo, Mandla's father, vents his anger towards Philani for not ensuring the safety of his customers. A bitter feud develops between the two men and Dimpho and Menzi are forbidden to see each other. But love will always find a way and the two continue to meet in secret.

Tifo's misguided and irrational attempts to turn the community against drinking places results in the Corner Tavern being set alight, which only increases the animosity between him and Philani. Even when Philani's 17 year old daughter, Lindiwe, is knocked down by a drunk teacher from Soul City High, he continues to insist that, as a tavern owner, he is not responsible for the drinking habits or the safety of his customers. This is not a view shared by his wife, Thandeka, who teaches at the high school.

Thandeka is concerned about one of her grade 8 students, Thoko Gumede, who has visible bruises but insists everything is fine at home. But this is not the case. Whilst her mother, Nomsa, works hard to support the family, Thoko's father Jo-Jo spends the little money they have on alcohol and gets drunk and abusive. Thoko does her best to protect her little sister, Thembi, from their father and his cronies. Her brother, Lucky, also spends much of his time drinking and trying to impress his friends.

Mandla remains in hospital in a coma whilst Kagiso, although suspected of the crime, is free because there are no witnesses to the actual stabbing. This infuriates Mandla's younger sister, Nontsi, who plots her revenge against Kagiso.

After the disastrous effect of his earlier actions, and determined to now do things right, Tifo contacts the local Community Police Forum and a meeting is called to launch the Safe Drinking Campaign.

Can the community come together to tackle the problems of unsafe drinking? Can Tifo and Philani ever see eye-to-eye? Can Nomsa finally stand up to Jo-Jo's abuse? Will Menzi and Dimpho find a way to love each other openly? Will Lucky find the courage to testify against his friend? And will Mandla ever emerge from his coma to reclaim his life? These are the questions and unfolding drama in Soul City Series 10."

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http://ewn.co.za/2015/11/25/Changing-public-perception-of-e-toll-remains-a-challenge

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