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Multiple concurrent partnerships: an analysis of the representations of male sexual behaviour in the "Soul City OneLove" television series

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University of The Witwatersrand

School of the Arts

Research Report

TITLE:

Multiple Concurrent Partnerships: An analysis of the representations of male sexual behaviour in the "*Soul City OneLove*" television series.

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For the degree of Masters in Film & Television by coursework and research report

Supervised by Dr. Haseenah Ebrahim
October 2011

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts in Film & Television by coursework and research report to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

_____
Gillian Glauber

on this the .....day of .....October.....2011

Abstract

In developing countries, such as South Africa, the HIV infection rate is an issue that can be addressed through the mass media by encouraging behaviour change particularly in terms of male sexual behaviour and more specifically with regard to multiple concurrent partnerships. One of the most powerful ways to motivate behaviour change on a large scale is through broadcast television. Soap operas or televised dramas have been used to encourage behaviour change for over 3 decades and in the 1970's Mexican television producer Miguel Sabido formulated a theoretical framework for the design and implementation of effective soap operas for social change. This research report uses Sabido's theoretical framework to analyse one series of *Soul City* which aims to encourage men to reject multiple concurrent partnerships and remain sexually faithful to one partner at a time. The practical film component explores how televised messages are received and demonstrates how even highly targeted behaviour change messages can be lost in the sea of information that a media consumer is faced with daily. The film also looks at images of masculinity as consumed by a young television viewer. This report and the practical film component find that while the *Soul City OneLove* series fulfils some of the criteria described by Sabido for effective behaviour change television, it fails to deliver the messages in an appropriately entertaining way, and when received in context these messages may possibly not be understood or appropriated by viewers.

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List of Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARV	Anti Retroviral Treatment
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MCP	Multiple Concurrent Partnerships
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION & LITERATURE REVIEW

This research report aims firstly to investigate the role of entertainment education in delivering social messages, particularly as related to sexual behaviour in males and especially with regard to multiple concurrent partners, through an examination of one season of the television series *Soul City* and secondly, to look at the social context in which such messages are received, and to produce a film that explores both these aims.

1.1. Rationale

Research by donor organisations John Hopkins and The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) points to Multiple Concurrent Partnerships (MCPs) as being at the root of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) infections in Southern Africa, (Halperin & Epstein, 2004, cited in Shelton, 2009). The reasons why people conduct such sexual relationships in a time of HIV are many, with economic reasons being a predominant factor for women (Shelton, 2004) and cultural factors pertaining to ideas of masculinity affecting male behaviour (Silberschmidt, 2005). The rate at which infections spread through sexual networks is so great that James D Shelton, Bureau for Global Health at the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), a donor body that funds many HIV campaigns in Africa, has identified MCP's as the root cause of continual infections and motivates for informed behaviour change (Shelton, 2009, p.367).

HIV is an incurable, yet preventable disease. In order to prevent new infections, behaviour change on a large scale is required. Media can be used to persuade viewers to adopt certain values or to change behaviour and, in South Africa specifically, the Soul City Institute exists to do exactly that. As founder, Dr Garth Japhet, says in an interview:

> "Even though a lot of the problems we ...met with...were rooted in people's socio-political and financial situations, it was clear to us that people could be empowered to make better choices and change attitudes and behaviour if they

received some training. The media could be used to inform people of the reasons for the grave health situation" (Japhet, 1999, cited by Tufte).

This report will examine the approach taken by the *Soul City Institute* in addressing one aspect of HIV/AIDS prevention – that of male sexual behaviour, specifically Multiple Concurrent Partnerships and the messages conveyed in the *Soul City OneLove* television drama series campaign about male sexual behaviour. For the purposes of this research there are three main areas of scholarship I am drawing on, namely, entertainment-education, cultural studies and images of African masculinity.

1.2. Definition of entertainment- education

Entertainment-education soap operas have also been called "pro-development" soap operas, a worldwide growing body of works that use entertainment media for educational purposes. In her book entitled *Soap Operas for Social Change: Toward a Methodology for Entertainment-Education Television,* Heidi Nariman defines *Entertainment* as "...a performance of spectacle that captures the interest or attention of an individual, giving pleasure, amusement or some form of gratification". *Education* is defined as " ...a formal or informal program of instruction and training that has the potential to develop an individual's skill to achieve a particular end by boosting his or her mental, moral, or physical powers." (Nariman, 1993, p.2). "An entertainment-education soap opera is a melodramatic serial that is broadcast in order to both entertain and convey subtly an educational theme to promote some aspect of development" (Nariman, 1993, p.2).

I have chosen the *OneLove* campaign, *Soul City* Series 9, broadcast between January and March 2009, because it sets out clear aims to change people's sexual behaviour, particularly with regard to having multiple concurrent partners. In this case, the end is to discourage men from having more than one simultaneous sexual partner and a second, but as important aim, is to encourage people to always use condoms when having sex.

While research from *Soul City* and the AIDSTAR (the USAID website) continues to point to MCP's and male attitudes towards women and sex as the most important factors to target in the fight against HIV infections, recent statistics report that in Sub-Saharan Africa, young people are indeed changing their behaviour, considering HIV as an ever present threat, and making sexual behaviour choices accordingly. (Reuters Health, 2010). Glaringly missing from the list of such countries is South Africa.

1.3. Why Miguel Sabido?

In the early 1970's, a Mexican television producer, Miguel Sabido, formalized his model for researching, scripting and producing soap operas with a strong pro-social message (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, pp.47 – 57). Using five widely accepted dramatic and psychological theories, Sabido developed a theoretical model for the production of educational television drama that would prove to be effective in changing behaviour for the better, while also hugely popular and, therefore, economically viable. "Miguel Sabido's education – entertainment strategy represents one form of complying with the demands of the television industry (money) while still attempting to harness the medium's educational capacity to achieve pro-social objectives" (Nariman, 1993, p.xxi).

Miguel Sabido's television series proved to be both economically viable *and* a major cause of behaviour change among the population with regard to adult literacy habits, family planning and gender awareness. Unfortunately, Sabido's own publications on his model are not available in English, and cannot be accessed as the primary texts for this study, but Singhal & Rogers (1999) & Nariman (1993) have analysed and assessed this model in substantial detail and will be used as key sources for this study. In the foreword to Heidi Nariman's book "Soap opera for social change" (1993), Everett M. Rogers, one of the foremost writers on entertainment-education and behaviour change, describes Miguel Sabido as "....an original and creative mind (that has) created and perfected a brilliant idea that provides an opportunity to change the world in beneficial directions" (Rogers in Nariman, 1993, p.xiv). Nariman herself goes on to describe the real changes experienced in Mexico during and after

the broadcast of Sabido's *telenovelas* as the ultimate model in television for social change. "The Mexican experience with entertainment-education soap operas forms a kind of benchmark among the educational programming that has been broadcast worldwide throughout television's relatively short history" (Nariman, 1993, p.xxi). Sabido's model went on to be used in many developing countries, including India, Kenya, Turkey and Egypt. So it seems appropriate that in analysing *Soul City*, we can use the Mexican framework as a guideline against which to measure the elements of Series 9, the *OneLove* campaign, in order to discover whether the elements identified by Miguel Sabido as necessary to achieving maximum effectiveness in terms of behaviour change, are indeed present and recognisable.

The *OneLove* campaign fits Miguel Sabido's strategy for social change television in that it aims to reward positive behaviour, punish negative behaviours, set up confrontations between good and evil, show consequences for various behaviours and ultimately encourages viewers to examine their own beliefs and value systems in order to change in some way (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). The analysis will indicate whether indeed it succeeded in these aims. Sabido's model, and its theoretical underpinnings, will be discussed in chapter two in order to contextualise the analysis that follows of *Soul City OneLove.*

1.4. Reception theories and the film *XY*

The body of work on reception theory emphasizes the reader or viewer's reception of a text as well as the producer's intention (Morley 1992, Fiske 1978 and 1987, Livingstone 1998, Curran 2006). Reception theories emphasise the necessity of looking at the socio-cultural context in which the messages are received, as well as the cultural background of audience members; as such it becomes an important element in considering the effectiveness of messages encoded within entertainment-education media texts, and for the purpose of this study, in order to interrogate *Soul City's* campaign properly. This research will begin with an analysis of the messaging encoded into the *Soul City OneLove* campaign, using Sabido's theoretical framework to analyse the content, before discussing questions relating to the reception of the

programmes, and the various possible social and reception contexts of the audience which are addressed in the practical film component.

The aim of the film component of this study, i.e. the film *XY,* is to show that social communication messages may be produced in isolation and developed extensively as single individual projects but are consumed amongst many other messages by the average visually literate middle class South African urban youth. The film shows the variety of messages pertaining to what constitutes “manhood” and socially accepted male sexual behaviour that are received and consumed by a young South Africa male over a weekend while at home with his older brother. This is discussed further in chapter four.

1.5. Images of African Maleness

In her chapter in the book *African Masculinities*, Lindsay Clowes (2005) examines images of African men in *DRUM* magazine between the years 1951 to 1965. Clowes identifies a strong shift in the representation of maleness from a family-based, domestically defined role of father, provider, carer and husband to a more independent, individual, image of men at work, i.e. images that removed the women and children and presented the impression that manhood is situated in individual behaviour, freedom and wealth and not intrinsically tied to the domestic situation. The reasons for this shift in portrayals of masculinity can be variously attributed to the effects of apartheid on black South African men’s sense of authority and freedom, independence and the global changes of the 1960’s in which the post-war domestic scenes were derided as old fashioned, out of touch, restricting, limiting and backward. In the same era a new sexuality emerged – that of promiscuity and casual sex. As Clowes points out, one of the results of the sexual revolution of the 1960’s was an increase in sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies. (Clowes, 2005). By the 1980’s Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) had emerged as a fatal response to sexual promiscuity. The *Soul City* representation of what constitutes a good man is somehow returning to those *Drum* magazine articles of the 1950’s (Clowes, 2005, p.92 - 98). *Soul City* could therefore be identified as the

start of new representations of socially acceptable male behaviour in a time of HIV and AIDS.

In Africa, women are more often seen as the oppressed partner in a heterosexual relationship. However, anthropologists such as Margarethe Silberschmidt (2005) provide us with fresh insight into the disempowered state of many African men. In her chapter entitled "*Poverty, Male Disempowerment, and Sexuality*", Silberschmidt (2005), gives an historical overview of African men and their work (and increasing lack of work) and how that impacts upon their sense of masculinity and is played out in their sexual behaviour. Silberschmidt provides a historical and cultural overview of the shifts in gender roles as a result of factors such as colonisation, migrancy and global effects (war). She ends with the observation that "...structurally subordinated women have actively responded to the new situation. They have created a new social role for themselves. Both men and women agree that "more and more women have taken command of the home" and "harmony has gone out the window". Thus gender antagonism and domestic violence have escalated" (Silberschmidt, 2005, p.193).

Silberschmidt's work provides the film *XY* with a social framework for analysing African masculinities in post colonial South Africa, and looking at the roles and activities that African men feel are necessary for true manhood. In the film both young males are attempting to find an appropriate identity as a man. The younger boy tries to find this identity through television programmes and the older boy tries to find his identity as a man through his many sexual encounters. In both *Soul City* and the film *XY*, multiple sexual partners feature as one way of regaining a sense of power, or at least comfort. Silberschmidt's research led her to conclude that "a man's need for sexual extra-marital partners is urgent "when a man has lost control over his household and is humiliated by his wife"....Then "he needs peace on his mind." (Silberschmidt, 2005, p.197).

In his article entitled *Cultural Politics and Masculinities: Multiple partners in Historical Perspective in KwaZulu-Natal,* Mark Hunter (2005) offers some insight into traditional African practice of multiple sexual partners as way of explaining how masculine roles

and responsibilities shift. Hunter plots the rise and fall of the Zulu *isoka,* the man with many wives, who was markedly different from an *isoka lamanyala*, or dirty *isoka*, a dog or loose man, who slept with women he could not marry. *Isoka* was part of Zulu tradition in that it naturally led to a larger homestead, more children and more wealth, all admired as being masculine, as an *umnumzana,* or patriarch (Hunter, 2005, pp.390 - 391).

The shift in gender roles in Kenya as noted by Margarethe Silberschmidt was also evident in South Africa in KwaZulu-Natal where Hunter carried out his research. Christianity, colonisation, migrancy and the loss of the farm or homestead are all factors that affected male sexual behaviour. Sexually transmitted diseases have always been a challenge to those with multiple partners and HIV is merely the latest in a line of difficult to treat and uncomfortable Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD's) (Hunter, 2005, pp.395-398). In the introduction to their book on African masculinities, Robert Morrell and Lahoucine Ouzgane describe their attempts to address the factors that contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS, in particular gender inequalities, violence and sexuality (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005, p.13). The way they hope to do this is by finding new male identities. "In order to reduce the transmission rates of HIV/AIDS, many prevention initiatives have begun to work with young men in an attempt to reshape masculinity" (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005, p.13). Clowes (2005), Hunter (2005) and Silberschmidt (2005) all agree that African masculine roles are shifting, and that there is often a longing for simpler times (such as the 1950's) when men were depicted as domesticated beings, fathers and protectors. This image is not far from the much older Zulu concept of *umnumzana,* or homesteader and patriarch, and cannot be easily written off entirely as a product of white colonialism (Hunter, 2005, p.313).

The film *XY* explores this search for a new social role through the eyes of a young boy. The boy is presented as being cut off from any social ties, including ancestral heritage. He exists purely as a consumer of media through his television set. His only living male role model is his older brother, who has a stream of girlfriends, all looking the same. Over a weekend, the film examines the messages this boy receives and proposes that given that he has no guiding force in his life, how will he

decide on which of the many messages to follow, if any? The film poses questions such as “How will he relate to women, and will he be capable of a meaningful, monogamous relationship with a woman given the images he consumes over this weekend?” and “What is there in his life to suggest to him that fidelity to one woman is a superior way to live as a male partner?” The images he sees are of men that are aggressive, violent, and sexual beings. Interspersed he sees images of men who are conflicted and undecided. The absence of a father figure is echoed in the Hamlet that he watches; the absence of male guidance is represented by his ancestor, a migrant worker who appears to him in his dreams and who needs to be introduced properly to his grandchild in order to act as his ancestral guide and helper. In all respects he is at a continual crossroads in life, unable to choose a path to follow.

2. CHAPTER TWO - THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY

This research draws on the theoretical and empirical scholarship in the areas of entertainment-education as a model for behaviour change programming, notions of African masculinity and cultural studies and reception theories.

My analysis takes as its starting point the theoretical framework of soap operas for social change as developed by television and theatre writer-producer-director Miguel Sabido in Mexico in the 1970's (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, pp.47 – 57). Through experience gained working in the theatre, Sabido developed a strategic framework for the production of soap operas for social change that combined various existing dramatic and psychological theories (Miguel Sabido in an interview with Singhal and Obregon, 1999, pp. 68 – 74). Using Sabido's theoretical framework for production of soap operas that encourage behaviour change I will analyse *Soul City OneLove* in order to see how closely the text appears to have followed the framework.

2.1. Successful behaviour change television – the Mexican model

In 1974 Mexican television producer Miguel Sabido used the unexpected success of a *telenovela* (or soap opera) with an educational bent called "Simplemente Maria" to springboard research into the theory of successful entertainment television with an educational message (Singhal & Rogers, 1999). Sabido conducted research into the popularity of his programmes, and gradually moved towards producing soap operas, or telenovelas, which aimed to capitalise on the three strongest drivers of audiences to soap operas, namely the emotional release received through the journeys of the

characters, fantasy fulfilment or escapism and the seeking of information and advice from their favourite characters (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.59). Not only did Sabido produce highly entertaining and effective entertainment-education, he also developed a theoretical framework for the production of such material that can be applied anywhere in the world. In South Africa, the Soul City Institute grew out of the entertainment-education model with what is described by Soul City founder Garth Japhet as the "edutainment vehicle" (Japhet, 1999, cited in Tufte, 2001, p.4).

Entertainment – education is defined as "the process of purposively designing and implementing a media message both to entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, and change overt behaviour (Singhal & Rogers 1999, p.9). Miguel Sabido developed a strategy for producing effective entertainment-education, by developing a theoretical framework for designing a soap opera that conveys an educational message using a combination of various social science theories, beginning with an adaptation of Claude E Shannon's five basic elements of communication by Rovigatti. **Rovigatti's circular model of Communication** rearranged the model from a linear to a circular communication model. Sabido believed the linear model was insufficient and that a layered, interactive model was appropriate for *telenovela* audiences (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.62).

His work in theatre led Sabido to lean strongly on genre and particularly Columbia University professor **Eric Bentley's Dramatic theory**. Sabido used Bentley's descriptions of the five key theatre genres (tragedy, comedy, tragicomedy, farce and melodrama) to build the plots and characters of his *telenovelas* in a way that would maximise the effect on the audience. Melodrama in particular was appropriated by Sabido as a most effective genre for behaviour change media. (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.62). James Smith in his book on melodrama defines the genre as one which "Characteristically....presses its own extreme conflicts to extreme conclusions" (Smith, 1973, p.8)

A third aspect of Sabido's dramatic framework developed from **Carl Jung's theory of the unconscious.** Jung's theory of a "collective unconscious" populated by

archetypes and stereotypes inspired Sabido to create characters who themselves represented these archetypes – those who imitate a myth, and stereotypes –those who imitate life (Jung, 1954, 1964 and 1971). The collective unconscious is the site of religious beliefs and ancient world views that influences a group of people without their being aware of it. The images of this unconscious are "...deposits of thousands of years of experience of the struggle for existence and for adaptation" (Jung, 1971, pp.220-221).

An important key to character and story development in Sabido's soap operas was based on **Albert Bandura's Social learning theory**. Sabido used Bandura's social learning theory to design a grid by which characters could model behaviours that were punished or rewarded according to the desired behaviour required by the social messaging (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, pp.65-68 and Sabido in conversation with Singhal & Obregon, 1999, pp.69-74).

A less widely known theory that informs Sabido's framework is **Paul MacLean's theory of the triune Brain**. Maclean's theory posits that new areas of the brain have developed over the years of human evolution. As a result, we have the oldest, reptilian, part of the brain, which governs instinctual impulses such as sexual titillation, repulsion, disgust and horror, the second oldest part which governs emotional behaviour and the most recently developed site where thinking occurs and information is processed. (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.68 – 70). Sabido adopted this theory because of his belief that in order to change behaviour people must be stimulated instinctively, emotionally and intellectually to do so (Sabido in Singhal & Obregon, 1999, pp.72-73). His television producing experience led him to believe that the vast majority of educational programming is strictly informational and delivers messages that stimulate only the thinking part of the brain. However, if one wishes to change behaviour one needs to also stimulate responses that are emotional and instinctive in order to jolt the viewer to put the information into practice in their lives.

Sabido posits that a combination of these theories, when applied to soap opera production, results in programming that delivers messages on many levels, provides

role models that satisfy aspirational needs and desires, as well as allows for emotional outlets, and stimulates key areas of the viewer's brain is such a way that learning and retaining of information is maximised, and behaviour is changed (Singhal & Rogers, 1999 and Nariman, 1993).

In order to better understand why Sabido used these particular theories, a brief explanation of each and how they relate to social learning and subsequent behaviour change is necessary. Sabido worked extensively in theatre before starting a career in television and was influenced by the use of age-old storylines and characters used by indigenous Mexicans when producing local theatre. He experimented with the effects on the audience when he tweaked music, sets, props and pacing, and he made copious notes of his observations during these subtle shifts and changes. He decided to apply his findings to television production because he witnessed the effects mass media had on the public from soap operas he worked on. Sabido then actively sought to distil all the information he had gathered into a foundation for the production of television programming that would "activate specific socially desirable attitudes and behaviours" (Nariman, 1993, p.28).

Broadly speaking the function of each theory can be described as follows in a table designed by Heidi Nariman (Table 1).

Table 1: Sabido theories and functions

THEORY	**FUNCTION IN ENTERTAINMENT-EDUCATION SOAP OPERA**
Dramatic Theory (Bentley)	Provides a model for characters, their inter-relationships, and plot construction
Archetypes and Stereotypes (Jung)	Provides a model for characters which embody universal human psychological energies
Social Learning Theory (Bandura)	Provides a model in which learning from soap opera characters can take place
Concept of the Triune Brain (MacLean)	Provides a model for sending complete messages which communicate with various centres of perception

2.2. Genre and characters – Bentley's Dramatic Theory and Bandura's Social Learning Theory

"Where novel forms of behaviour can be conveyed only by social cues, modelling is an indispensable aspect of learning ... under most circumstances, a good example is therefore a much better teacher than the consequences of unguided actions." (Bandura, 1971, p.5).

Television, by its very nature, models behaviour in everything it broadcasts. Sabido was well aware of Albert Bandura's emphasis on the need to guide the observer's attention during the modelling process because "...simply exposing persons to models does not in itself ensure that they will attend closely to them..." (Bandura, 1971) Thus, it is important to look at the ways that learning takes place via modelling. Bandura outlined three ways, namely attentional, retentive and reinforcement processes:

Attentional processes are "associational preferences" in which one recognises oneself or people one usually associates with. This can also be achieved by using models who possess "interesting and winsome qualities" whereas those who "lack pleasing characteristics" are rejected (Bandura, 1971, p.7).

For successful retention processes to occur one must be able to recreate the behaviour when the model no longer exists to guide and so "the response patterns must be represented in memory in symbolic form" (Bandura, 1971, p.7). A strong symbol in television soap operas is the characters' name, and Sabido worked on the premise that soap opera could present relatively enduring, retrievable images of modelled sequences of desired (or undesired) behaviour through the names of the characters.

Reinforcement and motivational learning processes are such that "A person can acquire, retain, and possess the capabilities for skilful execution of modelled behaviour, but the learning may rarely be activated into overt performance if it is negatively sanctioned or otherwise unfavourably received" (Bandura, 1971, p.8). It therefore becomes necessary to reward and punish in order to guide behaviour change. Positive incentives or rewards prompt observational learning to translate

into behaviour change. Bandura summarises “a model who repeatedly demonstrates desired responses, instructs others to reproduce them, physically prompts the behaviour when it fails to occur, and then administers powerful rewards will eventually elicit matching responses in most people” (Bandura, 1971, p.8).

Eric Bentley’s theatre work deals with five key genres of theatre and their effects on the audience. Sabido, with his own practice of noting the impact of various elements on the audience would have been naturally drawn to the dramatic theory underpinning such effect. Bentley lists tragedy, comedy, tragicomedy, farce and melodrama as the main genres of theatrical storytelling. Sabido was strongly drawn to melodrama as the closest genre to television soap operas, and this was the one genre Bentley believed was closest to reality (Nariman, 1993, p.35), or as James Smith explains, “... melodrama is the dramatic form which expresses the reality of the human condition as we all experience it most of the time” (Smith, 1973, p.11).

Sabido-style soap operas are not pure melodramas in the strict sense of the word, but are strongly coloured by aspects of melodrama in setting the world of the characters and narrative outcomes, particularly for the heroes. The setting for a Sabido-esque drama series is a world in which the moral universes of good and evil are in discord, and the audience is swept up in the struggle of the forces of good over the forces of evil. The melodramatic plots are “rational constructions of extreme situations” (Nariman, 1993, p.35) which place pressure on the characters to force issues of right and wrong. “We enjoy triumph without considering its cost to others, despair without seeking for alternative courses.....In melodrama we win or lose (Smith, 1973, p.10). The premise of *OneLove*, that of a man whose sleeping around inadvertently infects his own son with the HI virus, could be seen to be melodramatic in that the central character ultimately loses everything, even though the extent to which the characters struggle with good and evil are not.

The issue of value judgements – what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is evil - is intrinsic to both melodrama and traditional development communication. Both genres propose a “right “way to do things even if they do not always show the wrong way. In melodrama we can “...enter wholeheartedly into a

struggle against manifest injustice" (Smith, 1973, p.10). Sabido however changed this when he designed his theoretical framework to include punishments, villains and evildoing – elements long used in commercial soap operas but hitherto not seen in development communication. (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, pp. 65-69).

In terms of Sabido's model of entertainment-education, characters that align their behaviour to the desired new behaviour are seen as "forces of good" and characters that refuse to adapt to the new behaviour are 'forces of evil". This clear division allows us to examine the characters according to Albert Bandura's theory of Social Learning in which television role models are said to be a strong and powerful force in teaching new, better or correct behaviours, as long as the "good" behaviour is rewarded and the "bad" behaviour punished in the narrative. (Nariman, 1993, pp.30 - 31).

Sabido determined that three types of characters are fundamental to successful modelling by audience members. The first two types of characters are positive and negative role models. They embody positive and negative behaviours concerning the social issues addressed in the serial drama (and are based on Jung's theory of archetypes and stereotypes, described below). These characters are repeatedly rewarded or punished for their behaviours. The consequences of these positive or negative behaviours must be directly linked to the behaviour in question: for example, a truck driver character that is practicing at-risk sexual behaviour should suffer from a sexually transmitted infection or even contract HIV, but should not be the victim of a traffic accident. The third type of character is the "transitional character." The transitional characters are neither positive nor negative but somewhere in the middle and they play a pivotal role in a Sabido-style serial drama where they are designed to represent members of the target audience. The transitional characters' evolution toward the desired behaviour is that which the audience members will use to model their own behaviour change.

For the purposes of this report the research into *Soul City OneLove* will focus mainly on the male characters and their stories. Excluded in this analysis is Sabido's use of Rogavatti's circular communication model, as research into how the Soul City

Institute uses audience feedback to inform programming is beyond the scope of this paper; the text analysed is the one broadcast.

Culture has as much an impact on the reception of televised messages as the method of creating that message or the communication of it. In a popular medium such as television, if proper attention is paid to audience surveys and impact evaluations, it becomes apparent that the “people” or viewers, and their experiences, shape the messages through a circular mode of communication by which the viewer’s responses shape the future messaging. Rico Lie and Jan Servaes (2000, p.308) state that “...it is through communication that culture is made public and shared; it is through culture that the forms of communication are shaped”.

2.3. The need for Behaviour Change and the role of television

Arvind Singhal and Everett Rogers summarise the case for the validity and even necessity of educational broadcasting as a response to global “developmental problems” including “... ethnic conflicts, environmental catastrophes, infectious diseases, hunger and famine, and unsupported population growth” (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.8). Our planetary resources are scarce and as a strategy, mass media social communication campaigns can be highly effective in changing behaviour and in doing so, helping to alleviate some of these problems.

Secondly, Singhal and Rogers quote Bernstein when he states that the growth in entertainment media and leisure activities is “one of the most important mega trends of recent decades” (Bernstein, 1990. cited in Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.8). The unprecedented growth in appliances such as computers, web enabled mobile phones, Personal Video Recorders (PVRs) and satellite dishes means that the mass reach of televised or broadcast content is unsurpassed by any other mode of communication. What arises from this phenomenon is that the previously inaccessible rural poor are now reachable.

2.4. Culture and Cultural studies

The media consumer in urban South Africa today receives many more messages about socially acceptable male sexual behaviour. One of the most conflicted messages is that of multiple concurrent partners. Jonny Steinberg, Open Society Fellow, and author of *The Three Letter Plague,* a book about the messages and reactions to HIV/AIDS in rural South Africa, points out in a *Business Day* (Steinberg, 2009) article that for the vast majority of South African black males, the ability to sexually satisfy many women is their only way to prove manhood and be proud males. Steinberg refers to the Jacob Zuma rape case as an example of how deeply ingrained and accepted the idea of multiple sexual partners is – in fact, it is the man's duty to have sex with many women, and to satisfy a women's sexual needs.

Sabido's model for entertainment-education offers a solution to the problem of making value judgements. He wisely suggests that producers use their country's constitution, legal statutes and any other documents such as UN Charter of Human Rights to which the country may be a signatory. Part of his production process is to generate a value grid from this moral framework for each series which contains positive and negative statements such as "sleeping with multiple concurrent partners is wrong", and "being faithful to one partner sexually is right". A document containing the value grid is drawn up in consultation with religious leaders, community leaders, government spokespeople and all interested parties and signed as a pledge of support for the series from these sectors of society (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.58).

Whereas structuralist semiotics places great emphasis on the coder, or construction of meaning in a text (Fiske, 1987, pp.1-20), cultural studies and reception theory place an equally high emphasis on the decoder (Morley, 1980 and 1992, Fiske, 1987). The entertainment-education model is premised on the assumption that the intended meaning is, in fact, the one that will be received by the viewer. Reception theories, on the other hand, argue that decoding, or making meaning of a text, does not necessarily follow immediately after the construction of a message. There are multiple steps in between, resulting in polysemy of readings, i.e. these multiple moments in the communications circuit are "linked but distinctive" (Hall, 1973, in During, 1990, p.91). The moments of 'encoding" and 'decoding" are determinate moments, and the others all contain meanings and messages in the form of sign-

vehicles, organised into a language and mass media communication is thus *discursive* in form. It is in the discursive form that the circulation of messages takes place (Hall, 1973, in During, 1990, p.92).

Mass media such as television programming can be seen on one level as a series of limited or closed codes because they show a tendency to encourage one particular interpretation or discourse. (Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990, p. 96). On the other hand, the work done by David Morley (1992), John Fiske (1972 and 1978) and Stuart Hall (1973) suggests that different social groups will have different readings of a media text regardless of the encoding process, and so led Hall to develop his three interpretative positions for reading a text, namely: the dominant/preferred reading of the text in which a reader shares and accepts the texts code as natural; negotiated reading, in which that reader partly shares the texts code, but modifies it in a way which reflects their own cultural experiences and interests, and oppositional reading, where the social position of the reader places them directly opposite the dominant code; the reader reads and understands the preferred reading but does not share the code and thus rejects this reading (Hall, cited in During, 1990, pp.100 – 102).

Hall's model requires the discourse to be translated into social practice – or action – if the circuit is to be both complete and effective. If there is no action or evolution of meaning into practice, the communication has a diminished effect. For prosocial programming such as *Soul City* which advocates behaviour change, this translation of message into action is crucial for the full meaning of the content to be realised. This theoretical framework of interpreting codes, making meaning and then translating that meaning into practice forms the theoretical basis for my film, in which messages are constructed, and encoded into Hall's "sign vehicles" (Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990, p.91), a language is created and communicated to an audience who then may either read and accept, read and change or read and reject.

The social and cultural aspects of television reception are integral to this research, as the intended outcome of the television series *Soul City* is to promote social change (Japhet, 1999, cited by Tufte), and the intended change occurs at the level of the individual, the community and society simultaneously. Therefore, one must look

wider in reception theory to theory that radicalizes the reading of the texts through "viewing ordinary people, the audience, as "key agents of change or participants for development" (Tufte, 2001, p.5). What is required from social communication is no longer merely change, but more specifically developmental change. Rico Lie and Jan Servaes further expand Stuart Hall's model to interrogate the relationship between communication, culture and identity in the light of increasing globalisation, or the movement toward one culture (Lie & Servaes, 2000). Similarly, in social development effective programming must operate "...with three interlinked units of change; the individual, the community and the broader society" (Tufte, 2001).

This research is therefore divided into two sections. The first will treat *Soul City*, *OneLove* as a basic text for analysis of the male characters' sexual behaviours in terms of the series' adherence to Miguel Sabido's accepted model for effective soap opera production for behaviour change. The second, the film component, problematizes the entertainment-education model which presumes that a dominant message portraying good role models and punishing bad role models (Sabido in conversation with Singhal & Obregon, 1999, p.69) will be received as intended; this is problematised through the film *XY* which illustrates how the message may be received in context.

The film *XY* draws on cultural studies approaches to the media in that the viewer or receiver of televised messages is seen in his environment, along with the many other messages he receives over the course of one weekend. As the film itself interrogates aspects of cultural studies such as the context in which messages are received, in terms of this research report it stands alone as a component of research and will not therefore be treated as a case study for my analysis, but rather as an extension of it, i.e. presenting the perspective and context of those who receive rather than produce television messages.

In the case of the film *XY* the young boy watches many programmes over the course of a weekend. Some (*Soul City*) have carefully constructed messages that require action on the part of the viewer. Others, like the *Bugs Bunny* cartoon, are designed purely to entertain and no reflection is required. The pornography is constructed to

arouse the viewer sexually, and the first person shooting game is designed to simulate action and provide the viewer with an interactive experience. No one single piece of text he consumes has the same purpose as another. No two were constructed with the same outcome in mind, and as a result, when viewed in succession they paralyse the viewer. The boy is unable to take any action because the multiplicity of messages is overwhelming and he never talks about what he sees.

The sharing of our experience of television viewing with others in discussion is what Stuart Hall calls ‘discursive communication” (Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990 pp.91-103). When we share with others what we think or feel about a television programme we are engaging with interpretations of the text and negotiating possible readings of the texts seen. We, the receivers, continue to engage with interpretations of the text long after the viewing and as we take our readings out into the world with us and share them with those around us; we are surely taking the first step towards social change. In the case of the film, *XY*, the receiver is unable to find a message he can relate to. As a result he has nothing to take into the world except his extreme indecision. If we were to construct a graph on which the horizontal axis, x, represents the messages constructed to change social behaviour and the vertical axis, y, represents the various media or vehicles that deliver the messages, then the point *XY* is where the consumer, or audience sits. As a title for the film it implies the site at which meaning is/should be made from media and also the stasis or immovability of that point on the graph.

3. CHAPTER THREE - ANALYSIS OF *SOUL CITY ONELOVE*

“HIV is a threshold. There’s life before HIV and life after HIV” – Sol, *Soul City* Series 9, Ep 4.

Within the framework of Sabido’s model discussed in Chap. 2, let us examine the struggles of the main male characters in *Soul City OneLove*: Zimele, a married father of two teenagers, and Bulela, his 18 year old son, a Grade 12 pupil. A full character list is given in the Appendix (Section 6).

As noted previously, the setting for a Sabido-esque drama series is a melodramatic world in which the moral universes of good and evil are in discord, and the audience is swept up in the struggle of the forces of good over the forces of evil (Smith, 1973, pp.7- 9). Zimele is thus set up as the villain, representing the bad behaviour choices and sabotaging the good. From the moment we meet him we see that he is charming and quick to flatter, but as the series develops we see how he is actually lying continually and his motive for lying is to keep secrets (another key element of melodrama) from those closest to him. These two aspects, his wrong sexual behaviour choices and his inability to tell the truth, dictate his trajectory through the series. Although his flattery does get him a pretty girlfriend, a placated (pregnant) wife and obedient children, by the end of the series his words and actions have resulted in him being HIV positive, having infected his wife and girlfriend, and a string of other young people in Soul City. The twist is that one of Zimele’s victims happens to be Bulela, his own son.

True to melodrama, he is a villain who puts moral pressure on the good characters and ultimately causes tragedy throughout. He ends in self-pity but unrepentant and unable to fully own up to his wrongdoing and so remains a poor role model. A key element of Sabido’s model is the use of Albert Bandura’s social learning theory, which dictates that bad role models must be punished (Bandura, 1971, p.8), and so

in the Epilogue, “Four months later”, in which the future lives of the other characters are mapped out, Zimele is excluded. His type is signalled to viewers as having no future.

Zimele and his son, Bulela, thus represent the first two types of characters in Sabido’s model, i.e., the positive and negative role models. As such, they embody positive and negative behaviours concerning the social issues addressed in the serial drama (here referring to male sexual behaviour), based on Jung’s theory of archetypes and stereotypes (Jung, 1971, pp.380–381 and 400-401). It is established from episode one, when we see his gentle disposition, quick brain, and forgiving nature, that Bulela, the teenage son, is going to be a hero. Bulela is an innocent, not just sexually, but also with regard to the lying and cheating with which the other men in *Soul City* seem so comfortable. He represents a new type of male. On the brink of adulthood, he about to finish school and has dreams of studying medicine to help others. Throughout the series his aspirations are developed. He falls in love and actually “gets the girl” and he wins a scholarship to study in America. As the stakes are increased, the more the audience feels anxious that he is being built up only to be knocked down as his girlfriend cheats on him and contracts HIV, gives it to him, thereby disqualifying him from taking up his overseas study scholarship. However, according to Bandura’s social learning theory, as a good role model, he should be rewarded, (Bandura, 1971, pp.7-8) and so in the epilogue we hear that he does get accepted to the University of the Witwatersrand to study medicine, and we are assured he will have a fine future.

Theki and Tefo, as the married male friends of Zimele, represent two different attitudes a married man can take towards having to be responsible in his sexual behavior. Theki is similar to Zimele in that he craves extra-marital sex and is always creating situations (a braai, a game of cards) in which he can bring alcohol and loose women. It is never explicit that these women are prostitutes because they are never paid for sexual favours, but they appear to be women who have many casual sex encounters.

Theki resists all restrictions on his sex life throughout the series; refusing condoms, getting angry when people advise him on how to behave, and ultimately losing his wife to AIDS because of their combined ignorance and refusal to be aware. Theki is the married man that Zimele would be if he did not have an intelligent wife in Lebo, someone who is decisive and takes action when she discovers her status. Theki is punished for his wrong attitudes and refusal to change by the death of his wife.

Initially Tefo is presented as a slightly comic character. He is the married man whose wife, Lihle, is sexually unsatisfied. He is too afraid of his sexual and emotional life to ever talk about it with a woman, even his wife. Lihle's complaints of sex lasting five minutes and her lack of pleasure provide some background to the problems facing long married couples and could in one way be seen to present a justification for men/women to seek extra-marital or more exciting sexual experiences. Tefo, interestingly enough, is the character who most successfully transforms his fear and embarrassment into action. He is held up as one of the real heroes of the series because he becomes an activist and tries to change the way the men in *Soul City* behave. Tefo moves from representing the typical husband to representing the ideal man – a man who is open to discussion about sex. He is modern in that he realises that the time to be an "African man" – keeping private what is private - is over. HIV has been a catalyst to Tefo, something that forces him to change completely, or rather to stop living under fear and to allow himself to become a new creature, namely a township man of a certain age, who can talk openly to other men about his sex life and his feelings.

Tefo and Lulu, Zimele's girlfriend, emerge as strong transitional characters (Bandura, 1971). Both start in a place very far from ideal – with Lulu conducting irresponsible sexual behaviour through transactional sex and Tefo being unable to communicate with his wife and in danger of driving her to seek satisfaction elsewhere. However, both learn from their mistakes and from the mistakes of others around them and actively change. Lulu chooses honesty and a faithful sexual relationship and Tefo chooses to become an activist and encourage men to speak out more about their sexual needs and the related problems. Bulela and his girlfriend, Dineo, only change in that they lose the innocence we see in the beginning. They start off as hard

working, gentle and loyal people and they remain so throughout the many challenges they face as the narrative unfolds.

In the case of *Soul City* fear is always present in the form of HIV infection, or losing love. What is interesting is that while some may view fear of contracting HIV as a "common sense fear", fear of testing for HIV is portrayed as the irrational fear. Tefo's fear of talking about sex with his wife is meant to add humour and pathos to the situation, representing the position in which many long married couples find themselves. Zimele's fear of testing stems from a deep down acknowledgement that he has indeed committed adultery many times with many women he hardly knows and without protection. His behaviour as a man has been exactly that which his wife Lebo describes as "a husband who infected his wife with HIV" and nothing like the persona he struggles to maintain, namely the good man who takes care of his family. It is his fear of being discovered as a lying cheat and a man of many secrets that paralyses him almost more than fear of being found to be positive. Once he tests and all comes out, that fear is nullified and Zimele is now across Sol's HIV threshold. He is ready to start building a life after HIV without fear of his true nature being revealed to the community. Zimele can now see his past behaviour clearly as he watches the other married men at the tavern pick up prostitutes for the night, get drunk, and lie to their families. As a model of poor behaviour choices Zimele remains paralysed, repulsed by his former self, but still unable to fully realise change.

Carl Gustav Jung's theory of the collective unconscious is a way of explaining how individuals from different backgrounds and environments and cultures, even different eras, can have subconscious manifestations of objects, situations and symbols that are similar, reflect patterns and yet are not experienced by those individuals in their conscious lives. Jung developed the theory using dream analysis, and built on Aristotle's theory of aboriginal "types" to give us the list of "characters' or Archetypes" that populate our collective unconscious (Jung, 1954, p.67).

Jung describes the collective unconscious as having the power to influence our "conception of all problematical things.....collective ideas intimately bound up with the view of life and the world of the past centuries and epochs" (Jung, 1971. p.220).

These collective primordial ideas are made manifest in archetypes and stereotypes (Jung, 1954, p.67) and these theories inspired Miguel Sabido to create characters who themselves represented various universal aspects of the human condition. Sabido further developed this theory by positing that humans seek to make meaning of their lives by reflecting their experiences in popular media such as televised soap operas. (Sabido in conversation with Singhal & Obregon, 1999, pp. 69-73). In other words, television is not just to entertain, but the arrangement of characters, plots, situations and consequences in soap opera should in some way provide the viewer with a larger context of his/her life in which s/he can make meaning of their own personal existence according to a bigger, more social, collective way of living.

Although *OneLove*, Series 9 is set in the fictional South African village of *Soul City,* there are no references to traditional African beliefs, traditional African customs or traditional healers. There is, in fact, no evidence on screen of any research into a collective unconscious of South Africans. In the *Three Letter Plague* (Steinberg, 2008), we hear how AIDS is seen as a curse and how many South Africans have a strong belief in the power of dreams, the ability of demons to enter a person through their dreams and how illness is viewed as the result of a curse someone has had put on a person. (Steinberg, 2008, pp. 124 – 125) These beliefs are widely held throughout Africa particularly the power of dreams to affect the health and wellbeing of a person. (Steinberg, 2008, pp.127 – 128 and 159). This is a rich area of collective belief and tradition for use in a scripted drama and could offer the viewer a more traditional African world view instead of the Western scientific universe in which the inexplicable and the supernatural have no place.

Evident in the *OneLove* series are the following archetypal characters from Jung's list of possible manifestations:

Zimele represents the shadow. The shadow is something split from us in our early lives. It is dark, shadowy, unknown and potentially troubling and plunges us into chaos or battle (Jung, 1954). This character represents repressed ideas, weaknesses, desires and instincts and shortcomings. He has destructive secrets, and over the course of the series he not only refuses to admit to any of them he also tries to get other people, including his own daughter, to keep his secrets as well.

Zimele lies easily, cheats consistently and as a result can be seen as the villain because of his refusal to change until it is too late. His secrecy and lies make him an archetypal “shadow”. Where Zimele goes, following his sexual desire, chaos, darkness and fear follow.

The Jungian “persona” or “mask” is how we present ourselves to the world (Jung, 1954). Zimele also has a strong persona, namely that of the caring, protective husband and father. He is continually telling his wife what he does for the family as the father and husband, and he is often referred to as a “good father and husband”, but his actions constantly undermine this description as merely a mask. Zimele reveals to the viewer the ease with which society will label a married man as ‘good” without any searching below the surface. In fact, by episode 13 when it comes out that one man is responsible for infecting Lebo, Lulu, Zakes, Dineo and Bulela, Bulela says of him “this whole mess is because of some sugar-daddy?...we have to tell everyone there’s this old man sleeping with everyone and infecting kids”. That’s what the “good father and husband” has become. The seemingly respectable middle class man has been exposed. He is punished by losing the love and respect of his family, and having to live with the knowledge that he effectively curtailed his son’s aspirations and put all their lives at risk.

In *Soul City OneLove,* the strongest presence of Jung’s family and story archetypes (Jung, 1954 and 1964) are presented as the character Sol, the wise old man, and in Lebo’s pregnancy, where the baby represents all future hopes of the community. As the wise man, Sol is a medical doctor, the only one working at Soul City’s clinic and thus holding great social and intellectual standing in the community. He is also a friend, part of the group of men who meet regularly in Soul City taverns to drink, braai, chat and meet women. In his context as doctor, Sol advises people about their behaviour “wear a condom”, “you must test or waste time worrying. Knowing is better than not knowing” and offers emotional support because it is Sol who will always be the first to know if anyone is HIV positive as he does the testing. In the context of friend, Sol watches more than acts, but when he acts he does so with the wisdom of the safe sex message – “should not you protect yourself? Here, take one of these (a

condom)". Sol, the wise man, always carries condoms in his shirt pocket, just as Lebo, the wise woman, hands them out from her stock in the shop.

Over the series, the wise man appears at moments of crisis for the other characters and his advice is either taken (Lebo, Lulu) or ignored (Theki) with each path having its own consequences. For some the rewards of following the wisdom of Sol are very clear, as in the case of Lulu. After being persuaded to test, and discovering she is indeed HIV positive, Lulu decides to change her life. She gets a job at the clinic and can finally break away from a life of quasi-prostitution. On the other hand, Theki's wife Miriam who refuses to test, becomes infected through his dangerous behaviour and ultimately dies because she will not face up to the facts resulting from an HIV test.

Another archetype, the baby, is a classic filmic archetype of hope for the future. (Jung, 1954) In this case Lebo finds out she is pregnant with her third child, a "laatlammetjie" in Episode 1. This sets up an anticipation of what kind of future world the child will be born into, given the behaviour of all the people in the world around its mother. As the series unfolds and more and more people test positive each week, the main question surrounding the baby is "will it be HIV positive or not?" HIV itself becomes a character, a shadow, something that comes to you as a punishment for not wearing a condom. Indeed, every person who has sex in the series without a condom becomes infected, although their status in life and the circumstances surrounding their sexual encounters differ widely. Zimele contracts HIV from a nameless woman, one of the many loose women with whom he has sex at taverns after drinking. Lebo contracts it from sex with her husband when she falls pregnant. Lulu contracts it from sex with Zimele for money and food for her sick granny and young sister. Zakes contracts it from sex with his only girlfriend who lies about being faithful to him. Dineo, a virgin when the series starts, contracts it from a one night stand of drunken sex with Zakes after they are both feeling betrayed by their partners. Bulela, also a virgin when the series starts, contracts it the second time he has sex in his life with his first girlfriend, Dineo, who does not reveal her indiscretion with Zakes.

The fear of HIV is represented by Bulela's younger sister, Mihlali, who has been stealing money to stash away so that she can look after herself and the baby when both her parents are dead and she is an AIDS orphan. In the final episode, Sol allays her fear by explaining to her that HIV positive people can live a normal life and he reveals that he himself is living with the virus. Once we hear this, like Mihlali, we are reassured that all will be well, that HIV is not the death sentence it was at the start of the first episode. We now have faith that the good characters have a future, as Sol's existence shows us it is possible. Sol describes the situation as life before HIV and life after (with) HIV, and as each character contracts the virus they grow in self-awareness and maturity and HIV holds less and less fear. By the end Lebo leaves Zimele, the cheating lying husband and Lulu gets a job and does not have to sell herself anymore. Zakes focuses on his career as a soccer player, Dineo goes to England to study and Bulela goes to study medicine.

On an emotional level the dramatic tension becomes located in the family dynamics. Given that Zimele has infected Lebo with HIV caught from his many extra-marital affairs, she struggles to forgive him. Compounding their marital problems is the presence of Eddie, the teacher, who is a good friend of Lebo's. Eddie represents everything Zimele is not; he is caring, understanding and a good companion. The question of whether their marriage and family will survive HIV becomes far more important in driving the narrative than whether the individuals will survive infection.

More detail in a breakdown of each episode is given in the Appendices (Section 7, Table 2 and Table 3).

OneLove contains definite messaging of an intellectual nature. We are given facts about how to find ways to satisfy your partner (read books, ask for tips from a counsellor, go for counselling together), facts about HIV anti-bodies and the window period, (you do not test for HIV but for anti-bodies trying to fight it), facts about sexual responsibility (always use a condom, you do not know if your partner is really faithful), and about living with HIV (modern medicine means you can live a normal, albeit careful, life on ARV's). On an emotional level we have the unjust suffering of Bulela through the actions of his girlfriend and father, and we have Lulu's humiliation

as she is continually refused a job, but approached by men for sex wherever she goes, until she has to sell all her clothes to put food on the table. There is no evidence of any triggers that work on the reptilian cortex which is the site of titillation and disgust or similar strong, uncontrollable responses to stimuli. Similarly, by the end of the series there is very little in the way of melodramatic conclusion of either triumph or defeat (Smith, 1973, pp.15 and 56) for Bulela and Lebo, who could be seen as the injured parties in the story.

Soul City OneLove delivers clear educational content which is dramatized. In terms of Sabido's framework we can see that it touches on the dramatic and psychological theories to some extent, but there is a strong tendency towards recreating a white Western type of dramatic world for the characters in which controversial beliefs such as witchcraft and curses, and the social acceptance of African men to have multiple sexual partners are not given expression. (Steinberg, 2008 and Hunter, 2005). This Westernized, dominant reading does assist in destigmatizing people living with HIV and AIDS and offers medically and psychologically sound solutions to the problems of multiple concurrent partnerships (such as always using condoms, discussing your sexual needs with your partner, or using books for tips to improve sex with your spouse). However, as vehicle designed to change sexual behaviour it may not be successful because the series shies away from confronting some of the ugliness in people and in the disease itself. The concluding chapter will further discuss these findings.

The following chapter interrogates the premises of the entertainment-education model by problematizing the context in which the programmes are received through the film *XY*.

4. CHAPTER FOUR – AUDIENCE RECEPTION THEORIES, AFRICAN MASCULINITY AND THE FILM *XY*

The film *XY* interrogates the assumptions of entertainment-education that a clear intended message will be read as such by a viewer. It does this by utilising the theoretical insights and empirical findings relating to media reception by scholars working within the cultural studies paradigm, as well as by drawing on the scholarship on African conceptions of masculinity - two important areas of relevance to any discussion of media and behaviour change relating to multiple concurrent partners within an African context.

4.1. Audience reception theories and cultural studies

From its beginnings in the 1960s and 70s, cultural studies approaches to the reception and consumption of media texts have consistently pointed out that while a producer may indeed have a single preferred intended message, there are many factors that affect the viewing of a televised text and that result in a multiplicity of interpretations (Fiske, 1987). The concept of "polysemy" refers to the "interpretive scope of media texts" (Jensen, 1990, p.57), and refers to the multiple *potential* readings embedded within any single media text. Polysemy, as a concept, emerged from the cultural studies movement to help account for the manner in which multiple readings of media content were seen to arise from the multiplicity of environments and cultures in which audiences are situated (Hall, 1973, Morley, 1980 and 1992, Curran & Morley, 2006, Fiske, 1987). It was argued that several potential readings exist in any one text, although there is a usually a dominant or preferred reading intended by producers.

In his essay on encoding/decoding, Stuart Hall (1973) problematizes the readings of television texts by calling into focus the area of subjectivity (Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990, pp.99). If, indeed, the message broadcast by producers is an objective fact, and the viewer subject to individual and private interpretations of a text (Hall,

1973, cited in During, 1990, p.99), then miscommunication or misunderstanding of a televised message is possible. Hall prefers to explain supposed misunderstanding as rather a situation in which the viewer is “not operating within the dominant or preferred code” (Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990, p.100). Hall goes on to explore further the notion of individualized readings by proposing that individuality is never as unique as we may think, and that patterns exist within groups of viewers, allowing several, but not infinite, positions of decoding of a text. These positions are described as being (a) the dominant-hegemonic, in which the producers’ “preferred reading” is received and understood, (b) the “negotiated position” in which the audience can identify what the producers intended the dominant reading to be, but interpret it with a partially opposing and adaptive approach (Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990, p.102), and (c) an oppositional or resistant reading. (Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990, p.103), in which the viewer understands the preferred reading, but chooses to decode the message in a resistant manner which then relocates the codes in an alternative frame of reference. In the case of entertainment-education this implies that the carefully constructed messaging of pro-social media could be read in ways other than those intended by the producers. How audiences receive messages is of particular interest in the case of *Soul City, OneLove*, which has a strong message – to discourage male sexual patterns of multiple concurrent partners.

In the previous chapter the analysis of the series shows how *Soul City* adheres to, or deviates from, Miguel Sabido’s strategic framework for developing effective behaviour change media, or how successfully the series has been constructed to change certain social behaviour. This chapter now proposes to explore how the film *XY* problematizes the assumptions underlying the entertainment-education model by highlighting the context in which these messages are received.

XY implies a graph, which is a mathematical domain where information is plotted along two axes – the “x” and the “y” - and certain meanings are extrapolated from the points along the graph at which the axes meet. Similarly, the film *XY* exists as a visual field in which various signs intersect and the audience is encouraged to make meanings of the juxtaposition of images through editing, action and characters.

In his book *Television Culture,* John Fiske (1987) investigates the problem posed by the existence of a television ”subject” – a being as the “central site of the sense-making process” (Fiske, 1987, p.48). Drawing on Marxist and structuralist approaches, Fiske dismisses the simplistic notion that an individual viewer interprets a single, individual message as intended from a television programme because interpretation is subject to factors such as race, class, gender, environment, nature, and society; as such viewers make meanings as groups of individuals, or cultures rather than as indeterminate separate beings (Fiske, 1987, pp. 48- 49, Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990, p.100).

The coding of text by the producer and the problems that arise *in situ* when the viewer decodes them were first introduced by Hall in 1973 in this seminal essay on encoding/decoding. While the previous chapter analyzing *Soul City* OneLove focuses on the moment of construction or production, this chapter looks at another of Hall’s “linked but distinctive moments” – that of consumption or reception (Hall,1973, cited in Durning, 1990, p.91). This chapter analyses the film *XY* in relation to the challenges posed by audience reception theories to the entertainment-education model: namely that messages are received in context (Morley, 1992, Fiske 1978 and 1987), and secondly, that assumptions are made about audiences, which may not be accurate (Livingstone, 1998). These two theories are set up directly against the education-entertainment model which posits that the genre is “…the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message both to entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members’ knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, and change overt behaviour” (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.9).

4.2. Images of Masculinity

XY represents the sex chromosomes of the male in humans and refers to the young boy who is watching a variety of models of male behaviour. The film *XY* takes the viewing experience of a 14-year old boy living in an urban African scenario. He is depicted as living with an older sibling who supports him, with no visible or alluded to

parents, with no female influence in the household, in an uninspiring landscape of ugly buildings and concrete, with very little to stimulate his imagination except for the ever-present television screen. And much like any other bored and neglected 14-year old boy, he spends his weekends either watching television, DVD's or playing video games on said screen. The boy in the film is at the threshold of making meaning from the messages he receives in his life about how to be a man. Whether through the role modelling of his brother, or the role models shown on television films, he is exposed to a variety of possible images of "manhood".

In their introduction to African masculinities, a collection of essays exploring masculinity in developing contexts, Robert Morrell and Lahoucine Ouzgane identify indigenous knowledge as one of the key factors driving post-colonial African gender literature (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005, pp.6-7). The significance of the ancestors and the required rituals that must be performed to introduce each new child to their ancestors in order to be able to ask for the ancestor's protection and guidance is a key part of African culture even in urban Africa today. (Steinberg, 2008, pp 158 – 159). Unconnected to his ancestors, the boy has no access to the traditional knowledge of his family, and is therefore alone and uninformed about what it means to be a man. In addition to these offerings, the Boy is exposed to the real life behaviour of his older brother, who has many girlfriends, and is troubled in his sleep by a dream of a strange old man who keeps asking "Do you know me?" The man is first seen in a documentary about migrant workers coming to work in Johannesburg. In the televised film he talks about how he had to leave his village because he made a girl pregnant, and then sought work in Johannesburg. This character represents the Boy's ancestors, men from a previous era. In traditional African culture, a child is introduced to his or her ancestors with a ceremony to ensure that the child is connected to his/her family line, so that they can call on their ancestors when they need help because the ancestors know who they are. In this case, the Boy has been cut off from these traditions. He no longer has access to elders in his family who could give him guidance about how to live as a man. The old man also represents the black male from an earlier era, similar to the men in DRUM magazine in the 1950's. In her chapter entitled *To Be A Man: Changing Constructions of Manhood in DRUM Magazine, 1951 – 1965,* Lindsay Clowes (2005), explores the metamorphosis

of African masculinity in that era from a domesticated father-figure, fully involved in family life, to an independent individual occupying a private space. (Clowes, 2005, pp.93 – 101). Although men in DRUM were all firmly rooted in being breadwinners, Clowes reveals a shift in male roles from a very present, strong father, strongly connected to a community, to a point where "urban black men were...constructed as autonomous and isolated individuals, having little or no emotional or physical legacies from ... parents, grandparents, siblings, children or even wives" (Clowes, 2005, p.106). The boy is truly a product of the present, and relies on models in the present to try and make sense of his indentify as an African man and the plethora of conflicting and unsatisfactory images of masculinity paraded across the screen echoes the struggle of the modern African man presented by Margarethe Silberschmidt (2005) as disempowered (Silberschmidt, 2005, pp.195 – 196). This disempowerment stems from decreased economic opportunities for men and the resultant increasing poverty coupled with an increase in female wage earners that has undermined the African male self-esteem, resulting in psychological conflict with men having reduced economic power but increased sexual freedom. "This has made men's roles and identities confusing and contradictory, and many men express feelings of helplessness, inadequacy and lack of self-esteem" (Silberschmidt, 2005. P195). The old man's migrant status emphasizes the link between African masculinity and a prospering patriarchal homestead and growing gender confusion in African relationships. Migrancy and the move into cities opened up new opportunities for women to earn their own living while undermining the male's homestead and base of his patriarchal power. (Hunter, 2005). The film locates both young men in this state of confusion and struggling for a new identity. Ultimately, all representations of the African man must take into account the multiplicity of ways of being for people today, and accept that there is no single version of manhood.

In a paper entitled *Young Men and the Construction of Masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Gary Barker and Christine Ricardo state that "There is no typical young man in sub-Saharan Africa and no single African version of manhood" (Barker & Ricardo, 2005, p.v). Versions of manhood, they go on to explain, have been variously shaped by social constraints, tribal and ethnic groups, Islam and Christianity and "Western influences, including the global media" (Barker and Ricardo, 2005, p.v). The film XY

explores these versions in the context of modern man's inability to find new ways of being masculine as concluded by Silberschmidt: "...the majority of men are not able to honor their expected roles as heads of households and breadwinners. This has serious consequences for men's social value and it is a constant threat to their masculine pride. Contrary to women, who have actively created new roles for themselves, men have not been able to do so" (Silberschmidt, 2005, p.200).

Hence it is fitting that the boy turns to the television set for ideas and here he is confronted by multiple images of manhood and maleness as constructed in Western Culture through films made in Hollywood (In the Tarantino and Van Damme films), classic literature (*Hamlet*), gaming culture (*Call of Duty*), pornography (*Sondoza* part 1), myth and fantasy (*The Crow* and *High School Musical*). The images and the interactions with his brother are jagged, cut-off, unexplored because they are unsatisfactory. Only in his dreams does the boy find a communication that implies that he part of a larger community that will give him an identity just as only in dreams do we tap into a collective unconscious that binds us in a large pattern of human experience beyond our actual lived experiences. (Jung, 1954, p. 67 and Steinberg, 2008, p.132).

4.3. Multiplicity of readings and possible action

The film sets up the environment by keeping the boy and the screen always close in frame - as though they have a symbiotic relationship, in which one cannot live without the other. The life force of both is controlled by the remote control which can kill the screen, increase the volume to shut out unwanted noise from the built environment, pause or re-play events. The face and the screen are connected on many levels, as a friend, as a mother, and as a teacher. When the boy watches television, he has choices and if his attention wanders, and he can change the channel. The screen is always subordinate to his choices, except when he sleeps. When he is asleep, his subliminal mind plays out dreams and nightmares on the screen. The images the boy receives have no meaning to him and carry no weight because he is searching for some connection beyond the films he watches. *XY* does

not show how the Boy decodes the messages he receives. Instead, it shows him on the brink of translating understanding into action.

In his article “The politics of polysemy:…”, Klaus Jensen (1990) further expands the factors that may produce multiple or polysemic readings by adding the notion of genre (Jensen, 1990, p.58). He argues that audiences will make meanings according to culture, environment *and* genre, implying that audiences easily recognize a programme as fitting into a certain genre (news, soap opera, documentary, magazine programme) and will view the programme according to mutually understood codes, conventions and semiotics for that particular genre. Genre is defined as a “conventional form of expression and a way of situating the audience in relation to a particular subject matter” (Williams, 1977, p.193). In describing his three decoding positions – dominant, negotiated and oppositional – Stuart Hall also accepts that before taking a negotiated or oppositional stance, a viewer still understands the construction of codes and the hegemonic cultural domain from which the producers are working (Hall 1973, cited in During, 1990, pp.100-103). This construction of codes is how genre is recognized and understood.

The film *XY* throws into question the genre of entertainment-education, whose very name implies a dual purpose; it should both entertain and educate. Because the boy never watches anything for more than a few minutes, he is never situated in a particular way to the programme he is watching. He watches all programmes in a similar, detached and random way, never absorbing one piece of information fully before moving on to the next. He avoids taking cognizance of genre and so avoids having to have a particular relationship with the material he watches. As a result, he avoids engaging with the dominant reading from each snippet.

The film generates an environment of aimlessness, in which the programmes broadcast promote the many agendas of their producers. Such agendas have been conceptualized, developed, scripted, performed, edited and then broadcast by a myriad of producers all of whom have a different aim and purpose for their offering. (Cartoons should make you laugh, combat films should satisfy male aggressive tendencies, pornography should titillate, some films should offer witty commentaries

on previous films, some should encourage wholesomeness in teenage love, some should scare you and some should inform you). In between these programmes is *Soul City One Love* with its message: Don't have multiple sexual partners. Whether the boy will ever actualise that message and thus complete Stuart Hall's model of communication by translating the message in social action (Hall, 1973, cited in During 1990, p.91) is left open ended.

In *Television Culture,* (1978) John Fiske talks about the role of language in the creation of meaning between text and reader (Fiske, 1978, p.49). In *XY* the use of subtitles helps to emphasize the important role language has to play in the interpretation of meanings. The message of *Soul City* is confused by the poor audio and the subtitles. Language, when subtitled, no longer represents its original culture, and subtitles therefore appear as a layer of translation between the intended meaning (as spoken by the characters) and the translated meaning, as delivered by text on a screen.

Snippets of films and snatches of dialogue hint at narratives that continue off screen that will never be watched in full. There are human dramas being played out that the Boy can choose to acknowledge or not. This further emphasizes the isolation of the boy from humanity. The close ups of the remote and continual flicking through channels shows us that the boy is trying to decide something, and yet he cannot, because he is receiving so many messages about how he should act, that in the end he is paralyzed and unable to "be" anything except a voyeur. John Fiske talks of the television as being the viewers' "eye" (1978, p.57) on the world. "The crucial "look" ….is that of the television upon the world" (1978, p.57). And so the Boy becomes just that, an "eye" watching televised world, engaging only when he plays his first-person shooter game and moves through the fields and trenches of France during World War 1. This could be seen as a paralysis, an inability to act but if we return to the metaphor of the graph, we realize that this is just one of a multiplicity of moments of meaning in which the viewer (the Boy) will interpret and consume a message. What he does with that message, the actions he will carry out, the life choices he will make are off screen, in the "real" world and may only become manifest at another time.

As entertainment-education, *Soul City* has as its objective the meanings and messages designed to change behaviour. In the case of *OneLove*, the aim is to change male sexual behaviour in relation to multiple concurrent partners; to encourage men to remain faithful to one sexual partner at a time instead of sleeping with many people concurrently. In entertainment-education programmes, the organization of signs into Stuart Hall's "maps of meaning" or "maps of social reality" (Hall, 1973, in During, 1990, p.98) is perhaps more conscious and organized through strategic frameworks such as Miguel Sabido proposes, precisely because the objective of this genre is the adoption of a specific desired behaviour. This behaviour is often a result of the audiences own desire for role models or guidance from television programming. In an interview with Arvind Singhal and Rafael Obregon, Miguel Sabido claims that "The main point is that television has become the big moral guide in today's world, and people tacitly seek it's guidance in making everyday decisions….audience members have an intrinsic capacity to learn." (Sabido in conversation with Singhal and Obregon, 1999, pp.69-70).

Hall and Sabido concur on one striking point – that of action. In Stuart Hall's circuit of communication (Hall, 1973, cited in During, 1990, pp.90 - 91), no actual consumption has taken place unless the viewer translates the meaning into social action. This is exactly what Sabido's model is constructed to achieve through television. The aim of the *Soul City* Series is essentially to have male viewers re-assess their sexual behaviour and change undesirable patterns such as multiple concurrent partnerships, thereby moving towards behaviours that are "intended to bring about both social and material advancement" (Rogers, 1976, in Brown & Singhal, 1990, p.268).

In the film *XY* the sign vehicle is the film itself. The Boy, as representing a viewer, is negotiating meanings from the texts he watches, from his dreams and from his experiences. He makes no decisions about what he has seen. He is the moment before "consumption", before social action takes place, and the way he will act is left open -ended. Stylistically, the film is not a traditional narrative or drama. We know this because the characters have no name, we do not establish their location, and there is no beginning, middle and end. The film starts with the switching on of the

television set and ends with a game paused, ready to be restarted. All these signs indicate that what we view in between is a series of moments of potential meaning that may or may not ever be realized into action by the boy.

5. CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND FINDINGS

If we look to change male sexual behaviour using television we need to first see what is proven to be *effective* in behaviour change media. Miguel Sabido offers a framework for analysis that has been tried and tested in a range of developing countries (Singhal and Rogers, 1999 and Nariman, 1993). *Soul City OneLove* is a highly educational series with a strong narrative premise, namely that of a man with an uncontrollable sex drive infecting his own son with HIV. However, on closer analysis, it seems that only some aspects of effective soap opera for social change have been applied in the scripting, and even in those cases the application is superficial.

Sabido-style soap opera drama relies on extensive research to identify the culture- or country-specific versions of Jungian archetypes and to identify local archetypes that represent the prosocial values (or the antithesis of these values) that will be addressed in the serial drama. The formative research is used to develop a grid of positive and negative social "values" which these positive and negative characters will embody, as well as to inform the scriptwriters so that they develop characters that are recognizable in that particular country. (Nariman, 1993, and Singhal & Rogers, 1999). *Soul City OneLove* shows no sign of any such research, and produces no such collective subconscious, even though Africa has a rich tradition acknowledging the importance of dreams and is fertile ground for the development of a world of the programme to which all Africans can relate even on a sub - conscious level. In *The Three Letter Plague,* journalist Jonny Steinberg (2008) tries to understand, a young, rural African man's beliefs about HIV, AIDS and ARV's. In a chapter exploring why some people will only visit a traditional healer and others go to the "white doctor" Steinberg is confronted with the tangible world of dreams. He concludes: "If the insistence that AIDS is caused by sex rather than witchcraft is born from an attempt to drain the epidemic of social toxicity, it is not at all clear that the attempt succeeds. What are the demons that people speak of: the ones that come to Sizwe in his sleep, feeding him chicken and sex: the ones that made his little nephew sick during the night" (Steinberg, 2008, p.132).

Whether acceptable to Western theorists or medical practitioners or not, the real African existence is populated with demons, dreams that change reality, living spirits of the dead, and the proximity of suffering and death itself (Steinberg, 2008). It could be argued that to completely ignore the African belief system when scripting a drama designed to change sexual behavior in African men is to invite failure on a large scale.

Soul City OneLove delivers information using dramatized characters, but with very little of the theories of drama and psychology carefully extracted by Miguel Sabido. A true Sabido-style series demands more from its producers than delivery of pre-determined messages. However, this series seems to deliver strongly only on the education element with less attention given to the entertainment aspects. Emotional situations such as Lulu's desperation, Dineo's betrayal and Miriam's death, all fertile ground for dramatic conflict, are underplayed and under-explored. Instead, long scenes are given to people in discussion with one another about an aspect of improved sexual behaviour – be it wearing condoms, or reading books to find tips to sexually satisfy your partner. People and the women in particular, discuss these issues at length. In fact, the sign of a mature or good character is defined by how much they are willing to talk about issues. While the need to discuss issues is one of the important messages of the series, it is not exactly exciting as a narrative/ dramatic device and results in characters coming across as lecturers rather than real people.

Another example of the failure to stimulate the viewer on a more basic level is where the producers have obviously chosen not to show anyone sick from HIV and its resultant complications. This would have been a great opportunity to trigger feelings of disgust and fear, as per the Sabido model's inclusion of the triune brain theory, but the only death from HIV occurs off screen to a character seen briefly in only one episode. She has a cough and then we hear she is in hospital and then she is dead. The greatest omission here is that we never see anyone who is suffering as a result of being HIV positive. In other words, viewers have not (a) developed any identification with this character and her death is unlikely to elicit any sense of loss, and (b) there is no inclusion of the suffering, physical symptoms, emotional trauma,

etc. of someone who has contracted AIDSs. Television is a visual medium and the power of the image is such that it far outweighs the spoken word. Jung describes the power of learning through example as so effective that "...even the best methods of conscious education can sometimes be completely nullified by bad example" (Jung, 1954, p.150). And so we are expected to feel fear and pity for the characters who one by one become infected with HIV, and we must believe that the stakes for each one are high and yet we never see what HIV looks like, or what a sick person looks like, i.e. we are offered no vision of the scariness of AIDS. Without these visceral images, the threat of infection becomes a hypothetical affair and the emotional impact on the viewer is reduced. We can understand that Bulela is denied his scholarship because he is HIV positive, but we cannot realize the full horror of Zimele's actions, or Theki's refusal to change, unless we experience the worst consequences that HIV can wreak upon individuals, families and communities.

Additionally, there is a conflict in the narrative which dilutes its message. This conflict lies in the aforementioned treatment of HIV. All undesirable behaviour, which in this case is having more than one sexual partner at a time, is punished by the contraction of the HIV virus. But at the same time, the message is undermined by the refusal to portray HIV as anything but benign which could be read as a choice made by the producers to avoid stigmatizing people living with HIV and AIDS as sickly, contagious and untouchable. However, the dramatic value of the "bad behaviour" is weakened because we never see what the ravages of HIV and AIDS can do to a person and besides Bulela being denied a scholarship; we are never actually shown a negative consequence of contracting the disease. This omission fails *OneLove* in terms of both melodrama and the triune brain theory, as our instinct to survive must be triggered by the threat of the virus in a tangible, non- intellectual way. It takes a brave producer to actively script in reptilian zone brain triggers, such as disgust or terror, but if Sabido is to be believed and followed, then it is necessary to have a total learning experience that triggers behaviour change.

"Without a condom it's the same as sleeping with everyone he or she ever slept with" – *Billboard on the wall in Soul City*

The main aspect of behaviour change that is expected by the producers is the use of condoms. If HIV represents a villain it could be said that condoms represent heroic, rightful behaviour. All the characters, regardless of their morality, are punished for not wearing condoms. Whether they then change becomes the conflict explored in the narrative. HIV is a threshold and the characters are encouraged to step over bravely and embrace a new life.

Whether the audience would adopt safe sex practices after watching the series is beyond the scope of this research; however, it should be noted that we never see any of the characters actually using condoms. Thus, an opportunity to demonstrate how to use a condom, possible resistance by partners to their use, and how to negotiate such resistance, are all missed in a series that ostensibly aims to promote condom use. Instead Zimele tries once to have sex with his wife using a condom but she is still angry with him and refuses sex, and in another scene Bulela rightly tells Dineo that she would never have told him about her infidelity with Zakes if they had used a condom, making her truthfulness a result of her unsafe sexual behaviour.

Finally, Soul City itself is a problematic location. It is fictitious village located somewhere in South Africa but it has taken on many attributes of a white middle class existence. Key conversations take place with the family sitting round the dinner table, most people read and engage with literature to inform themselves, and no one accuses anyone of witchcraft. On a deeper level, many Africans are not entirely convinced that HIV is not a Western plot to kill off the black man. This context of a national distrust in the white man cannot be simply shelved for the duration of a series. It should be incorporated into the very fabric of the drama so that more people than just the urban, westernized African can see their own beliefs reflected in the world of the drama and this would possibly trigger more widespread change. For some viewers, as one possible expression of Hall's notion of an oppositional reading, *Soul City OneLove* could even be seen as propaganda for a sinister Western agenda.

As Jonny Steinberg discovers when he interrogates true feelings about the white doctor's needle, "For all our talk on the causes of AIDS, it had taken this trip to Nomvalo to out his strongest suspicion about the origin of the epidemic. It was brewed, not by witches and their demons, but in the vividly imagined laboratories of Western science" (Steinberg, 2008, p.146). The denial of the script to allow the characters to explore traditional African cultural beliefs such as curses and witchcraft, (Steinberg, 2008, p.131 – 133) and the omission in showing the repulsive side of HIV infection greatly compromises the capacity of the series to change men's sexual behavior according to Sabido's model.

In the film *XY*, the boy is faced with many images each with their own messages. This reflects the scholarship and empirical studies of media reception which problematise the belief that messages are received as intended by producers of the texts. My challenge to the viewer is to decide which, if any, of those images dominates. In the making of the film, the pornography proved to be the most striking because of the strong feelings it triggers, particularly when edited with the boy watching. In the case of the shot of a woman performing oral sex juxtaposed with the close up of the boy's face watching, there is a deliberate choice to use strong images and editing in order to emphasise the point that messages and content can be carefully constructed with a specific purpose in mind, but one strong image that contradicts the preferred message can undo the attempt to motivate behaviour change. In this case, all the messaging about wearing condoms that this boy could have possibly received is negated by one scene in a pornographic film in which no one is wearing a condom.

With regard to the aim of the series, which is to discourage multiple concurrent partnerships, it could be argued that the narrative does not support this aim strongly enough. Characters who have sex with more than one person at a time are justified in their actions (they were drunk, they need a more exciting sex life, they were angry and hurt), and the negative aspects of their behaviour are downplayed through these justifications. As a result, the strongest message that emerges from the storyline is that "if you're going to play around, wear a condom; that way you won't get infected with a disease and no one will find out".

In conclusion, *Soul City OneLove* fails to fulfill sufficient criteria as prescribed by Miguel Sabido in the development of effective soap opera for social change. Singhal & Rogers (1999) point to a common trap when producing educational drama which is that "...most educational programmes fail because they only trigger intellectual …. responses. An entertainment - education soap opera should evoke emotional (visceral) and physical (reptilian) responses from its viewers in order to have the desired effect" (Singhal & Rogers, 1999, p.70). There is internal conflict in its educational messaging that undermines the producers' own aims, and this is compounded by the omission of more heightened dramatic techniques. The result is a series that is heavily skewed towards the education side of entertainment-education with little of the entertainment elements included. As such, *Soul City OneLove* could be described as taking us back to a time of ineffective, message driven educational programming from the pre-Sabido era.

6. Appendix A - List of characters in *Soul City OneLove*

The Moloi family

ZIMELE - Store owner in Soul City, Father, husband of Lebo, lover of Lulu

LEBO – Co store-owner, Mother, wife of Zimele, pregnant with baby number 3

BULELA – Their son aged 18 in Grade 12

MIHLALI – Their daughter, aged 12

The friends of Lebo and Zimele

TEFO & LIHLE – Married for many years; she is unsatisfied in their relationship, and he is scared to discuss anything with her. Lihle is Lebo's close friend

THEKI & MIRIAM – Theki is a player, one of Zimele's drinking partners, and Miriam stays at home

SOL – Soul City's Doctor

EDDIE – Bulela's maths teacher, good friends with Lebo, they have an attraction to each other never acted upon

Friends of Bulela

ZAKES – First just classmate, then friend of Bulela, Lulu's boyfriend

LULU – Zake's girlfriend and Zimele's lover, dropped out of school to take care of her granny and sister

DINEO – Bulela's classmate and first girlfriend

7. Appendix B – Analysis table of *Soul City OneLove*

Table 2: Analysis of Episodes 1 to 6

Archetype	Ep 1	2	3	4	5	6
Archetypes – shadow	SEX/HIV	SEX/HIV	HIV test is mentioned – for Lebo	Lebo is HIV positive, Zimele denies then lies, then gets angry. Lebo is angry with him	Zimele worried, won't test Lulu tries to get a job to get out of her prison and be with Zakes, who she lies to	A purely sexual relationship becomes something dark and degraded.
Archetypes - child	Mihlali – the young girl represents the future of gender relationships "why don't you ask Bulela to set the table – because he's a boy"	Lebo is pregnant – everyone happy	Lebo's baby – represents future Hiv free Mihlali wants to know if her mother has money of her own		Dineo has a scholarship to London, she won't rush into sex – she has future	
Archetypes – wise old man (sol)	Sol tries to give Theki condoms		Sol defends women at the braai	Sol explains ARV treatment – he is a doctor at the clinic HIV is a threshold – there is life before and life after HIV		Sol argues in favour of one meaningful relationship while the men want "hot peri-peri on the side". "If you don't respect your wife you don't respect yourself". He explains how to keep a long relationship from getting boring "there are books and magazines"!!!
Archetypes –	Dineo and Bulela in		Eddie is like her soul	The husband has	Bulela and Dineo	Zimele and Lulu have

Archetype	Ep 1	2	3	4	5	6
animus/anima	maths class – her maths side makes her a different kind of woman – her "manliness" makes her special, his sensitive side "feminine" makes him special		mate – male version of her "he listens he understand me not like Zimele" also represents temptation – the marriage becomes the golden ideal that must be preserved at all costs	infected the wife When she tells him his immediate response is "have you been cheating on me" Bulela develops a crush on Dineo	kiss, they are getting close, but they are virgins and won't rush into sex – innocents Dineo leaves the party early, she is a good girl	hatred between them because of the degrading situation they find themselves in. They have degraded the male-female relationship.
Persona/mask	Lulu is faking having a job – has a secret sugar daddy She looks in the mirror to try on earrings "A girl like you surely has a man taking care of her"	Zimele – washes face, looks in mirror ready to woo Lulu His loving boyfriend act is also a persona	Zimele as the good man – mask – often seen at dinner table which represents the happy nuclear family	Zimele lies - "As the father of this house I've done my best to do the right thing at home – take care of you and the kids" Lebo: "A good father and husband does not infect his wife with HIV" – she reveals his true nature	Theki does not use condoms "I am a strong man"	Zimele encourages Mihlali to lie and cover up for him (keep a secret)
Collective subconscious of the characters world		The family dinner table represents a happy family; news of pregnancy at the table ends ep on a hopeful happy note	The braai – men want to sit and talk uninterrupted – sport and politics" They talk about how being macho is "putting our country in trouble "	The world is cracking up – the pleasures are souring		Family at dinner table again Men discuss the old days when "men had 20 wives'
Bandura – modelling - rewards	Sol shows good sexual behaviour – gives friend a condom		Lebo is going to test for HIV	Bulela is kind sensitive Bulela gets a date.	Dineo says she is not ready for sex, Bulela does not rush her. He	Dineo and Bulela have sex – they don't wear condoms because they are

Archetype	Ep 1	2	3	4	5	6
				He has high hopes, he glimpses happiness.	is heroic in his sensitivity and displays real affection Lihle trying to change Tefo	virgins and she in the pill???? Lulu still looking for a job – everyone hits on her and no one hives her work – she demands from Zimele and he is awful to her Bulela is a good brother
Bandura - punishments	Theki and Zimele		Zimele rude to Lebo Zimele won't tests	Zimele attacks Lebo Lulu is judged Zimele is worried so he drives to the tavern and drinks, and picks up girls. But this action starts to sour for him and he panics.		Mihlali hers Zimele's secret with Lulu – he wants her to keep it a secret (lies) Bulela and Dineo have unprotected sex. They will punished for this later,
Bentley – melodrama pity	Lulu is a victim – we pity her		Zakes is hard on Lulu – she tells him she'll break it off with Zimele and look for a job (she can't separate the two things) She does not get another job granny is sick – in foreground she is stumped	Lulu's Granny is sick and needs the doctor, there is no money. Lebo rages against the injustice - that she is positive through Zimele's selfishness Lulu is judged for	Bulela and Dineo – innocents, have big dreams Zimele tries it end it with Lulu – gives her cash and won't sleep with her Good girl Dineo goes home early	Mihlali and Bulela are innocents about to suffer Lulu can't find a job – the one thing that will set her free from the life she hates. She demands food and money from Zimele who is awful to her. She is humiliated.

Archetype	Ep 1	2	3	4	5	6
			Lebo is going to test,	her actions by Dineo	from party	Mihlali overhears her father ad Lulu and learns the truth. Then her father tries to get her to cover up for him
Bentley – melodrama - fear		Zakes jumps out in front of car, spies on them	Zimele is scared of Hiv test – is worried	Zimele lies to Lebo about cheating – tells her it was once and he was drunk	Bulela's biggest fear is never to leave this place – he starts having aspirations	Zimele makes hid s daughter keep secrets from her family Bulela and Dineo have unprotected sex because they are both virgins and she is on the pill
Bentley – hero		Bulela – tells everyone it was an accident, defends Zakes at dinner	Zakes wants to tell them - he is also very humble ":if I had a brain like Bulela's' he is surprising	Bulela is a perfect woo-er	Zakes defends Lulu's honour at the party when a drunken man makes comments to her	Bulela is a good brother Sol tells the men that sex is better if it involves your whole being
Bentley - villain	Zimele is set up as someone who lies, cheats and does not consider women much at all	Zakes – violent and dangerous – but a star on soccer field. Then attacks Bulela Tefo – won't talk to Lihle (wife)	Zakes moving towards hero – in transition – won't give z up in front of wife – has respect for women and family, as opposed to Zimele's cover of "good man" but he does not respect women or	Zimele goes to tavern and freaks out when he sees all the married men with prostitutes – from guilt. Zimele cannot tell	Zimele can't sleep with lulu but he offers he food to leave him alone, he offends her deeply	Zimele is cruel to Lulu and when his daughter overhears, he tries to get her to keep his secret thereby involving her in his infidelity to her mother

Archetype	Ep 1	2	3	4	5	6
		Zimele – no time for Lebo – but goes to support Bulela play soccer – chases customer away	family Zimele is the villain – money missing, lying cheating – yet they keep calling him a "good man"	the truth or accept responsibility for his actions		
Any other male issues:	Maths – a place to show Dineo's talent	Tefo – we feel sorry for him, he can't talk about sex with his wife, runs away			Theki won't use condoms because he us "strong man"	Tefo is panicked at the thought of trying different sex acts
Maclean – reptilian (impulses)						
Maclean – neocortex (thinking - MESSAGES)	Sol and condoms				Sleeping around is bad, not using condoms is worse	Having sex without condoms is like having sex with twenty people
Maclean – limbic/mammalian (emotions)	Lulu's predicament tugs at heartstrings, old granny scenes	Zakes angry and aggressive, Lebo happy		Anger from Lebo about being positive, Zimele has guilty anger (anger at being caught out) Dineo judges Lulu	Pity – Zimele offers Lulu food to go away and leave him. She is so desperate she takes it even though he treats her badly	Pity for Lulu, disgust for Zimele. Apprehension for Dineo

Table 3: Analysis of Episodes 7 to 13

Archetype	EP 7	Ep 8	Ep 9	Ep 10	Ep 11	Ep 12	Ep 13
Arche types – shadow	HIV – Lulu and Zakes must test Sadness from secrets pervades	Secrets have replaced HIV which is losing its power	Secrets and lies are weighing everyone down	Zimele tries to shift responsibility, can't tell the truth	Fear of AIDS = Death, fear of losing parents	A death from HIV	The family breaks apart and leaves Zimele behind
Arche types - child	Mihlali is sad, the secret is eating at her	Nozi – pregnant mother represents hope after HIV	Bulela's hope for scholarship to the states, the baby	Mihlali hears everything he says about Eddie and Lebo (lies)	Mihlali starts to steal food and money as she is scared	Dineo has to tell her father about her status	The baby is HIV negative
Arche types – wise old man	Sol is at the testing – he is to be found wherever people have to face their mortality. Confession is the first step to putting things right.		Sol counsels Lulu and Zakes about HIV testing	Sol recommends Lulu attend a support group, He mediates the support group	Sol says everyone should test Tefo says men should start talking	Tefo become a new breed of man. He brings pamphlets and arranger evenings for men to talk about issues of sex, lovers and wives ; Sol says life is not fair but it must make us strong	Tefo is the only one who addresses HIV at Miriam's funeral "We all know what killed her"; Eddie the teacher helps the students stay on track, Sol's wisdom has spread the these men as well
Arche types – animus /anima	Men face against women – jealousy, distrust, hatred	Zakes and Dineo agree to keep "their secret"	Bulela and Dineo try and work out their feelings Zakes and Lulu test together	Eddie tries to play a bigger part in Lebo's life	The couples all break up	Friendships are renewed but relationships are fragile	Bulela and Dineo ; Zakes and Lulu, Zimele and Lebo all go their separate ways into the future
Persona /mask	He confesses to Sol "I'm one of those men"	Zimele continues with his	Zimele wants the scholarship	Zimele won't stop being secretive, he		Zimele says he is "proud of his son" gives advice.	Zimele is confronted by his son "what kind of man are you

Archetype	EP 7	Ep 8	Ep 9	Ep 10	Ep 11	Ep 12	Ep 13
	Zimele bans Bulela from a party – saying he mustn't waste time on girls (projection)	secrets and lies	board to see a close family, Lebo is bitter Mihlali hears him lying to his wife about biscuits disappearing	tries to accuse Lebo of having an affair with Eddie and tries to implicate Eddie as the one who infected them		Hypocritically.	dad?"
Collective sub conscious of the characters world							
Bandura – modelling - rewards		Lulu tests. Her actions will result in a future for her. She tells Zakes everything.		Fikile and Lulu stand up and tell their honest stories in support group, exposing the stigmas associated with HIV. Lebo tells her side	Dineo tells Lulu she slept with Zakes; Lebo and Zimele tell their children their status, people start to be honest	Tefo becomes an activist, encourages men to talk	Bulela gets to study at WITS, Dineo goes to London, and Lebo's baby is HIV negative. Zakes goes to a soccer academy, lulu gets a job in a top restaurant
Bandura - punishments	Lulu puts her love at risk, Zakes will leave her Dineo and Zakes have drunken sex – for which they will be terribly punished		Zimele lies when confronted by Lebo	Theki refuses to test No one uses condoms	Theki's wife has a bad cough. Won't test for TB	Theki's wife in hospital, dying, they didn't test	Zimele is excommunicated. Lebo: "Look at the mess you've made", Theki's wife dies and he know he killed her,
Bentley – melodrama pity	Bulela is punished unfairly for Zimele's indiscretions and guilt. Everyone seems to be trying to split them up. Lulu	Lulu is depressed Dineo misses a test at school –	Bulela suffers at the hands of Dineo, who won't come clean to him	We pity the victims in the support group, the wife, the desperate girlfriend and the	Dineo breaks up With Bulela due to her own guilt, Lulu breaks up with	Bulela loses his scholarship because he is HIV +;	Bulela figures out that Zimele was the one who infected all the young people.

Archetype	EP 7	Ep 8	Ep 9	Ep 10	Ep 11	Ep 12	Ep 13
	tries because she does not want her secret known Zakes overhears her talking to Zimele and gets angry	her work starts to suffer Bulela is rejected		trucker's wife	Zakes out of anger		
Bentley – melodrama - fear	Dineo goes to party without Bulela; we know something bad will happen. Misunderstanding in that he does not pitch up without telling her leads to tragedy	We fear for Dineo's future, Lulu's mental health Zakes realises they could all be infected	Bulela is shortlisted for a scholarship. He makes up with Dineo	We fear that men will never be open about their sexual behaviour and therefore HIV will continue to spread	Theki's wife is very ill and won't test, Mihlali fear of being an orphan	Theki's wife in hospital, we fear for everyone's future	We fear for the Moloi family
Bentley – hero	Bulela is in love	Bulela has his heart broken	Bulela gets a chance at a scholarship, Dineo succumbs to him – the stakes are increased	Bulela gets accepted to study in USA, as we start to see that Zakes' HIV+ status could affect him	Zakes will remain true to his love, Tefo becomes an activist, Bulela is devastated to hear about his parents status	Tefo arranges meetings for men to talk, makes pamphlets, wants to bring all the secrets into the open, expose the lies	Tefo, Eddie become new heroes, Bulela still has a future and moves towards it confidently
Bentley - villain	Zimele is positive, tells Lebo who tell s him to tell his girlfriend – so he calls LULU Zakes anger gets the better of him and he gets Drunk and gets Dineo drunk. His	Zimele still keep secrets	Zimele still won'; come clean , keeps lying, lacks courage	Zimele tries to make Lebo the "bad guy". Shifts responsibility even thought she has been faithful	Theki gets drunk and fights with Zimele	Zimele still does not own up anything to his son	Zimele is exposed, Zimele is excommunicated, we hear nothing of his future, he is no longer part of the family

Archetype	EP 7	Ep 8	Ep 9	Ep 10	Ep 11	Ep 12	Ep 13
	jealousy also makes him stir between Dineo and Bulela.						
Any other male issues:	Zakes and Zimele seek drink and girls when upset	Men don't like to talk about sexual issues.			Sol wishes everyone would test, Tefo backs him up	The private has become public. Nothing can be private anymore (since HIV)	Many south Africans think that having more than one sexual partner is normal. SOL "gentlemen, it's time to think with our heads not with our privates"
Maclean – reptilian (impulses)							
Maclean – neocortex (thinking)	You must know your status	You need to add romance to an old relationship	HIV anti-bodies and window period		Everyone should test		Men like variety but they need to think more rationally
Maclean – limbic/mammalian (emotions)	You must test or waste time worrying. Knowing is better than not knowing. Bulela is deeply in love Dineo feels betrayed, Zakes is jealous, Lulu is scared	Lulu is scared, Dineo is guilty, breaks up with Bulela	Zakes is angry with himself		The couples all break up but the truth is told to the Moloi Children	Miriam dies (off screen)	Hiv and the lies and secrecy have destroyed a family, and brought new life to those who accept it and move on as new creations

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