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Entertainment-Education Project

**University of KwaZulu Natal: Promotion of Public Health via
Entertainment-Education**

Short Title: The Soul Goal

**Long Title: Reception analysis among high school children of
selected episodes of Soul City VII**

**Declaration: We declare that this is our own work and all
acknowledgements have been correctly made.**

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1 Introduction

1.1 HIV/Aids in South Africa

"South Africa is said to have more people living with HIV (Human-Immuno Deficiency Virus) than any other country. By 2005, most Africans will die before they reach their 48th Birthday" (Walker et al. 2004: 14). HIV/AIDS has also been the cause of many social problems in South Africa, which are largely influenced by its history. These include debates such as the cause of the pandemic, as well as ways of curing it, whether traditional or otherwise. "Unsurprisingly in apartheid South Africa, racial and political attitudes strongly influenced people's attitudes to AIDS. Some blacks argued that whites had deliberately spread the disease and that the promotion of condom use was a racist device to curb the growth of the African population" (Walker et al. 2004: 14). With a history of such attitudes, it becomes clear that there is a crucial need to educate the population via methods that they can relate to. Such methods would have to be formative in order to understand the cultural norms and values of the communities that constitute the South African population.

South Africa exists with a high mortality¹ and morbidity² rate. Hence many South Africans are in need of assistance and knowledge that will prevent the fast-spread of this disease. "Parents and grandparents bury children and die prematurely themselves. Children and old people battle to keep their families together in the absence of parents" (Ibid). One of the best ways to reach and educate the masses of South Africa is via television and other media such as magazines, billboards and the internet. At present, the most popular intervention or approach that has been used to fight the AIDS pandemic and increase public health education in South Africa, is entertainment-education. "Enter-educate is a strategic process to design and implement a communication form with both entertainment and education elements to enhance and facilitate social change" (Coleman 1999: 96).

¹ Mortality rate is the annual number of deaths (from a disease or at general) per 1000 people. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mortality_rate)

² Morbidity rate is a ratio that measures the incidence and prevalence of a specific disease. Within the framework of a given time period (typically, but not necessarily, one year) it gives the number of people who are afflicted with that disease per unit of population. It is usually expressed as a number of people afflicted per 1,000, 10,000, or 100,000 (people.<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morbidity>)

1.2 The Entertainment-Education format

The first recognisable entertainment-education (E-E) interventions were launched on radio with *The Archers* (in 1951) and on television with *Simplemente Maria* (in 1969) (Singhal and Rogers 2002: 117). Miguel Sabido assisted in formulating the intellectual basis for the E-E strategy in television, relying especially on Albert Bandura's (1977) social learning theory (Singhal and Rogers 1999: 47). This original formula was added to, by communication scholars such as Dr Lawrence Kincaid and Patrick Coleman. Coleman outlined four areas, which form the basis for the formulation of E-E interventions. These are-

- Marketing
- Persuasive communication
- Play theory
- Social Learning/self-efficacy

(Coleman 1999: 96)

1.3 *Soul City* in South Africa

Poverty and disease are wide-spread in Southern Africa and are major factors in the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS and subsequent infections. The disease mainly affects poor households in the region because breadwinners are ill or dying (Walker et al. 2004: 16). Such problems can only be solved by educating the South African population through initiating public health interventions that will result in behavior change. Existing interventions of this calibre that have utilized an E-E approach are *Soul City*, *Tsha Tsha* and *Soul Buddyz*. *Soul City* is the intervention which will be focused upon in this project.

Soul City began in the late 1980s during the time that Dr Garth Japhet, a young medical doctor, was assigned to a rural health clinic in South Africa's Natal Province. In treating poor, rural patients, Japhet realized that "South Africa harbored 'developing' country problems in a "developed" country environment" (Singhal and Rogers 1999: 213). He found however that despite the dismal health record in the area, there existed a highly developed mass media system: 65 % of South Africans regularly watch television, 93 % regularly listen to radio, and 50 % regularly read newspapers and magazines (Ibid). He found however that

health promotion activities in the media were inadequate and mainly slogan based - there was a Tuberculosis Day, an AIDS Day, a Malaria day and so on. Such health promotional efforts lacked sustainability. Also, research did not play much role in health promotion. South Africa had a robust advertising industry, but lessons from advertising and social marketing were not being applied in health communication campaigns. Institutional partnerships among the media, the government and the private sector did not exist for health promotion. The health ministry usually implemented programmes in a top down manner. Japhet also realized that despite a wealth of mass media talent and resources, there was no good indigenous drama on South African television or radio (Ibid). He consequently recruited partners from the entertainment and media industries, professionals, professors, medical doctors, and international agencies. In 1992, with the help from another medical doctor, Shereen Usdin, he established Soul City, a non-governmental organization whose mission was to harness mass media for promoting health (Ibid).

Soul City has been broadcast since 1994 and has taken the form of six seasons, each addressing specific public health issues that would lead to behavioral change, through entertainment-education. This year saw the introduction of *Soul City VII* to the viewers of SABC 1 (their target market) in a Thursday night prime-time slot. Soul City uses a multimedia approach, which includes print (education, training, development and advocacy materials), radio (*Soul Expressions*), television (*Soul City* and *Soul Buddyz*) as well as brand building campaigns³ (*Soul City Health and Development Worker Awards*, *Soul City Search for a Star* and *Soul Buddyz Music Talent Search*). “By using a multimedia approach, Soul City sustains a campaign atmosphere throughout the year. Each medium reinforces the popularity of the Soul City television series while appealing to a different target audience” (Singhal & Rogers, 1999: 215). *Soul City VII*, broadcast in April 2005, dealt with the following themes:

- HIV/AIDS treatment
- Masculinity/ manhood
- Volunteerism and Service
- Equity in the South African Health system

³ <http://www.soulcity.org.za/17.01.asp>

- Cancer of the cervix

(Soul City: 2005)

1.4 Project Layout

This project investigates the reception of two episodes of *Soul City VII* (episode two and three⁴) which deal with three of the five above-mentioned issues – HIV/AIDS treatment; Masculinity/Manhood and Volunteerism.⁵ Only two episodes were used, largely due to time constraints of the project. It would have been impossible to conduct a reception analysis of the whole *Soul City VII* season, as it was still unfolding at the time of undertaking this study. However, enough of the storyline had progressed within the two episodes shown, to enable comprehensive answers to be obtained from the subjects. Furthermore, the students had to remember certain information in order to answer the questionnaire to the best of their ability. More episodes would have included more data and may have resulted in an exorbitant amount of information which may have caused respondent fatigue, thereby affecting the quality of the answers received.

Analysis was conducted at Chesterville Secondary School. Chesterville was chosen since it encompasses numerous similarities to the fictional township in which the series is acted out. It is a township that is surrounded by informal settlements including Cato Manor, Umkumbaan settlement and Jamaica (a recently developed informal settlement).

The key question in this study is-

What messages and perceptions are students attaining from watching *Soul City VII*?

This question is divided further into five focus questions, which form the basis of the analysis⁶.

⁴ See Appendix 8.4 for episode synopsis

⁵ All five issues could not be covered, since only three were mentioned in the episodes included in this project

⁶ These focus questions were devised using the “*The Turtle and the Peacock*” by Martine Bouman (1999) as a guide

1. Did the students appreciate the Entertainment-Education format of *Soul City VII*– the combination of health information in a drama series?
2. Did the students find *Soul City VII* credible and realistic?
3. Did the students become involved in the health issues of *Soul City VII* or did it encourage behaviour or perception modeling?
4. Did the health information in *Soul City VII* have an impact on their everyday lives in terms of reflection?
5. Were there any unintended-effects of the content, in the two episodes of *Soul City VII*?

2 Research Methodologies

2.1 The Uses and Gratifications Approach: Appreciating the E-E Formula⁷

The uses and gratifications approach arose originally in the 1940s and underwent a revival in the 1970s and 1980s. This approach stems from a functionalist paradigm in the social sciences. It presents the use of media in terms of the gratification of social or psychological needs of the individual (Blumler & Katz 1974). Gratifications can be obtained from a medium's content (e.g. watching a specific programme), from familiarity with a genre within the medium (e.g. watching soap operas), from general exposure to the medium (e.g. watching TV), and from the social context in which it is used (e.g. watching TV with the family) (Chandler 1994). Zillmann (cited by McQuail 1987: 236) has shown the influence of *mood* on media choice: boredom encourages the choice of exciting content and stress encourages a choice of relaxing content. The same TV programme may gratify different needs for different individuals.

“Research indicates that the cognitive processing of information occurs best when triggered by a positive affective evaluation. Emotional appeals can lead to attitude change especially when people’s motivation to think about the message is low (Pieters & van Raaij, 1988; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Cafferata & Tybout, 1989). Entertaining the audience is the aim of all programme makers, and even those who seek to inform and educate know the importance of attaining and maintaining audiences (Bouman 1999: 61). “To entertain and inform without alienating an audience and to keep them hooked on the programme is vital” (Hobson, 1982: 47). Singhal et al (1992) state that the repetition of the educational content in an EE message is important, but warn against making the content too blatant or a ‘hard sell’.

⁷ This relates to Question One - Did the students appreciate the Entertainment-Education format of *Soul City VII*– the combination of health information in a drama series?

2.2 Realism: Credibility and Realism in E-E⁸

In the visual arts and literature, realism is a mid-19th century movement, which started in France. The realists sought to depict everyday characters, situations, dilemmas, and events in an "accurate" (or realistic) manner. Realism began as a reaction to romanticism, in which subjects were treated idealistically.⁹ "For health communication to be effective, it is essential that the message is realistic and credible to the audience, in the sense of 'true to life characters' and 'realistic, credible plots and storylines'" (Bouman 1998: 61). Raymond Williams (1977) lists three main characteristics of realism in drama:

- that it has a contemporary setting,
- that it concerns itself with secular action (human action described in exclusively human terms) and
- that it is socially extended (it deals with the lives and experiences of ordinary people)

(Williams 1977)

2.3 Social Learning Theory: Modeling and Identification in E-E¹⁰

Television is able to construct a reality within which actors perform certain roles. These actors are able to be 'models' for viewers, who can consequently re-enact the behaviour that they have witnessed. Television therefore has the capability to induce social change, intentionally or unintentionally. Albert Bandura's Social Learning Theory is thus fitting in order to explain the effectiveness of *Soul City VII* in influencing individual's thoughts' and behaviour towards specific social issues, particularly those relating to HIV/Aids. This is the reason that health communicators are turning to behaviour-change theories. "These theories help to explain the processs that individuals go through as they exchange information and as they interpret and react to different messages" (Piotrow, Kincaid, Rimon and Rinehart 1997: 20).

⁸ This relates to Question Two - Did the students find *Soul City VII* credible and realistic?

⁹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Realism>

¹⁰ This relates to Question Three - Did the students become involved in the health issues of *Soul City VII* or did it encourage behaviour or perception modeling?

Bandura developed the Social Learning Theory, also known as the Social Cognitive Theory, in the late 1960s. His initial work dealt with children aged 3-5 and aggression, dubbed the BoBo Doll modeling experiment (Do 2004: 3). Social Learning Theory is an interpersonal theory that states that no individual carries out a behaviour in a vacuum; individuals exist within social environments in which other people's actions, attitudes and emotional support affect their own feelings, and behaviours (Ibid). Bandura's theory is widely used in the field of Entertainment-Education, to explain the behavioural changes which some interventions incite. He states that:

“Learning would be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to solely rely on the effects of their own actions to inform them what to do. Fortunately, most human behaviour is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviours are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action”

(Bandura 1977: 22).

He identified three processes through which viewers are able to 'take on' the behaviour of the actors on screen. These are:

Imitation. This is the process by which one individual matches the actions of another, usually closely in time (Bandura, 1986).

Identification. This is the process through which an individual takes on a model's behaviour and/or personality patterns in some form (Bandura 1986).

Modeling. This is the psychological process in which one individual matches the actions of another, not necessarily close in time (Bandura, 1977).

Bandura introduced the concept of observational learning, whereby a viewer acquires new knowledge about certain rules of behaviour from a model through the cognitive processing of information (Bandura 1977). Bandura explained that observational learning is regulated by four cognitive sub-processes: attention, retention, production and motivation (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 65).

Bandura found that imitation or modeling could be influenced by the type of reinforcement the role model received: role models who were rewarded were more likely to be imitated than models who were punished (Signorielli 1993).

Miguel Sabido utilized Bandura's social learning theory in designing entertainment-education telenovela's. Each of Sabido's EE soap operas had three types of characters: those who support the educational value (positive role models), those who reject this value (negative role models) and those who change from negative to positive behaviour (transitional characters) (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 66-67).

2.4 Agenda-Setting: 'Talking With Others' about E-E¹¹

Agenda setting describes a very powerful influence of the media – the ability to dictate which issues are important and should be given attention. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw first identified the use of agenda setting when they investigated presidential campaigns in 1968, 1972 and 1976. They concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of the campaign.¹²

“Television programmes can direct viewers' attention to issues and problems. This agenda setting is referred to as the power to ‘structure’ issues” (Bouman 1998: 61). This can encourage viewers to ‘talk with others’ (neighbours, family, friends) about the problems which were introduced in the programme. As Buckingham states, “The desire to ‘see’ what everyone's been talking about reveals a degree of social pressure to watch soap and drama serials, and often people start watching in order to avoid feeling left out of conversations” (Buckingham 1987: 162).

¹¹ This relates to Question Four - Did the health information in *Soul City VII* have an impact on their everyday lives in terms of reflection?

¹² http://www.tcw.utwente.nl/theorieenoverzicht/Theory%20clusters/Mass%20Media/Agenda-Setting_Theory.doc/

2.5 Unintended Effects Dilemma: Unpredicted Consequences of E-E Content¹³

Ethics is a branch of philosophy that studies the principles of right or wrong in human conduct (Singhal 1999: 217). Singhal describes the struggle Entertainment-Education implementers face:

“Entertainment-Education implementers have taken several proactive steps to be ethical. Sabido establishes a moral framework to ensure the values promoted are enshrined in the country’s constitution and legal statutes. The signed agreement on the program’s Values Grid by the various stakeholders-government officials, commercial sponsors, religious leaders, and broadcast media officials-guides the scriptwriters about the program’s educational content” (Singhal 1999: 218).

Seven ethical dilemmas exist, including the unintended effects dilemma. This dilemma states that “undesirable, unintended consequences sometimes result from the diffusion of prosocial messages.” The ethical dilemmas are ultimately decided by the audience, as they choose whether to expose themselves to an entertainment-education message (Singhal 1998: 221).

¹³ This relates to Question Five - Were there any unintended-effects of the content, in the two episodes of *Soul City VII*?

3 Research Techniques

3.1 Subjects:

Research was conducted with the high school students of Chesterville Secondary School. This community was chosen, since the majority of Chesterville fall into the lower LSM¹⁴ groups, at whom *Soul City VII* is aimed. The criteria for the respondents was that they were a student at Chesterville Secondary School. The researchers operated through liaison with the health co-ordinator of the school, Mrs Mchunu, who enabled them to use students in their study, based on availability. They requested senior students such as those in Grade Eleven or Twelve, but she informed them that those particular students were busy preparing for examinations, and that Grade Eight students were available instead.

Research was conducted on 18 May 2005, with two Grade Eight classes in the Chesterville Secondary School hall. This amounted to 94 African students overall, 34 females, 6 males and 14 unspecified¹⁵, all between the ages of 12 and 19. The students watched two *Soul City VII* episodes (episodes 2 and 3) and then filled in a questionnaire. The students were supervised by the researchers, as well as the deputy principal, Mr Blose. Refreshments were given to the students after completion of the questionnaire.

3.2 Apparatus: Questionnaires

A short questionnaire¹⁶ was constructed to form part of the pre-testing stage of the project. It was to be given to clinic workers at Chesterville Clinic, in order to find out information about the communities' health, in order to more knowledgeably construct the questionnaire for the students. This questionnaire was to include questions such as, "Are ARVs available at this clinic?"

¹⁴ LSMs are the Living Standards Measures used by the South African Advertising Research Foundation and is a measure of socio-economic status based on a number of criteria: income, ownership of various items, education level etc.

¹⁵ Not all of the students obeyed instructions and included their gender and age on their questionnaire

¹⁶ See Appendix 8.9 for the questionnaire

Unfortunately, the researchers were barred from asking the clinic workers these questions and had to obtain permission from the Department of Health. The Department required the submission of written proof or approval of the project by an accredited Ethics Committee¹⁷. The researchers had not gained ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu Natal for the project and were therefore unable to continue with the pretest. Gaining ethical clearance would require a waiting period of up to three months which would not enable the project to be completed in time.

For the students, "self-completion questionnaires" were utilised as the mode of information-gathering, as this seemed the most economical way to include a large number of students in the study (Deacon et al. 1999: 64). Since the students were shown a 45-minute tape of the two episodes, a lengthy focus group or interview after the video, may have encouraged the respondents to grow weary.

The questionnaire was constructed requiring both quantitative and qualitative answers. Quantitative research "results in a mathematical analysis because it produces measurable results" (Skinner et al. 2004: 35). This included two types of closed questions- dichotomous and multiple-choice questions, where restricted answers were able to gathered (Skinner et al. 2004: 37). This related directly to the research questions which required certain measurable aspects of the students' reception of the programme, such as whether they were a regular viewer of the programme, whether they knew the correct description of volunteerism or whether they knew the correct ARV dosage.

Quantitative research is "descriptive and informative but not measurable". This included "completely unstructured" questions, which respondents could "answer in an almost unlimited number of ways" (Skinner et al. 2004: 38). This related other research questions, which analysed students' perceptions of the characters and whether the programme related to their own lives.

The questionnaire was written in Zulu, this being the first language of many of the learners. This enabled the students to grasp the concepts more clearly, along with fact that the programme incorporates the IsiZulu as one of the spoken languages. English is only included

¹⁷ See Appendices 8.11 and 8.12 for the emails and fax from Dr Renu Gajee from the Department of Health

in the programme as subtitles. The questionnaire consisted of twenty questions. The answers were then transcribed into English.

3.3 Procedure:

After watching the two episodes and before filling out the questionnaire, all of the students were briefed on the study. This was conducted in Zulu in order for the students to attain maximum understanding about their part in the research. They were told that the researchers were University students who were assessing their responses to *Soul City VII*. They were assured of their confidentiality and anonymity. They were asked to be honest, since no progress could be made if they were not honest. The deputy principal, Mr Blose, conducted an example question with the students to ensure that they knew what was required of them. A signed letter was received from the headmaster, Mr Shabalala, allowing the study to take place at his school¹⁸.

¹⁸ See Appendix 8.10 for the Letter of Consent

4 Data Analysis/Interpretation

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in 1.4 *Project Layout*, the main research question is-

What messages and perceptions are students attaining from watching *Soul City VII*?

This question is divided further into five focus questions, which form the basis of the analysis¹⁹.

- 1 Did the students appreciate the Entertainment-Education format of *Soul City VII*– the combination of health information in a drama series?
2. Did the students find *Soul City VII* credible and realistic?
3. Did the students become involved in the health issues of *Soul City VII* or did it encourage behaviour or perception modeling?
4. Did the health information in *Soul City VII* have an impact on their everyday lives in terms of reflection?
5. Were there any unintended-effects of the content, in the two episodes of *Soul City VII*?

4.2 Entertainment-Education Format

This section focuses on the question- Did the students appreciate the Entertainment-Education format of *Soul City VII*– the combination of health information in a drama series? Thus it looks at whether *Soul City VII* is effective as Entertainment-Education programme. The section is divided into two sub-headings- Regular and Non-regular Viewers and Attention and Retention.

The first part (Regular and Non-regular Viewers) divides the viewers into regular and non-regular viewers of *Soul City VII*. The purpose of this division is to discern whether there is a difference between the comprehension of the programme information by these two groups. Perhaps the programme is only effective when watched as a season, which may be a

¹⁹ These focus questions were devised using the “*The Turtle and the Peacock*” by Martine Bouman (1999) as a guide

disadvantage. This section then looks at how all of the respondents categorised the programme, be it as solely educational, solely entertaining or as both. The E-E format states that the audience has to appreciate both the educational and the entertainment aspects of the programme. Having the perception that the programme is primarily educational rather than exhibiting both educational and entertainment values, instills a certain attitude in the viewer, which may affect message reception in a negative way. Audiences selectively expose themselves to E-E programmes thus they have the power to change to a channel that is more entertaining or gratifying.

The second part of this section (Attention and Retention), assesses whether the viewers are actually retaining any of the information in the programme. Are they merely watching, or are they being informed while watching? This links back to the importance of the E-E formula. If the students are bored and not taking in any information then the E-E programme is unsuccessful in its mission.

4.2.1 Regular and Non-regular Viewers

The respondents were divided into regular and non-regular viewers of *Soul City VII*. 78% of the respondents were regular viewers. Of these, 80% were male. The reason for this division was to discern whether the regular viewers were better informed or more knowledgeable about the issues and characters of *Soul City VII*. It was expected that the regular viewers would be more familiar with the programme and provide clearer answers.

What was discovered from the responses of regular and non-regular viewers, was that those who watch the programme regularly did not show more understanding of the content than the non-regular viewers. This was assessed by looking at the accuracy of the information-rich answers as well as the students' opinionated answers. This could be due to two reasons.

- *Soul City VII* is broadcast weekly, occupying a half-hour prime-time slot on SABC 1 at 8.30pm. Previous seasons of *Soul City* utilised an hour slot. Those viewers who watch regularly may find this reduced time too short to absorb too much information – especially medical details. They would probably only retain narrative and character information.

- Only two half-hour episodes²⁰ out of a thirteen-episode season were shown to the students. At the time of this study, the season had only been broadcast up to episode four. Watching the whole season may assist with information retention. The information included in the two taped episodes would presumably be repeated in later episodes. Viewers usually learn through repetition. This would not be able to occur by merely watching a part of the season.

"If viewers do not appreciate the EE formula they will stop watching and become less receptive to the message. The drama must therefore be sufficiently gratifying" (Bouman 1999: 61). Only 31% of the regular viewers appreciated the Entertainment-Education format, recognising that a mix of entertainment and education is important. The majority (59%) felt that the programme was largely educational, while only 10% found the programme wholly entertaining. Of the non-regular viewers, only 10% appreciated the Entertainment-Education mix. Rather 81% saw the programme as solely educational, with few finding it mostly entertaining.

This shows that most of the respondents, even though they do watch *Soul City VII*, find it educational and do not watch it for its entertainment purpose. *Soul City VII* has created a perception of being an educational programme amongst its viewers. This kind of attitude is what influences audience ratings to drop, as the audience becomes bored with the programme. The programme must be gratifying in order to influence the viewer to choose to watch the programme. Competing forces for *Soul City VII* are the *News* on SABC 2, *The Apprentice-SA* on SABC 3, and a blockbuster movie on ETV (such as *The Godfather*). This shows that *Soul City VII* is being aired in a very competitive environment, thus failure to entertain (gratify) the viewers' desires, may result in the viewer selecting another form of entertainment. "Audience members selectively expose themselves to E-E messages, selectively perceive them, selectively recall them, and selectively use them for purposes they value" (Singhal & Rogers, 2002: 125).

In this study, the viewing environment may have influenced the students' focus on the educational appeal of *Soul City VII*. The study was organised via their health co-ordinator, Mrs Mchunu and was presented as part of their school day and not as an extra-curricular

²⁰ The reason for only including two episodes is explained in 1.4 *Project Layout*

activity. The physical environment was also largely different to how the students would view the programme at home. They were seated quietly and were under the obligation of concentrating on the programme and not disturbing others. This meant that the students were attentive and the room was devoid of the distractions than one would find at home.

4.2.2 Retention and Attention

Six information-rich questions were included in the questionnaire, which related directly to the medical information included in the two episodes which the students watched. The aim of these questions was to analyse and test the attention as well as listening skills of the audience. It is important to identify if an audience is actually registering the message encoded by the programme directors.

The questions included, asking the students if they could correctly identify Zandi's CD 4 count, her diagnosis of TB and Pneumonia, the number of times one should take ARVs per day and what one's CD4 count has to be, before qualifying for ARV treatment. Only 29% of the respondents could correctly identify Zandi's CD4 count as 180. Only 22% of the respondents could correctly identify Zandi's diagnosis of TB and Pneumonia. Only 29% knew the correct dosage of ARVs to take per day, even though it was emphasised in the conversation between two of the characters, Zandi²¹ and Sol. Only one respondent could answer that the CD4 count has to be under 200 before one requires ARV treatment. He wrote the answer verbatim, which indicates that the information included, is able to be comprehended.

Furthermore, only 50% said that one should not drink alcohol when one is on ARV treatment. This poor answer could be a result of the fact that many could not identify what the acronym ARV stood for. If the students did not know what ARV even stands for, they would probably not know the meaning of it. ARVs were mentioned several times in the programme; however an in-depth explanation of what they are is never given. The students actually witness Zandi quitting alcohol –in a dramatic scene, while in a fit of rage, she shatters a bottle of alcohol on the floor. However, they may have linked Zandi's actions to the fact that she is HIV positive

²¹ See Appendix 8.5.4 for Zandi's character sketch

and weak, because she has just come from hospital and has a weak immune system, instead of realising that she had to quit alcohol because she wanted to start ARV treatment.

Positively though, 86% of the respondents knew that children under six do not pay for treatment. This could be attributed to the context of the message. Sello²² had taken his child to the Clinic with a concern that he would not be able to pay for the medication or treatment, as he had no job or money. The audience may have recalled this situation and decoded it better because it was more familiar and situational rather than factual and medical. "Emotional appeals can lead to attitude changes especially when people's motivation to think about the message is low (Bouman 1999: 61).

The students' poor retention of the medical information could be attributed to various factors-

- Students may be finding it difficult to decode messages where a lot of code-switching²³ is used in the process of encoding the message. This could be considered as one of the disadvantages of *Soul City VII*. There seems to be too much emphasis on the reach of the message rather than its impact. In each episode, approximately five languages are used, these include Zulu, Xhosa, tsotsitaal /scamthu²⁴ as well as the English subtitles that flash on the bottom of the screen. This may have a negative impact on those that are not bilingual and cannot read or make sense of the fast English subtitles.
- The medical information is perhaps too dense for the viewers to remember. Repetition, as mentioned earlier, may be what is required for better comprehension.
- Perhaps the students are experiencing HIV-information 'overload' and refuse to listen further.
- Nurses on the programme speak very quickly, which may hinder understanding of the message.

²² See Appendix 8.5.1 for Sello's character sketch

²³ Code-switching is a typical feature of multilingual societies in South Africa. (Bassnett, 1991: 439) This means that the programme involves numerous verbal and non-verbal codes, which are often location or context specific.

²⁴ informal street slang

"If viewers do not appreciate the EE formula they will stop watching and become less receptive to the message" (Bouman 1999: 61). The students did not appreciate the E-E formula, which in turn made them less receptive to the message. Having the perception that the programme is only educational means that the audience saw this content taking precedence over all other.

4.3 Credibility and Realism

This section is based on the question of credibility of the message. Credibility and realism are both important factors when dealing with audience reception, especially when it comes to disseminating an E-E message which aims at achieving social change. Audiences will not easily relate to 'the unfamiliar' nor will they learn soundly from a something that does not depict reality. Issues that are raised in *Soul City* are of extreme importance as they are affecting many who are in need of help in South Africa. One will not emulate the behavior seen on a programme unless it is credible and real. This is why formative research is a fundamental factor in the construction and pre-production of E-E programmes.

This section is divided into three parts – Realism and the Message, Realism and Characters and Realism and the Respondents. Each part looks at a different aspect of realism and credibility. The first part (Realism and the Message) looks specifically at whether the respondents perceived the programme content as realistic. This was backed by varying respondent comments. The second part (Realism and Characters) looks at whether the respondents found any of the characters 'real' enough to relate to. Sello and his actions are largely dealt with in this section. The third part (Realism and the Respondents) deals specifically with the respondents and whether they would or already had incorporated any of the ideas in the programme in their own lives. This part looked at whether the issues were easily related to 'real' life.

4.3.1 Realism and the Message

Chesterville was chosen as an area of study, due to its similarity to the *Soul City VII* setting and characters. Chesterville has similar looking houses, a similar clinic and people struggling from similar health and social issues to the characters in *Soul City VII*. "For health

communication to be effective, it is essential that the message is realistic and credible to the audience, in the sense of ‘true to life characters’ and ‘realistic, credible plots and storylines’ (Bouman 1999: 61).

91% of the respondents felt that *Soul City VII* was realistic and accurately depicted the ‘township life’ or the life lived in Chesterville. As one respondent said, “*Because the person who was sick needed help and her child needed help. At home it's something usual in our community.*” Female, 17. Another added, “*It's the life we also live but shouldn't be living.*” Male, 15. Another stated, “*We can draw comparisons with our lives.*” Female, 15

Other students were able to pinpoint specific issues, which they felt added to the realism. One respondent said, “*In the townships there are people who don't work but need work. There are people who mug. There are also people who live nice, joyous lives.*” Male, 15. This respondent highlighted the different narratives which are interwoven to create a colourful programme. This viewer thus drew a parallel between what he saw on the programme and the life he witnesses from day-to-day. The conclusion can thus be drawn that the characters in *Soul City VII* and the respondents from Chesterville share the same worldview. “A worldview is a culture’s orientation toward such things as God, nature, life, death, the universe, and other philosophical issues that are concerned with the meaning of life and with ‘being’” (Samovar & Porter 2000: 11).

Many respondents pointed out the HIV/AIDS content which they felt was realistic. One stated “*At this time we live in a world that is full of crime and HIV/AIDS has increased in a big way.*” Male, 14. Another respondent stated, “*When looking at the story you realise that one can live with HIV.*” Male, 14. A further respondent referred to the importance of the HIV content by stating, “*It's because it is something we have. A lot of us have HIV.*” Female, 14

Other students looked at issues which were not covered in the two episodes shown, but rather to issues which were covered in the *Soul City* series as a whole, which shows evidence of familiarity to the programme (past seasons). A respondent said that *Soul City*, “*teaches us not to have sex without using condoms.*” Male, 15

A further area in which respondents saw *Soul City VII*'s message as being realistic, was in the fact that it was educational and could operate as a support to others going through the same situations as the characters. One respondent said, "*In most cases, this project is teaching us to have good behaviour. Soul City also teaches us to know the main killing diseases that are in our community.*" Male, 14. Another student referred to Zandi and Moses²⁵ case by stating that, "*I think it's true because lots of people get sick while getting involved (sexually) and don't know what to do.*" Male, 15

4.3.2 Realism and Characters

The questions that dealt with the realism of content involved Sello and his involvement in crime as a way of supporting his family. The respondents perceived Sello as a good, as well as moral character²⁶ who was merely caught up in a difficult situation/circumstance. Sello's situation resembled that of many of the people in the township.

When asked whether Sello should have humbled himself to his brother and accepted the money which he offered to him as a means of support, 70% felt that he should have humbled himself and taken the money. One of reasons that Sello did not take the money was due to pride that comes with being a man. Sello saw taking the money as an easy option, as he even said on the programme, "*I don't want your easy cash*". This shows that he had the intention of earning his own money in order to take care of his family. However, the audience, assessing the programme from an objective perspective could see that Sello's refusal of the money was going to leave him in a difficult situation. This is why the students indicated that Sello should rather have taken the money.

Many of the respondents may not have wanted to humble themselves to their own brother if he had been like Sello's brother. His brother was deemed better than him and was perceived as smart and successful (lawyer by trade), while Sello had a 'gangster image' bestowed upon him due to his past. By humbling himself, Sello would have been admitting that his brother was better than him. His brother also humiliated Sello, by offering him the money in front of his wife, which ridiculed him. Considering the circumstances, pride would have had to be

²⁵ See Appendix 8.5.5 for Moses' character sketch

²⁶ The perceptions of Sello were judged by the way that the respondents answered questions which dealt with Sello, as in whether they were positive or negative when referring to him.

sidelined. Moreover, due to the notion of 'ubuntu', many respondents would have given the idealistic answer. 'Ukubekwezela' means to keep on trying, to 'keep on keeping on'. Many of the respondents may have felt that Sello should have stuck it through the situation, as he is family man. In the Zulu culture, one must humble himself to his elders as a sign of respect. That is the way tradition goes. It is also a part of ubuntu to humble oneself (ukubekwezela nokuzi thoba).

Fewer females, (62%) indicated that Sello should have humbled himself. This could be attributed to the fact that his brother offered him the money in front of his wife, thereby ridiculing his male status (manhood). The females thus may have looked at the situation from his wife, Refiloe's²⁷ perspective.

The next question which dealt with the realism of *Soul City VII* applied to the respondents life, was whether they thought it was a smart idea to drive a stolen vehicle. An expected answer (guided by morals) would have been 100% answering that it is not a good idea to drive a stolen vehicle. However, 9% of the respondents felt that driving a stolen vehicle was acceptable. The 'hijacking action' was even perceived negatively on the programme- the scenes of the hijacking where Sello drives the vehicle, were shot in the evening, accompanied by chilling music and a 'nervous' atmosphere. There were close-up shots of Sello's worried eyes. Yet, the fact that some identified with this, shows that it *is* realistic and *does* happen in the respondents' material social environment. The fact that 9% out of a small sample of just under 100 would drive a stolen vehicle, when applied to a whole community, encompasses a large number of people who find it acceptable to be involved in crime.

There are resistances in the message environment of E-E programmes which end up affecting the reception of the message negatively. "In highly saturated media environments like the [United states], and to some lesser degree in developing countries, E-E messages face competition from and are resisted by various other media discourses, which are often of the entertainment-denegation or entertainment perversion-type" (Singhal and Rogers 2002: 125). The spread of anti-social messages actually triggers immoral and risky behaviour in viewers. Stealing cars in the township is not entirely 'frowned upon' among most of the teens in townships. Having a gangster-like image and making money in a thug-like and dangerous

²⁷ See Appendix 8.5.3 for Refiloe's character sketch

fashion gives people respect and credibility in the eyes of others (this is the same glory that Venter²⁸ attains from his friends). Those who steal and get away with it perceive themselves as being above the law (being a menace to an unfair society) as many of the people in the townships are living below the middle class and in poverty, as a result of empty promises by the government, which they put in power by means of voting.

Venter is supposed to be the villain or the bad character in the programme. However due to the reality of the programme (attributed to good formative research), there are actually lots of people like Venter in real life (in the township context). Seeing Venter in the programme may actually give pride to some of those who lead lives like him.

This is where the Archie Bunker effect appears, as described by Singhal, evident in the 1959 American sitcom "*All in the Family*". "One example of such audience-centered resistance is the Archie Bunker effect, defined as the degree to which certain audience members identify with negative role models in EE interventions" (Singhal & Rogers 1999: 125).

Given the lifestyle that most people in the township lead, stealing cars and hijacking is not something unrealistic, far-fetched and unheard of. As a result of formative research the criminals were portrayed in the same way that they would appear in real life (stylish and well dressed). The car used for the hijacking was a BMW 325i, which is also known as the 'matchbox shape' or 'Igusheshe' amongst township dwellers. The reason this perspective is included, is to emphasise that such scenes are glorified in the eyes of others. Driving the kind of car that was driven in the hijacking, entertained viewers and created a desire and excitement (observed reactions during reception study) rather than repulse or shame at this action. Overall, hijacking is a foolish act, no matter what the circumstances or situation is, because it ultimately leads one to jail. Yet, when asked if Sello is foolish by helping Venter to hijack, 38% felt that he was doing the right thing.

As mentioned, this answer may also be tied up with the outcomes. If Sello did not help Venter out, he probably would have been beaten up by Venter's gang. He would not have been given money to help his family and he wouldn't have had to humble himself to his brother to obtain money.

²⁸ See Appendix 8.5.2 for Venter's character sketch

4.3.3 Realism and Respondents

A further question dealing with realism, related to the students, asked them whether they thought that they would be able to find a job after matric. 55% of the respondents identified with Sello's plight and felt that they would find it difficult to find a job after matric. They understood the realism of their own material social conditions as represented by the programme. Most of these respondents were boys, as most related to Sello and his position. This illustrates that he is a credible character that adheres to the notions of Bandura's social learning theory (Vicarious learning)

As one respondent stated, when referring to Sello, "*He completed his matric, but he can't get work.*" Male, 17. Another agreed, "*Yes because a lot of jobs don't go by who has a matric.*" Male, 15. Others looked at the option of tertiary studies, "*Because you would have not studied, you must at least study computers.*" Male, 16. Another felt that they would be "*under qualified.*" Male, 17.

Another respondent felt that, "*Maybe with others there won't be enough space (vacancy) for the thing he/she is studying for.*" Female, 13. Another respondent focused on problems close to what Sello was dealing with, "*Others finish matric and stay at home and mug others because work is not easy to find.*" Female, 16. Another merely stated, "*It's because at these times work cannot be found.*" Female, 14

These responses illustrate that the programme has much influence on the audience. In this case, the students are responding to the question in relation to Sello's behaviour and outcomes. This indicates that the programme is credible as well as real in the eyes of the audience. This also indicates that the programme has potential to encourage behaviour change. These responses also depict the importance of doing formative research because the unsavoury behaviour that is seen on television which is not rewarded is the same seen in the student's reality.

The rest of the students, which were the remaining 45%, felt that looking for work would not prove to be difficult provided one worked hard, as one respondent said, "*It won't be hard if you become dedicated.*" Male, 19. Another provided examples from the community of why it

would not be hard to get work. "I see it as easy to get work after finishing Grade 12 because some Police have not finished Grade 12." Male, 15 Another respondent felt it would be easy, since she had already set herself goals, "No because I will first study to be a nurse." Female, 13.

More females seemed aware of competition and the high initiative that one must have to get a job. This seemed to inspire them to work harder. This question highlighted the areas in the programme that showed the social reality of males having to be breadwinners as well as the head of a household. They also showed the pressures that are a part of this.

Here an unintended effect could occur whereby students may actually drop out of school as a result of seeing the prosocial role model failing to find work even though he has a matric and evidence of doing first year medicine at a tertiary institution. Many students may resort to the notion that attending school is not worth the trouble, as there are no jobs available.

Representing or depicting reality may actually discourage others. Others may actually set themselves low goals because they see everything as being difficult.

4.4 Modeling and Identification

Bandura's Social Learning Theory, explained earlier²⁹, deals with attitudes, behaviour and perceptions being modeled by respondents. "Most human behaviour is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviours are performed" (Bandura 1977: 22). The three types of characters which are modeled are positive, negative and transitional. This section therefore looks at whether the students became involved in the health issues of *Soul City VII* and if these issues encouraged behaviour or perception modeling. This section ties in with previous section highlighting realism and credibility of E-E messages. If the viewer finds a character realistic, they will be more encouraged to model their behaviour.

This section is divided into three parts, dealing with three different characters and modeling. The first part (Zandi and Modeling) looks at Zandi, Moses and living with HIV/AIDS. It describes Zandi's situation and the respondents' comments and opinions on this situation.

²⁹ Explained in 2.3

The second part (Zukiswa and Modeling) looks at Zukiswa and volunteerism. It describes the situation that Zukiswa finds herself in and the respondents' comments on this. The third part (Venter and Modeling) looks at Venter and hijacking. It describes Venter's situation and the respondents' comments and opinions on this situation

4.4.1 Zandi and Modeling

Zandi is a very attractive character, with striking red hair and a free-spirited nature. Viewers may identify with her due to this, before adopting any of her perceptions and modeling their behaviour on her. She is a transitional character however, because she undergoes an attitude change before she accepts her status as HIV positive. She moves from being a negative role model to being a positive role model.

Zandi is diagnosed with HIV/AIDS, which she feels that she has contracted from her partner Moses. She arrives at this conclusion, since she has been faithful, so she could not have contracted it from anyone else. Moses, however is stubborn and refuses to check his status. He does not see it as beneficial and provides much frustration for Zandi.

Zandi, in the episodes shown to the students, realises her bad lifestyle and consequently changes. She takes her medication, stops drinking alcohol (this is hard because her and Moses own a Shebeen) and discontinues her risky behaviour. She is an honest character and takes responsibility as a mother. She does not want her situation to get worse. Her good behaviour is contrasted with Moses' stubbornness, which further enhances her positive perceptions.

The programme accurately portrayed how those who do not take care of themselves end up. Through all of her problems, Zandi illustrated for the audience that there is indeed life after HIV/AIDS, which was indicated by her actions (which the viewers appreciated). She received positive reinforcement for her behaviour change, since she was further away from risk and death.

When asked whether it is important to check one's HIV status, 85% of the students agreed that it was important. This high percentage in agreement with Zandi, could be due to the respondents modeling her perception of the situation. Many of their comments reflected the

respondents approval of her admirable behaviour, by referring to issues which Zandi had met in her journey.

The respondents felt that it was necessary to check one's status, like Zandi, "*Because you won't be able to help yourself if you don't know what condition you are in.*" Female, 14 Zandi was able to admit to her bad lifestyle and set things straight. Another respondent pointed out, "*So you will stop the things you used to do.*" Female, 15

Another respondent looked at the positive that resulted from Zandi's case by stating, "*Because it must be known what you have come down with. So that they can look after yourself and provide for your needs.*" Male, 17. Zandi was given ARV's which could help her condition to improve.

Other respondents adopted Zandi's negative attitude towards Moses and highlighted concerns of living with another who will not check their status. "*Because it is important to know that you are HIV positive or not. Because you will meet with a person and they will tell you that you already had AIDS.*" Female, 13 Another stated, "*Because it could happen that you sleep with a person and then end up infecting them with HIV.*" Female, 14

These comments, as well as the students' high response rate (85%) could also be attributed to work of the other Soul City series, which also dealt with living with HIV/AIDS. Students too receive HIV/AIDS education at school, from their teachers and HIV/AIDS speakers who frequent township schools. Added to this, checking one's HIV status is important because it is something one can pride oneself in. Many people in the Chesterville have died because of this disease. This is information that flocks the township because of people dying after being seen resembling symptoms such as loss of weight and shingles³⁰.

4.4.2 Zukiswa and Modeling

Zukiswa³¹, another character in *Soul City VII*, partakes in volunteerism. She is also attractive- she dresses well, has a well-furnished home and lives a fruitful life. She is included as a

³⁰ A rash associated with HIV/AIDS

³¹ See Appendix 8.5.6 for Zukiswa's character sketch

positive role model, but the conflicts she undergoes may encourage viewers to side with her, or even go against her. Not all of the viewers may agree with the decisions she makes. For instance, her husband earns enough money to provide for her, thus she does not need to work. However, she enjoys volunteering at the clinic and undertakes house-calls to sick patients, as part of her work. Her husband does not agree with this work and wants her to stop. Zukiswa however disobeys him by continuing to make house calls to help the people of the community.

The question asked was whether Zukiswa made a good decision by conducting house calls, even though it was against her husband's will. This question was perhaps difficult for the respondents to answer, especially if they belong to the Zulu Culture, where disobeying one's husband is frowned upon (one should always submit to one's husband).

Zukiswa, however, through her attitude towards house-calls, presented volunteerism in a positive way. She took pride in the work that she did, utilising her medical skills, instead of merely staying at home. 81% of the male respondents claimed that volunteerism was a respectable job, even though only 28% agreed to have been volunteers previously. 100% of the girls saw volunteerism as respectable. This shows the modeling of their perceptions on Zukiswa's. They saw how she viewed it and adopted this as their view.

This positive perception modeling is further viewed in the respondents' answers to whether Zukiswa made a good decision to volunteer, even though her husband did not want her too. 72% of the respondents felt that Zukiswa made the right decision in conducting house calls. They did not follow their cultural guides, but instead were influenced by Zukiswa.

The respondents' comments emphasised different aspects of volunteerism, for instance, many highlighted the 'caring' aspect of undertaking house calls. One stated that the importance of Zukiswa undertaking them was "*Because she wants to make sure that they (the patients) follow the instructions (medical) that have been set for them.*" Female, 17. Another found that "*It's because other people are in need of help but can't get it or go to get help because of reasons and others are sick.*" Female, 13

Other respondents fired insults at her husband, stating that "*She must do them because her husband doesn't her want to. She must do whatever she feels like doing.*" Female, 15 and "*Her husband is healthy, which is why he doesn't want her to help the community (He is selfish)*" Male, 15. Another simply stated, "*Because he is jealous.*" Male, 17. These respondents illustrate the limited cultural arena in which Zukiswa operates. They referred to freedom of speech and freedom of choice as determinants of behaviour rather than culture.

On the opposing side, were those who did not model Zukiswa's behaviour and felt that she should not have disobeyed her husband. The comments included, "*Because she shouldn't have done it if her husband didn't want her to.*" Female, 12" and, "*No, this is causing corruption against the family.*" Male, 17. These respondents were culturally conscious and felt that any diversion was wrong.

These respondents may have felt that Zukiswa was undertaking individualistic behaviour, by going against societal norms of submitting to one's husband. This may have appeared unfitting in a collective society, where individualistic attitudes are not well accepted. They would not have supported Zukiswa's decision, because it does not adhere to the general ideas inherent in the community.

Another respondent was concerned for Zukiswa's health and stated that she should not conduct house calls because, "*It will be filled with people and those who are infected and sick.*" Female, 16

This proves that many respondents did adopt Zukiswa's behaviour as positive, since they viewed volunteerism as positive and supported her free will. Others however did not see her as a positive role model and would not accept her perceptions as their own.

4.4.3 Venter and Modeling

As already mentioned³², Venter is positioned as a negative role model in *Soul City VII*. He is presented with an attractive lifestyle, which includes girls, cars and money at all times- which

³² In 4.3.2 *Realism and Characters*, Venter's behaviour is discussed in relation to Sello.

the viewers, particularly the males, may identify with. Venter is however involved in crime and influences Sello to assist him as the driver in a hijacking.

Many participants did identify with Venter and did not find hijacking and stealing as negative behaviour to follow. 9% of the respondents did not see hijacking as an unacceptable idea and would in fact hijack. This infers that these students were attracted by Venter's life and modeled their behavior on Venter's. This is an unintended effect, since the programme directors would not have expected this to be a result. They would have hoped to repel viewers from crime instead of attracting them to it.

Some of the respondents' comments, when referring to the realism and credibility of *Soul City VII*, pointed out the crime-related content as the most realistic. One pointed out, "*At this time we live in a world that is full of crime and HIV/Aids has increased in a big way.*" Male, 14, while another stated "*Because there are those who mug. There are those who have HIV and they love children. There are others who need jobs.*" Female, 13. Others illustrated how they could particularly relate to Venter and his immoral life. One stated, "*Because sometimes, us guys, we misbehaved and didn't listen our parents.*" Male, 17, another aptly summed it up by stating, "*I see it as true and it's the life we also live but shouldn't be living.*" Male, 15

4.5 Talking With Others

"Television programmes can direct viewers' attention to issues and problems. This is referred to as the power to 'structure issues'" (Bouman 1999: 61). This section interrogates whether the health information in *Soul City VII* has an impact on the respondents everyday lives in terms of reflection.

The two episodes included in this study, dealt with the issues of Living with HIV/AIDS, Masculinity and Volunteerism, which were interlaced into the narrative. The presence of these issues encouraged interaction between the respondents and their family/community because, 69% of the respondents stated that they were encouraged to 'talk with others' about the content and issues in *Soul City VII*.

This infers that *Soul City VII* involves an agenda-setting element, since viewers attention is directed to certain issues. In these episodes the viewers were encouraged to check their HIV status, were educated on ARV treatment information, and were encouraged to view volunteerism as a positive action. This was done through certain characters such as Zandi and Zukiswa who modeled these perceptions and behaviour in order to show the audience how to live a better life. The comments included throughout the project illustrate that the respondents' attention was indeed directed to discussing certain issues.

4.6 Unintended Effects

“Development is a complex phenomenon whose consequences are not always predictable. Undesirable unintended consequences sometimes result from the diffusion of prosocial messages (Singhal and Rogers 1999: 222). This section thus involves looking at whether there any unintended-effects of the content, in the two episodes of *Soul City VII*.

One prominent unintended and undesired effect did result from the content. This effect has been touched on previously³³ and involves Venter and his dealings in crime. Various respondents indicated that they found it appealing to drive a stolen vehicle. Venter, although unemployed, gets by, by hijacking. He is presented as happy and always has money and girls. By some of the boys, he may be viewed as a positive character- something which they may aspire to be- popular and 'successful'. In the two episodes, Sello receives a payout of R5000. It may thus be perceived that 'crime pays'.

This was evident in the fact that such a large percentage of the boys (41%) stated that it was not foolish to hijack. This question could be viewed as a double-edged sword though, because Sello did the wrong thing for all the right reasons- he wanted to help his family by getting money, he was desperate and this seemed the only option. This may be another reason that so many respondents chose the answer which related to crime. They may sympathise with Sello. Furthermore, this situation may reflect their own conditions.

³³ In 4.3.2 and 4.4.3.

Therefore, undesirably a few respondents interpreted and responded differently to the content, as was thought by the programme directors. This type of effect is unwanted and its presence could assist in developing further seasons of *Soul City VII*.

5 Conclusion

The dominant perception that the students attained from watching *Soul City VII* was that it was a programme that they could relate to, as they found it realistic and representative of their material social surroundings. As a result of this, they found it 'helpful' in terms of educating the community about issues such as HIV/AIDS, as well as guiding them in leading healthy lifestyles.

The students considered the Soul City message as educational which meant that they understood it as a programme with more of an intellectual, rather than entertaining nature. This proves, that the majority of Soul City viewers do not appreciate or realise the entertainment education (E-E) formula, which is a negative outcome, because the viewers may actually switch to watching other programmes that suit their desires and gratify their needs. As Bouman states, "If viewers do not appreciate the E-E formula they will stop watching and become less receptive to the message" (Bouman 1999: 61) .

The message environment is an aspect of television that E-E practitioners must pay careful attention to. Television as a medium of communication faces media saturation, which may conflict with E-E programmes. In such a competitive environment, *Soul City VII* has failed to highlight its entertainment aspect, which may have crucial consequences in terms of maintaining a dedicated audience during prime-time television. "Theoretical investigations of E-E should acknowledge that entertainment education is only one of many competing, and conflicting, discourses that exist in a given message environment" (Singhal and Rogers 2002: 125)

The students' focus on the educational aspects could be due the frequent use of medical jargon and acronyms in the programme. This also gives an indication that the Soul City marketing strategy may have set an educational image rather than one that involves a mix of both entertainment and education. Examples from the questionnaire, illustrate that respondents recall information that is more dramatic and emotionally appealing than that which is didactic and requires intellectual engagement to the content. Scenes that took place at the hospital were not as vividly recalled, in comparison to those that took place at home and in informal surroundings.

As mentioned above, the students found *Soul City VII* to be a realistic programme that they could relate to, since it depicted an environment, as well characters, that mirrored their material social surroundings. This is a positive result because it enabled viewers to find role models that they felt led similar lives to their own. This result also highlights the ‘research’ aspect of entertainment-education interventions that distinguishes *Soul City VII* from purely entertainment-based programmes. The students' responses indicated that formative research is fundamental to E-E interventions, as it has benefits in terms of creating messages that are credible to the audience. "Formative evaluation research contributes to the design of an effective entertainment-education message. Research about the characteristics, needs, and preferences of a target audience can sharpen the design of entertainment-education" (Singhal and Rogers, 1999: 210). With the advantage of using formative research, *Soul City* is able to produce characters that the viewers can be drawn to as well as sympathise with.

If the viewers find the character realistic as well as someone they can relate to (aspire to be), they are most likely to model their behaviour on them. This may be the reason why an unexpected amount of students backed Sello, when asked whether it was foolish to drive a stolen vehicle. This was one of the unintended effects because a criminal act cannot be justified or excused. The fact that young South African citizens can excuse such an act is unacceptable, even if their answer may have been a result of the circumstances the character was facing. This is where we are able to see vicarious learning. Transitional characters like Zandi, also proved to be beneficial to the programme because this character aroused an emotional appeal in the respondents. Her transitional role also gave them hope in that living with HIV/AIDS is possible if one takes care of themselves. Zandi inspired a lot of the respondents to give honest opinions about HIV/AIDS.

This aspect of *Soul City VII* also leads to the agenda setting ability of the programme. As a result of having strong and emotionally appealing characters, viewers were inspired to talk about what they saw in the intervention. This was a positive aspect of the reception, because it showed the potential for behaviour change, which can also be categorised under the “diffusion of innovations theory”. This theory works on five stages to change the viewers’ attitude or behaviour. “These are knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation and confirmation, followed by three social outcomes of mutual understanding, mutual agreement and collective action” (Piotrow et al, 1997: 21).

It was evident that *Soul City VII* was received very well from the theoretical perspective of E-E. This may have been a result of the formative research method, which demands pretesting to see if the target audience receive the message well. However, we must include that *Soul City VII* has a lot of problems in terms of the message reception, especially to the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) audience. In this province (KwaZulu-Natal) there are predominantly Zulu speakers. With this point in mind one has to consider that the main language used in *Soul City VII* is Xhosa, followed by Zulu, SeSotho, English and a lot of Tsotsi-taal/ Scamtho (Creole mainly used in Johannesburg and other South African Townships including those in KZN). This makes the messages very difficult to comprehend as there is a lot of code-switching and the English subtitles appear very fast on the screens in order to catch up to the scenes. These subtitles are also a distraction because most of our respondents were not able to use English as a medium of communication, hence the translation of the questionnaire into IsiZulu. This was one of the biggest problems that the respondents faced. This problem may be because *Soul City VII* has its focus on reach but does not realise that this minimises its impact.

6. Recommendations

Soul City VII is an effective entertainment-education intervention that has stayed true to many aspects of the E-E formula in order to enhance its credibility as well as achieve its objectives. This study has demonstrated how audience respond to messages encoded through such an intervention and thus allows us to propose pointers that could result in better audience reception for future series and other E-E interventions.

Such points/ recommendations are:

- Minimizing on code-switching³⁴ while the characters are communicating, as this interferes with message reception.
- The subtitles flash rapidly at times. They should be shown for longer periods as *Soul City VII*'s target audience is not predominantly English speaking which means they will have difficulty reading these fast appearing subtitles, which once again interferes with message reception.
- The producers must maintain the educational issues through the different episodes so that the audience can remember and learn by means of repetition.
- The respondents saw *Soul City VII* as an educational intervention rather than an entertainment-education one. This means that Soul City should rather compete at different timeslot as the message environment which it is currently competing has popular shows that are of a pure entertainment genre.
- *Soul City VII* should consider using celebrity guests to conduct epilogues at the end of each programme, as this will enhance the impact of the health messages as well as speed up the behavioural change process.
- *Soul City VII* should look at advertising themselves more when introducing a new series, as this creates audience anticipation and gains viewership. We almost missed the first episode because of lack of this. The audience was not even warned that the episodes would be cut down to a half hour instead of a full hour.

³⁴ Code-switching is a typical feature of multilingual societies in South Africa. (Bassnett, 1991: 439)

- The latter point is very important because *Soul City VII* changed its whole image in terms of its logo on the Television programme. Awareness is one of the most important factors of advertising, which *Soul City VII* did not adhere to.
- *Soul City VII* introduced new characters to take the lead roles which may have had a negative effect on loyal viewers from the past seasons of Soul City. This includes the lead male and female characters (Sello and Zandi).
- *Soul City VII* should also invest in popular actors and actresses in order to increase viewership as well as make the transitional process of Bandura's Social Learning Theory easier (modelling theory). The use of an actress like Leleti Khumalo would have had tremendous impact, especially after having played the lead role in Oscar nominated "*Yesterday*", which was based on HIV/AIDS issues.

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8 Appendix

8.1 Questionnaire (Zulu)

1. Uke ulubuke loluhlelo (*Soul City VII*) kwiSABC 1 ngoLwesine ligamenxe elesishiyagalombili (20h30) ebusuku?

- Yebo
- Cha

2. Wena ulibona kuwuhlelo lokuthokoza nenjabulo noma olufundisayo noma kokubili?

3. Uma ubheka loluhlelo lomabonakude (TV) esiqeda ukulubuka, ucabanga ukuthi luveza isimo esiyiqiniso futhi esingakwazi nathi ukusifanisa nempilo esiyiphilayo?

- Yebo
 - Cha
- (bhala isizathu sempendulo yakho)
-
-
-

4. Uke ubezwe abantu bekhuluma ngezinto abazifunde kwiSoul City mayelana nesifo sengculaza noma ezinye izifo?

- Yebo
- Cha

Ubudoda (masculinity)

5. Imisebenzi ayitholakali. Uma ucabanga, uSello bekufanele azithobe kumfowabo noma ebemukhipha inyumbazane futhi emuhlambalaza?

- Yebo
- Cha

6. Ukubona kuwumuqondo ohlakaniphile ukushayela imoto entshontshiwe?

- Yebo
- Cha

7. Ngabe uSello wenza ubulima ngokusiza umngane wakhe uVenter beyobamba inkunzi?

- Yebo
- Cha

8. Uma ucabanga, kuzoba lukhuni yini ukuthola umsebenzi mawusuphumelele umatikeletsheni (grade 12)?

Yebo

Cha

(Bhala isizathu sempendulo yakho)

Ukuphila nesifo sengculaza (Living with HIV/AIDS)

9. Limeleni leligama elithi ARV uma seliphelele?

Anti Retrieval Virus

Ant Retrieval Vapor

Anti Rust Visor

Antiretroviral

10. uZandi unesifo sengculaza. Odokotela bathi uphethwe yini njengaba esesibhehlela?

iCancer

iFlu (umkhuhlane)

iPneumonia ne TB

Isiyenzi nesifo sokuwa

11. Ingakanani iCD4 count kaZandi?

180

100

210

140

12. Kufanele ibengakanani iCD4 count ukuze udinge ama ARVs?

13. Ungakwazi ukuphuza utshwala uma udla amaARV?

Yebo

Cha

14. Ziyakhokha yini izingane ezingaphansi kweminyaka eyisithupha emaklinikhi nasezibhedlela zika-hulumeni?

Yebo

Cha

15. Uma usebenzisa amaARVs, kufanele uwaphuze kangaki ngosuku?

- Kanye ngosuku
- Kabili ngosuku
- Kathathu ngosuku
- Noma nini uma uwandinga

16. Uma ucabanga, kusemqoka yini ukuhlola ukuze ubone isimo sakho sengculaza?

- Yebo
 - Cha
- (bhala isizathu sempendulo yakho)
-
-

Ukuvolontiya (volunteerism)

17. Kusho ukuthini ukuba yivolontiya?

- Ukusebenza esibhedlela
- Ukubamba itoho
- Ukusiza umphakathi mahala
- Konke okubhalwe ngenhla

18. Uma ubheka, ukuvolontiya umsebenzi ohloniphekile futhi esemgangathweni?

- Yebo
- Cha

19. Wake wawuzama umsebenzi wokuvolontiya?

- Yebo
- Cha

20. Uma ucabanga, uZukiswa uthathe isinqumo esihle ngokwenza amahouse calls njengoba umyeni wakhe engafuni akwenze lokhu?

- Yebo
 - Cha
- (bhala isizathu sempendulo yakho)
-
-
-

8.2 Questionnaire (English)

1. Do you ever watch this programme (*Soul City VII*) on Thursday nights at half-past-eight on SABC 1?

Yes

No

2. Do you see this programme as primarily entertaining or educational or do you see it as both?

3. When paying attention to the TV programme we have just watched, do you think it resembles reality and can we relate or model our daily lifestyles against it?

Yes

No

(Provide a reason for your answer)

4. Do you ever hear people speaking about some of the issues they have learned from Soul City, such as HIV/AIDS or other diseases?

Yes

No

Masculinity/ Manhood

5. Employment is scarce. Do you think that Sello should have humbled himself to his brother even though he was being ridiculed as well as humiliated by him?

Yes

No

6. Do you think that it is a smart idea to drive a stolen vehicle?

Yes

No

7. Is Sello being foolish by helping his friend Venter to go and mug/ hi-jack?

Yes

No

8. Do you think that it will be difficult for you to get employment once you have matriculated?

Yes

No

(Provide a reason for your answer)

Living with HIV/AIDS

9. What does the acronym ARV stand for?

Anti Retrieval Virus

Ant Retrieval Vapour

Anti Rust Visor

Antiretroviral

10. Zandi is HIV positive. What sickness have the doctors diagnosed her for at the hospital?

Cancer

Flu

Pneumonia and TB

Epilepsy and Drowsiness

11. How much is Zandi's CD4 count?

180

100

210

140

12. How much does one's CD4 count have to be in order for them to need ARV treatment?

13. Is one able to drink alcohol while they are under ARV treatment?

Yes

No

14. Do children under the age of six have to pay for their medical treatment at clinics and government hospitals?

Yes

No

15. When using ARVs, how many times a day do you have to take your treatment? (Daily dosage)

- Once a day
- Twice a day
- Three times a day
- Whenever you need them

16. Do you think it is important for one to examine their (his or her) HIV status?

- Yes
- No

(Provide a reason for your answer)

Volunteerism

17. What does it mean to be a volunteer worker?

- Working at a hospital
- Doing a part-time job
- Helping your community for no charge
- All of the above

18. Do you think that volunteerism is a respectable and good status job?

- Yes
- No

19. Have you ever tried to do volunteer work?

- Yes
- No

20. Do you think that Zukiswa has made a good decision by doing house calls even though it's against her husband's will?

- Yes
- No

(Provide a reason for your answer)

8.3 Reasons for including all of the questions in our questionnaire

Question One

This question has the primary objective of determining regular and non-regular viewers of *Soul City VII*. This will help us to determine the difference in knowledge between the viewers and non-regular viewers. This will make for good reception analysis because we will be able to determine whether those who watch *Soul City VII* generally know more information about the programme and issues than those who do not watch the programme at all. This will also show/help in determining how much reach *Soul City VII* has over their South Africa target audience.

Question Two

This will help in determining whether *Soul City VII* has achieved its objective of being perceived an E-E intervention. It is important for *Soul City VII* to be registered as an E-E intervention and not just educational or entertaining as this affects viewing perceptions and expectations and hence audience segmentation.

Question Three

This question is supposed to show if the audience views *Soul City VII* as a programme that resembles reality or simply just as a fictional programme (that just serves to entertain). We also want to see whether the audience is capable of practicing what they see on television. Does *Soul City VII* provide a guideline which the viewers follow and model their own lives on?

Question Four

This question serves to seek whether the programme sets agendas for its audience. Are people talking about what they see on television? This will assist in determining if viewers are spreading the knowledge among themselves (or even applying the knowledge learned to help them with day-to-day decision-making about health issues).

Question Five (Masculinity/Manhood)

The fact that Sello allowed his pride to get in the way of his decision-making, actually ended up getting him into trouble later as he had to resort to crime in order to sort out his financial difficulties. [Look at the narrative style of *Soul City VII*, there has to be a moral at the end of the story as lessons have to be learnt. Sello has to 'mess up' and then make things right before he sorts himself out and gets his life on the straight and narrow before regaining equilibrium.] This could have a negative effect on a non-frequent viewer, due to the unfinished story.

Question Six

The main reason for this question is to get into the viewers' lifeworld (what kind of environment does the viewer come from?) Is driving a stolen vehicle 'all the same' to him/her? If our sample has low morals, they may be misled by what they see on television. What is negative on the programme may be perceived as the norm by them.

Question Seven

Given the lifestyle that most of the people in the township lead, stealing cars and hijacking is not something that is unfamiliar or unheard of. Hijacking is a foolish act no matter what the circumstances or situation is because it lands one in jail.

Question Eight

Seeing that the lead male protagonist cannot find a job and is having great difficulty in doing so, we thought that this question would highlight the real aspects of the programme. This question will also help us to determine whether students see the significance in education and whether they believe that it will get them somewhere (this is the reason that the question was made qualitative). We wanted to measure the respondent's attitudes. By this, we would also be able to gain an idea of whether these students may drop out of school because of not 'seeing the light at the end of the tunnel'. Furthermore, the fact that Sello is getting rejected on all his application and attempts to find employment, may have a negative effect on the students (Unintended Effects Dilemma) as they may see a man with a matric and evidence of doing first year study at a good University and not being accepted.

Question Nine

The programme is teaching people about ARVs, their benefits, how to use them, who needs them, where they are available etc. We used questions which provided answer categories in order to assist others with spelling if they did not remember the name. This question measures listening as well as knowledge gained by the students. ARVs were mentioned on the programme several times (The acronym was spelt out)

Question Ten

The purpose of this question was again aimed at measuring the attention of the viewer. It will show us how much attention the viewer pays to the storyline.

Question Eleven

Similar to question nine.

The students viewed the programme in an environment that allowed for concentration. There were no cell phones ringing, dogs barking, food cooking or any noise or clutter. There were not any advertisement breaks, channel hopping etc- it was not like a home environment. The emphasis was on watching the programme and paying attention.

Question Twelve

It will also be to assess whether viewers have more knowledge than non-regular viewers.

Question Thirteen

The question was also set for the purpose of reception. Students saw that drinking alcohol is risky behaviour. This was acted out in the series as well as Zandi was having problems. Hence, we will see whether risk behaviour is limited by *Soul City VII*, or are respondents capable of noting that risky behaviour while HIV positive is dangerous and will result in death. We should have no students answering YES. This may show that risk behaviour such as drinking takes priority over critical health conditions and issues.

Question Fourteen

We included this question because the information that was provided was crucial to the audience. It is of fundamental importance to know that a young child (under six) gets free

treatment. One may even avoid taking a child to the clinic because they fear that they won't be able to afford proper medication.

Question Fifteen

This question is also very important in terms of assessing reception analysis. Knowing how many times a day one has to take their ARV treatment is very important as it could one day be useful to that person. Once again, being able to answer that question enables us to see how much attention our audience pays to the programme. Knowing how many times a day one must take ARVs is also good information to know from an educational perspective.

Question Sixteen

This is perhaps the most important question regarding reception analysis of *Soul City VII*. In the series, we have Moses, who refuses to admit that he may even have HIV/AIDS. This is an attitude that is not unfamiliar in the townships; as some believe that traditional healers can cure HIV/AIDS and other do not believe that the virus exists. Having a character with this attitude adds credibility to the programme as it shows evidence of research.

This question will also be the one to help determine the messages by *Soul City VII* and its past seasons, plus other AIDS campaigns and EE interventions e.g. Love Life. This will help us quantify the viewer's attitudes towards the AIDS virus. Do they care is the4y have it or not? Do they care about spreading the disease or contracting it? We made it qualitative so that we could view and measure the respondent's attitudes towards this issue. We also wanted to see if perhaps some of the students upheld Moses' view.

Question Seventeen

The series dealt with volunteer work, the attempts behind this may be modeling. If volunteer work is represented in a positive way, then students may actually want to try it. However, the most important thing is that they know what volunteer work is as they have seen it on TV (message reception) It will weigh or measure how well the message has been relayed to the viewers. There are answer categories too.

Question Eighteen

We have to know how viewers perceive volunteer work, especially since it has been portrayed on the programme. The strength of this response may also lie on the representation presented by the programme directors (the image that they have set) If the respondents view it negatively, then we can conclude by saying that *Soul City VII* has not presented volunteer work in a positive light. If this is so, then viewers may not want to do it.

Question Nineteen

This is probably the most important reason that we tried to have a pretest at the clinic. We are looking at the modeling theory and volunteerism, seen in previous episodes. Is what they see in *Soul City VII* actually taking place in reality? Are they prepared to apply the advice they gain from the programme? We saw that Sello did not have a job even though he'd passed matric. [Volunteer work should have been shown as something beneficial to the community as well as the individual] e.g., volunteer work is good for things such as CVs therefore it is something to do while looking for work after matric.

Question Twenty

[Our respondents confused Zukiswa with Zandi]

In the Zulu Culture, a woman is supposed to respect her husband's decision as he is the head of the house. Zukiswa has made a good decision however it is not culturally ethical to do what she has done.

8.4 Episode synopsis

Episode One

Sello has to fight his own demons while trying to make ends meet and provide for his wife and child. His gangster friend, Venter, offers him money in exchange for a special favour.

Zukiswa, a new nurse at the clinic, decides to do house calls against her husband Thabo's wishes.

Zandi knows she is HIV+ but her boyfriend, Moses, refuses to be tested. Her drinking exacerbates her condition.

Episode Two

Zandi passes out in front of her six year old daughter, Khwezi, and has to be rushed to hospital.

Sello feels humiliated when Refiloe gets a temp job and manages to pay the rent. He makes another attempt to find a job knowing Venter's offer is still on the table.

Dr Francis joins Zukiswa when she visits a patient. Thabo is not impressed when he finds them together

Episode Three

Zandi runs away from hospital to see her daughter. Little Khwezi goes missing and Zandi is faced with a tough choice.

Thabo puts pressure on Zukiswa to start having children.

Sello decides to drive a car Venter's gang while they do a hijacking but something goes horribly wrong and a best-selling author is killed.

8.5 Character sketches

8.5.1 Sello

Sello is the leading male character in the programme. He is the central protagonist who has the goal of finding a job and then being able to support his family, which consists of his daughter Kagiso and his wife Refiloe. Sello also has the desire of fulfilling his life-long dream of becoming a doctor. He was forced to drop out of University (WITS) because of financial difficulties which followed after a car accident, that resulted in the tragic loss of his mother and disabled his father. Sello feels responsible for the accident, since he was the driver. The fact that the family were all arguing about his girlfriend (Refiloe) and their unborn child, moments before the accident, has become a burden to Sello. Sello has an elder brother, Siphos, who is a qualified lawyer and resembles success in the family. Sello and his brother do not get along because his brother always criticises him and recalls his past mistakes. He sees Sello as a failure and thus feels it is his duty to save him and act the older brother at the time, which infuriates Sello, as he feels ridiculed and humiliated by this.

As the central protagonist, Sello must fulfill his goals, overcome his difficult path and become a hero so that his behaviour can be modeled by the audience. As with most narrative styles, the central protagonist must face some difficulties and struggle (conflict) before he can gain any success and become a hero. In *Soul City VII*, Sello finds himself in a situation where he is part of a hijacking and a murder. He must overcome these problems in a lawful and moral way, as his character must represent what is moral in order to represent what can be modeled by the audience. He has to be a role model.

Sello is a good character that viewers sympathise with even when getting involved with the wrong crowd because he is virtuous and does not do what is wrong out of desire but circumstance.

8.5.2 Venter

Venter is the gangster in the programme. He is Sello's childhood friend. The two of them, sometimes reminisce about childhood memories when looking at the development of their lives. Venter was an honest, well-behaved child, but changed when he was drawn into the world of crime. He was tempted by the quick 'easy' money made from hijacking and robbing, which could bring him taste of the high-life- filled with beautiful girls and fast cars. He is always surrounded by beautiful girls and his entourage of gangster buddies who also act as body guards. In the series, Venter always has money and even lends money to Sello, before offering him a job as a driver in a criminal escapade. Venter is also a stylish character, who is smooth, always calm and shows a lot of elegance. He really is a devil in disguise.

8.5.3 Refiloe

Refiloe is Sello's wife that he loves dearly. She is a young and beautiful woman with whom he has a child called, Kagiso. Refiloe is a loving wife who is supportive of Sello. She gets a job and while Sello remains unemployed, which puts Sello under pressure as he is unable to provide for his family and resume the role of the breadwinner. These are some of the issues that drive Sello to being part of the hijacking.

8.5.4 Zandi

Zandi is the lead female protagonist who is HIV positive. She has a beautiful child called Khwezi and lives with her boyfriend Moses, who is also HIV positive but does not want to admit it, as he has not gone for a HIV test. Zandi owns a house, where she and Moses run a tavern (Shebeen). When the series begins, Zandi is involved in 'risk' behaviour as she is guilty of consuming alcohol while being HIV positive. After she experiences a black-out, as a result of loss of energy from drinking with a weak immune system, she is admitted to hospital. This is where she meets Sol, an old friend who is very inspirational and provides her with great support and counseling. Zandi is tested at the clinic and is thereafter transferred to the hospital. This is when she finds out her CD4 count is low (below 200) and that she is therefore in need of ARVs. Zandi realises that she could not face dying and having to leave her daughter with Moses, who does not seem to be capable of this task. Zandi is one of the characters viewers will model their behaviour against after watching the programme. This is because she appreciates the value of life as well as realising her responsibilities. Zandi sets an example for the viewers. She realises the importance of being a good mother and that one can still live a positive and fruitful life, even when HIV positive. She has realised her mistakes as well as admitting her faults. As a note - there is never any intimacy shown between Zandi and Moses because she contracted the virus from him, even though she does not want to admit it.

8.5.5 Moses

Moses is Zandi's boyfriend in the programme. He is HIV positive but does not want to admit this as he seems to use this as his own personal way of keeping strong. Judging by his physique he looks weak and getting involved in 'risk' behaviour such as drinking alcohol will not help his situation. He loves Zandi, however their relationship has been through too much for any sparks to be present. He is a character that represents foolishness as he does not want to check his HIV status and believes that the disease does not exist. He is portrayed in a negative light. Later, in the series Zandi officially breaks up with him and shuts down her Tavern in exchange for a new business venture (a restaurant).

8.5.6 Zukiswa

Zukiswa is a volunteer worker at the clinic. She has a good background as she comes from a financially stable family. She is married to Thabo, who is a wealthy taxi-owner. The problem that she faces is that Thabo does not want her to do volunteer work and would rather have her stay at home and be a housewife. Even though they are wealthy and Zukiswa does not really have the need to work, she has the passion for helping the community. Since she has a vehicle, she assists the clinic by doing house calls whereby she visits unhealthy patients at their homes. This work sometimes goes on till late as there is no way of predicting when certain patients will be facing critical conditions. This really angers Thabo, as he wants his wife to always be at home, and to be there for him. Thabo wants Zukiswa to have children, which will mean that she cannot do volunteer work anymore. She keeps referring to an agreement that she and Thabo made about waiting for two years before starting a family. However, Thabo is impatient. Zukiswa is another character who has been placed to positively influence the viewer's attitudes about volunteer work. She loves her husband as well as respects him. The only problem is that she will lose her independence or freedom if she

follows his orders. His passion lies in serving those who are helpless. Viewers will model their behaviour against Zukiswa's character.

8.5.7 Thabo

Thabo is Zukiswa's husband. He is a wealthy man as he owns taxis and has people working for him. He is a jealous husband. He implies that his wife may be cheating on him judging by the way he speaks to her. He is still young and does not know about being a man. Perhaps this is his greatest weakness when he sits with the other taxi owners, who are much older than him, he allows them to persuade him. The comments that they make in turn make him feel stupid and then he messes things up with his wife. He is a bit of an unstable character that makes many mistakes in the programme. He has a lot to learn as the series progresses.

8.6. Comments from the Respondents (Attained from Questionnaires)

Question Three - When paying attention to the TV programme we have just watched, do you think it resembles reality and can we relate or model our daily lifestyles against it?

Answer - No

Reasons

"Because we can't compare it to the life that we live." Female, 12

"To know about TV and to follow where it starts and ends." Male, 14

"Because we don't have the thing that they are talking about." Male, 15

Answer - Yes

Reasons

"Yes, It is something that exists here in KZN and things that happen that if the person has this disease they have to be looked after or get pills." Female, 17

"Because they teach us about diseases that exist so that we can protect ourselves. They teach us to protect ourselves from HIV/Aids." Female, 15

"Because they also educate us." Female, 13

"I have seen all of this before." Male, 17

"It's because it teaches us about HIV/Aids" Female, 14

"Yes, because you can see a life of people that take care of themselves." Female, 14

"Because the person who was sick needed help and her child needed help. At home it's something usual in our community." Female, 17

"Because we can see where child abuse occurs, we also live under the same conditions." Male, 15

"There are people among us that live with this disease" Male, 17

"It relates to relevant issues." Male, 15

"A realistic situation that we can relate to." Male, 15

*"To have sex 'undercover'" Male, 19

*"It is not right for us to watch this show." Male, 16

"Because some families live with HIV positive people." Male, 17

"We can use condoms to stop HIV" Male 15

"Because this virus can be contracted by anyone." Male, 13

"It teaches us to take care of people with Aids." Male, 13

"Yes, I see it as true and it's the life we also live but shouldn't be living." Male, 15

"It's because it is often educational but there are times that it is entertaining." Male, 14

"Yes because if you look at what's happening in the episode you see things that happen to everybody." Male, 16

"Because we learn what we didn't know." Male, 15

In the townships there are people who don't work but need work. There are people who mug. There are people who live nice, joyous lives." Male, 15

"Because some of the things shown on this show can happen to anybody even our families and our neighbours." Male, 15

"At this time we live in a world that is full of crime and HIV/Aids has increased in a big way." Male, 14

"Yes we see it as true of the life we live." Male, 17

"Because at times we get what we deserve. Because sometimes we don't want to listen. Because we sometimes do something without noticing." Male, 14

"Because sometimes, us guys, we misbehaved and didn't listen our parents." Male, 17

"Yes its true because it reveals all that is taking place." Male, 17

"In most cases, this project is teaching us to have good behaviour. Soul City also teaches us to know the main killing diseases that are in our community." Male, 14

"It teaches us not to have sex without using condoms." Male, 15

"I think it's true because lots of people get sick while getting involved (sexually) and don't know what to do." Male, 15

"Because there are people who get TB and Aids." Male, 13

"Yes because some people hear that they are HIV positive and just kill themselves." Male, 16

"Because we hear about ARVs and people with HIV/Aids." Female, 13

"We can draw comparisons with our lives." Female, 15

"I see them as teaching us how to take care of our lives." Female, 16

"Yes there is a reason to teach the community to use condoms when going to have sex." Female, 13

"Yes it shows us the truth that we usually see in South Africa and our area." Female, 15

"When looking at the picture you realise that one can live with HIV." Male, 14

"It shows us how to look after ourselves." Female, 13

"Because there are those who mug. There are those who have HIV and they love children. There are others who need jobs." Female, 13

"Yes it is. There are people who live like we see in Soul City." Female, 15

"Because there are lots of ways you can get HIV" Female, 13

"Because there are some with HIV that just break things because those things make them sad." Female, 14

"It's because it is a real virus and it is something real." Female, 13

"It's because it is something we have. A lot of us have HIV." Female, 14

"Because there are lots of people with TB." Female, 13

"Because it also helps us on how to look after ourselves." Female, 15

"The reason is because this show educates and we gain knowledge." Female, 16

Question Eight - Do you think that it will be difficult for you to get employment once you have matriculated?

Answer – Yes

Reason

“Yes, because you would have even gone to college so you can learn other things that will help you get a better job” Female, 17

“Because he is completing his matric, he can get work.” Male, 17

“You need to produce the certificate when applying for jobs.” Male, 17

"He doesn't have a matric certificate." Male, 15

*"He/she will feel like a criminal." Male, 16

"Because it is a lot of things that you gain knowledge about." Male, 16

"Yes because a lot of jobs don't go by who has a matric." Male, 15

"Because you're stupid." Male, 14

**"It's because you would have finished school and obtained your matric certificate." Male, 14

"If there are no jobs people must go to DIT as to achieve more information." Male, 17

"When looking for the job, you should apply early. It also depends on how you pass your subjects." Male, 14

"Because you would have not studied, you must at least study computers." Male, 16

"Yes because I'll be under qualified." Male, 17

"I think that it could be easy if you humble yourself. Nowadays you don't get work if you are uneducated. You must try." Unspecified

"Because there is no work available." Unspecified

"Maybe with others there won't be enough space (vacancy) for the thing he/she is studying for." Female, 13

"It's because once you have finished school its about the studies you have chosen . Because once you have finished school there is work that needs you to go to college." Female, 12

"It's because at these times work cannot be found." Female, 14

"Others finish matric and stay at home and mug others because work is not easy to find." Female, 16

"Maybe because you don't have enough money." Female, 13

"Yes, because you don't get a decent job if you haven't finished matric." Female, 15

"Because you won't get work if you are a crimminal. They won't trust you." Female, 14

Answer – No

Reasons

“No, because if you have gone to college, some of them find work for you.” Female, 13

“To me, it won't be difficult once I am in Matric.” Female, 14

“No, because you know everything about you life once you have finished matric.” Female, 14

“It won't be hard because if you finish grade 12, you can be easily employed because you can get employment in the kitchens, sweeping job, otherwise you won't get a job.” Female, 17

“Nowadays it becomes difficult, if you haven't been to a tertiary institution.” Male, 15

"It won't be hard if you become dedicated." Male, 19

"He will have a matric certificate." Male 17
 "Because you would have already learned how to work (you will be qualified)" Male, 15
 "Because you would have passed matric." Male, 13
 "When you have passed matric there is absolutely no chance that you won't get work." Male, 15
 "It's because you apply to many places." Male, 14
 "Because you would have finished matric. Because you can speak for yourself about work. Because you would have learnt everything about work." Male, 14
 "Because once you have passed Grade 12, there are lots of jobs." Male, 16
 "**"Because there is no work and education doesn't end with matric." Male, 15
 "If you are dedicated you can, but not easily." Male, 14
 "No because I am prepared to further my studies." Male, 17
 "I see it as easy to get work after finishing Grade 12 because some Police have not finished Grade 12." Male, 15
 "No because I will first study to be a nurse." Female, 13
 "It won't be hard because you will have studies and you will have a CV that is needed when looking for work." Female, 14

Question Sixteen - Do you think it is important for one to examine their (his or her) HIV status?

Answer – Yes

Reasons

"Yes, because you must always know your status and if you are ready to take pills." Female, 17
 "Yes because you won't be able to help yourself if you don't know what condition you are in." Female, 14
 "Its important because you must know of you have it or not so you can get help." Female, 17
 "It's important that you know early before it's too late." Male, 15
 "It is bad when a person knows they are promiscuous" Male, 17
 "So you know the severity of it." Male, 18
 "So that you are always aware of your life." Male, 13
 "It is very important to check you HIV status even if you don't have Aids." Male, 15
 "Yes because you will use things that you are not supposed to use if you are HIV positive." Male, 16
 "Because if you don't check you will end up being afraid to check." Male, 14
 "Because you will stay while its eating you inside." Male, 17
 "It's because you will end up dying while not knowing that you have the disease." Male, 14
 "Because it must be known what you have come down with. So that they can look after you and provide for your needs." Male, 17
 "Because it is important to know that you are HIV positive or not. Because you will meet with a person and they will tell you that you already had Aids." Female, 13
 "So you won't spread it to many people." Female, 13
 "Because it could happen that you sleep with a person and then end up infecting them with HIV." Female, 14
 "Because you will behave badly without knowing that you have the virus." Female, 13
 "So you will stop the things you used to do." Female, 15

Answer – No

Reasons

- “No it’s not important.” Female, 14
- "It is wrong" Male, 16
- "When the doctor tell you "you're positive" you think about dying." Male, 17
- "No because you are not compelled to do it, it's your own decision." Male, 17
- "You have to get treatment but it will be hard to get treatment" Male, 15

Question Twenty - Do you think that Zukiswa has made a good decision by doing house calls even though it’s against her husband’s will?

Answer – Yes

Reasons

- “It’s because he (her husband) doesn’t want to hear the truth” Female, 12
- *“Yes, so that she can make a living because her husband doesn’t work.” Female, 17
- “Because if they need her she must go and help them.” Female, 13
- “Yes so she can see that in house calls” Female, 14
- “Yes, because she is helping her nationality” Female, 14
- “Because she wants to make sure that they follow the instructions (medical) that have been set for them.” Female, 17
- “So they can know what is happening.” Male, 15
- *"Because if she carried on here situation would be worse" Male, 15
- "She made a good choice because her husband didn't want her to." Male, 13
- *"Because he doesn't use his mind" Male, 16
- "Because Zukiswa helps those who are in need. Her husband is healthy, which is why he doesn't want her to help the community (selfish)." Male, 15
- "Because she liked doing calls." Male, 16
- "Because it will help Zukiswa very much." Male, 15
- *"Because if her husband doesn't let her, she will die" (confused with Zandi and Moses) Male, 17
- *" Yes because she wanted to check up on them and she wanted to stay with her child. (confusing Zandi with Zukiswa"
- "Because she is helping patients who live in their homes." Male, 15
- "So she can help the community." Unspecified
- "It's because other people are in need of help but can't get it or go to get help because of reasons and others are sick." Female, 13
- "Its because her and her husband always had conflict and wouldn't let her." Female, 15

- "I say this because it's a very nice thing that she is doing." Male, 14
- *"Because he thinks she has dumped him." Female, 13
- "Because she needs them. There must not be a person that can't do what they want to and stopped by another." Female, 13
- "She must do them because her husband doesn't want to. She must do whatever she feels like doing." Female, 15
- "Because there are people who can get very sick that they can't walk." Female, 13

"She is doing good because if she doesn't do the house calls she will have to consider her child." Female, 14

"Because she helps people who are sick and makes them better than before." Female, 13

"Zukiswa has to talk to her husband and beg him because she has made the right decision." Female, 14

*"So she can get money because they don't work." Female, 13

"Its because she is helping other people." Female, 15

*"Because her husband didn't want to look after the baby until she got out of hospital, even though she didn't want to ." Female, 14

Answer – No

Reasons

"Its because her husband doesn't want her to. One is not allowed to do house calls. It's not allowed." Female, 15

*"Because she husband doesn't care about her." Male, 17

*"Because she can get arrested." Male, 14

"It's because she wasn't allowed to do that thing." Male, 14

*"Because her husband didn't want her to work with the phones." Male, 17

*"Because he is jealous." Male, 17

"No because such a job may lead her into trouble." Male, 14

*"Because people live in the house and you can't do house calls in the house." Male, 15

"Because she has done something that her husband doesn't like" Male, 13

"Because she is doing things that he doesn't like." Male, 16

*"Zukiswa has taken a good decision by making house calls." Male, 15

"No, this is causing corruption against the family." Male, 17

"Because she shouldn't have done it if her husband didn't want her to." Female, 12

"It's because her husband doesn't want her to." Female, 14

"It's because it will be filled with people and those who are infected and sick." Female, 16

"Because she could find herself fighting with her husband." Female, 14

8.7 Tables Devised from Questionnaire Answers

Introductory Questions (total respondents = 94)

Question	Male	Female	Unspecified
1 Regular Viewers	37	24	12
1 Non-Regular Viewers	9	10	2
2 Found SC ³⁵ Educational only	27	23	6
2 Found SC Entertaining only	3	4	2
2 Found SC Entertaining and Educational	14	7	5
2 Other	2	-	1
3 Found SC realistic	43	32	11
3 Found SC Non-realistic	3	2	3
4 SC encouraged them to talk with others	32	23	10
4 SC did not encourage them to talk with others	14	11	4

Questions related to Masculinity

Question	Male	Female	Unspecified
5 Sello should have humbled himself	35	21	10
5 Sello shouldn't have humbled himself	10	13	4
5 Other	1	-	-
6 It is smart to drive a stolen vehicle	3	0	5
6 It is not smart to drive a stolen vehicle	43	34	9
7 It is foolish to hijack	27	22	9
7 It is not foolish to hijack	19	12	5
8 It will be hard to find job after matric	24	11	5
8 It won't be hard to find job after matric	19	21	9
8 Other	3	2	-

³⁵ SC = *Soul City VII*

Questions related to Living with HIV/Aids

Question	Male	Female	Unspecified
9 Correct ARV spelling	6	5	2
9 Incorrect ARV spelling	40	29	12
10 Correct Zandi diagnosis	35	28	10
10 Incorrect Zandi diagnosis	11	6	4
11 Correct Zandi CD4 count	9	15	5
11 Incorrect Zandi CD4 count	37	19	9
12 Correct CD4 count	1	0	0
12 Incorrect CD4 count	45	34	14
13 One is able to drink alcohol while on ARVs	39	-	6
13 One is unable to drink alcohol while on ARVs	5	34	8
13 Other	2	-	-
14 Children under 6 pay for treatment	4	2	5
14 Children under 6 don't pay for treatment	40	32	9
14 Other	2	-	-
15 Correct ARV	13	10	3
15 Incorrect ARV	32	24	11
15 Other	1	-	-
16 Check HIV Status	37	32	11
16 Don't check HIV status	6	2	3
16 Other	3		

Questions related to Volunteerism

Question	Male	Female	Unspecified
17 Correct def. of a volunteer	29	24	6
17 Incorrect def. of a volunteer	17	10	8
18 Vol. a respectable job	31	34	11
18 vol. not a respectable job	14	-	3
18 Other	1	-	-
19 Respondent has been a volunteer	16	4	6
19 Respondent hasn't been a volunteer	29	30	8
19 Other	1	-	-
20 Was a good decision to go against husband's will	31	24	11
20 Was not a good decision to go against husband's will	12	9	3
20 Other	3	1	-

3. Travelling Costs

8 trips to Chesterville Secondary School

1. Tuesday 5 April - Meeting with the Headmaster- Mr Shabalala
2. Friday 8 April - Meeting with the Health Teacher – Mrs Mchunu
3. Tuesday 3 May - Meeting with Mrs Mchunu and Mr Blose
4. Friday 6 May - Attempt to conduct research at Chesterville Clinic
5. Thursday 12 May - Rescheduling of screening and questionnaire
6. Tuesday 17 May - Screening and questionnaire completion
7. Wednesday 18 May - Collection of remaining questionnaires
8. Friday 20 May - Thanking of teachers

Petrol is R5,13 per litre

Chesterville – 5km from University, therefore each trip is 10km.

An Uno was used which travels 10km per litre, therefore –

8 trips x 10km = 80 km travelled

80km x R 5,13 = R41,04

Total _____ R41,04

Final Total _____ R267,38