



SOUL CITY 4

IMPACT EVALUATION:

AIDS

October 2000

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Research findings presented here are based on evaluation research contracted by Soul City to independent research agencies, as well as research conducted independently of Soul City.

Sources are:

1. An Evaluation of Soul City 4, researched for Soul City by Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), T Samuels, J Mollentz, R Olusanya, M Claassens, S Braehmenr and Z Kimmie, October 2000

(National Survey*)
2. Soul City Series 4 - Qualitative Impact Assessment, data collection and data processing by Social Surveys, under supervision of K Hall and K Daniels, audience reception analysis done by E Scheepers, HIV / AIDS impact analysis done by E Scheepers and K Daniels, October 2000

(Qualitative Research, urban, peri-urban and rural populations, nationally*)
3. Soul City Series 4 Evaluation – Report on the Sentinel Site Study. Written by Katharine Hall and Karen Daniels, September 2000

(Survey of a panel of respondents in 1 urban and 1 rural site, with 4 consecutive rounds of data collection*)
4. Audience Ratings, South African Advertising Research Foundation

** Detailed methodology reports available upon request*

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Background

Soul City is a national multi-media “edutainment” project. It aims to impact positively on peoples quality of life through integrating health and development issues into prime time television and radio dramas, backed up by full colour easy to read booklets. Soul City has developed and aired three previous series of Soul City and dealt with a variety of topics including AIDS, Tobacco, Tuberculosis and Violence. Soul City also has a number of offshoot projects including life skills materials and a children’s edutainment vehicle called “Soul Buddyz”¹

Soul City series four dealt with four key topics in the prime time television programme, nine different language radio dramas and three information booklets one million of each were distributed nationally. The topics were: violence against women, AIDS, including youth sexuality, small business, and hypertension.

The Soul City series four evaluation used a number of different studies and methods to attempt to elucidate the complex behaviour patterns and changes, which can be associated with the Soul City intervention.¹

Behaviour change is difficult to influence, as there is an interwoven complexity of factors which influence how a person behaves^{ii iii}. This is even more complex when the behaviour involves more than one person (as it does in sexual intercourse) and when the behaviour is intensely private as it is in sexual behaviour. Soul City developed a model of behaviour change expanding upon the Johns Hopkins steps to behaviour change model^{iv}, which was developed for family planning interventions, but has been used in other contexts. We included behaviour change models, which look at the community and broader societal impact on behaviour change. An underlying premise is that mass media impacts on huge numbers of people and these people are at differing stages of the particular desired behaviour. Soul City also bases its intervention on the health promotion model as discussed in the Ottawa Charter^v and covers broader aspects of health promotion such as advocating for healthy public policy and creating a supportive environment for behaviour change. Through the national survey which was undertaken in a before and after design with samples of 2000 each time (by an independent research organisation CASE²), and a panel survey in two sites (by Social Surveys), one urban and one rural, the research shows a close association between Soul City and people’s shifting along the various parts of the behaviour change model. Included in this summary are some aspects emerging from a thematic analysis of the national qualitative data that help illustrate, and add a deeper understanding of the quantitative data. The qualitative study consists of a) qualitative interviews (focus groups and depth interviews) with men and women separately, as well as mixed sex groups – conducted amongst rural,

¹ For more information about the Soul City methodology: R.E

² Community Agency for Social Enquiry

peri-urban and urban population groups in six provinces; and b) interviews (with local leadership figures / institutions, as well as service delivery sectors) in one rural and one urban site. This triangulation of methods strengthens the study design. A brief summary relating to the AIDS outcomes of Soul City series four is outlined below. The Soul City behaviour change model is in appendix 1. Throughout the study “change” was the principle concept measured. The data in the national survey was measured for change and then through logistical regression analysis significant associations determined. The factors regressed were education, age, area, access to Soul City media and gender. The entire study has been supported by an international and local group of experts in evaluation, communication and entertainment-education, and was funded by the European Union.

2. Soul City Reach and Popularity

This is dealt with in detail in a report called Soul City: Multi-media Audience Reception (available upon request).

Overall Soul City reached 79% of the target population.³ This is more than 16,2 million people.

By medium, the reach is:

Television (68%): 13,9 million viewers

Radio (65%): 13,3 million

Print "AIDS in our community" (34%): 7 million readers

Television audience:

Soul City is consistently valued as an entertaining and engaging educational programme:

Female, urban

If you had missed Soul City - you didn't want to miss a Soul City episode, you always wanted to watch all the time on the day it played.

Male, Rural

Soul City is not like any other drama because it touches crucial subjects that are being experienced by people in the community and at the same time we get to see them. And again when they deal with a subject they don't let it end on the television they educate the viewers about that particular subject that they could be dealing with.

Table 1. Television Audience Reach by Segment, from National Survey

<i>Audience segment</i>	<i>% within sub-sample</i>
Urban	75%
Rural	60%
16 – 24 years	79%

The television audience was loyal to the programme with 49 % having watched 9-13 episodes of television and an additional 28% having watched 5-8 episodes.

This was borne out by the consistently high audience ratings and the fact that Soul City was among the top three programmes on SABC1 for its entire run.

³ The target population is "African" and "Coloured" South Africans. These racial categories were used to ensure that previously disadvantaged South Africans, are the focus of the intervention.

Radio Audience:

Radio remains a popular medium in rural audiences, and amongst older listeners:

Female, Rural

The one on the radio, I found it as the one I love the most. I love the one on radio a lot, more than the one on TV... On TV, let me say, it's explained more on radio - more than on TV.

Male, Rural

Our parents prefer the radio more than the television; its difficult for them to change from what they are used. They grew up with a radio, so they are used to those sounds that are made on the radio

Table 2. Radio Audience by Segment, from National Survey

<i>Audience segment</i>	<i>% within sub-sample</i>
Urban	52%
Rural	68%
16 – 24 years	68%

3. AIDS findings – from the Evaluation of Soul City Series 4

A: Behaviour change on an individual level of analysis

i) Awareness

Awareness of AIDS in South Africa is very high in all surveys, even in rural Kwa Zulu/Natal it exceeded 95% with 100% of women having heard of AIDS in this area. The Soul City 4 evaluation survey results show that Soul City 4 did not increase awareness of the existence of HIV/AIDS in the general population, as it was already very high in the baseline.

Although there is high awareness of the existence of HIV / AIDS, a recurring theme in the qualitative study across all audience segments, is that respondents directly attribute their own subjective, and increased awareness of the indisputable reality of *HIV/AIDS* to Soul City :

Male, Urban:

With me personally I thought AIDS was a foreign disease and it will never come to our country. Even when they came to tell us about it I never took it to notice because I always thought that its far away from us, then one day I saw Soul City and they were really talking about it that made me to take it seriously.

Male, Rural KZN:

Since I have seen Soul City I am very careful; I am careful in whatever I do, because I did not believe in AIDS before, but now I have seen, and I know that AIDS is there.

Male, Rural:

It [Soul City] taught me about AIDS again; that it's really there. Before I never thought that it's our disease. I really never thought that it's here. But Soul City has shown me that it's here.

In the rural panel 28% said they personally knew someone who is HIV positive or who has AIDS. The figure was 16% for the urban panel. Overall in the national study the figure was 18%.

ii) Knowledge

There were two knowledge indicator questions asked in the evaluation survey. The first was whether there is a cure for AIDS, and the second was about whether a monogamous person is safe from infection. The second question particularly related to our message that unless one is sure that one's partner is also faithful one is still at risk of contracting HIV.

Knowledge of whether there is a cure for AIDS:

Soul City (TV production) had a statistically significant⁴ impact on knowledge about a cure for AIDS.

Table 3. There is a cure for AIDS

Media access	Yes	No
No TV	4%	88%
No Soul City TV	4%	85%
Low Soul City TV	5%	87%
Medium Soul City TV	4%	94%
High Soul City TV	4%	91%

Soul City (Radio production) also had a significant impact on this knowledge question.

Understanding of monogamy:

Respondents with access to high Soul City TV were significantly more likely to understand that people are at risk of getting HIV/AIDS because their partner may have exposed them to the virus. Sixty nine percent of respondents in this category acknowledged that in this scenario people were at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, compared to 59% of respondents without access to Soul City TV. This observation is strongly supported by the qualitative research: a recurring

⁴ When significant is referred to it will mean statistically significant at a level of $p=.05$

theme, particularly amongst urban females is the realisation (in the context of talking about Soul City's impact), that being in a long term relationship does not necessarily reduce the risk of contracting HIV / AIDS:

Female, Urban

That is true because you can be faithful, but then you don't know how faithful your partner is.

Female, Urban

... even if we are married you never know what your husband does out there. I mean men go out and you will never know what kind of people they meet out there.

Female, Rural

By seeing and by hearing about the AIDS disease, I saw it's no longer right to have someone you trust that he doesn't have, because they explain that you can't tell that he has AIDS, it takes time to see that it's already there. So now you can't know, and you can't trust him that he is involved with you only, because you don't know when he goes outside, who are the others.

Female, Urban

I also think the mothers that's married, because the maid I think told her that she had to go take a HIV test. And I think she said it won't happen to me, I was married to the man. And then she was positive because her husband slept around. So don't think that you're like married, you're married, you have him. You don't know what he did before you met you.

Safer sex:

The national qualitative research is dominated by evidence of Soul City's direct impact on promoting knowledge and awareness around safer sex practices (and negotiating safe sex - urban women) with reference to condom use, and being faithful to one partner. This qualitative data is quantitatively supported by the survey results on the Soul City audience's willingness to ask their partners to use a condom – see page 15 of this report.

Male, Urban

I saw it at Soul City and felt that I must be straight with my partner; even if she is not around, I must not cheat.

Male, Urban, in the context of talking about "Soul City's impact in your life"

That is stop sleeping around, concentrate on one partner because you know definitely that she is disease free. So by living with only one partner who is HIV free you are safe. By going outside you are going to get AIDS and bring it at home to infect the AIDS free partner.

Female, Urban, in the context of talking about "Soul City's impact in your life"

... that you must not compromise you must condomise, do not allow yourself to be robbed by a man you must come to an agreement if he wants to have sex with you.

Female, rural

I gained a lot from Soul City, it showed me that, from those who have started to get involved in relationships, they should go and get condoms and use it so that you don't get AIDS And that you should have a blood test whatever they say.

Male, Rural

R The message that influenced me a lot is that of using a condom that has really impacted on me because I never thought that there is a need for them until I got to under stand the seriousness of unprotected sex from SC.

Knowledge across items:

In both the urban and rural sentinel sites there were positive shifts in knowledge (i.e. before / after exposure to Soul City) across the knowledge questions – some shifts were statistically significant (see Table 4). An exception was urban men who changed from 83.5 % saying you can't tell by looking at someone that they have HIV, to 79.6% (a negative shift – although this was not statistically significant).

Table 4. % desired (correct) response- Knowledge about HIV/AIDS

	KZN (rural)				Gauteng (urban)			
	baseline		evaluation		baseline		evaluation	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
There is a cure for AIDS	88.5	87.6	88.6	90.4	85	84.2	87.5	90.2
There is nothing you can do to prevent it	71.8	60.8	74.9	73.1*	82	81.4	90.7	94.6*
You can tell by looking at someone	70.5	67.6	74.5	72.1	83.5	78.5	79.6	82.3
Fidelity will protect you	48.1	47.2	57.8	56.6	35	38.4	41	51.5*

* Denotes statistically significant at the level of $p \leq 0.05$

iii) Attitudes and Approval

Attitudes towards people living with HIV/AIDS:

Analysis of the national survey data shows that the greatest quantitatively observable change in people's attitudes towards people living with HIV or AIDS was not their own attitudes, but their perception of other's attitudes. That is, the perceived social norm (or subjective norm) regarding whether people living with HIV/AIDS should be moved away, changed significantly, bringing people's perceptions of the social norm more in line with their own attitudes. This phenomenon is noted for two reasons: 1) it effectively points in the direction of Soul City's association with decreasing negative peer pressure and 2) in the context of the very high percentage of already positive personal attitudes in the baseline, which raises the issue of a possible response effect (social desirability), respondents' perception of their friends' attitudes may at least partially be a projection of their own attitudes. If this is the case, the positive shift in subjective norms may be a more reliable reflection of shift in individual attitudes related to Soul City, than the statistic reported here for "shift in personal attitude".

Both Soul City TV and radio had significant impact on the perception of this social norm (subjective norm), and the more parts of Soul City a person had accessed the more this shift towards greater tolerance was reinforced.

Table 5. ‘People in your community think that people with HIV/AIDS should be moved away’

<i>Exposure to Soul City Media</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
no SC	20%	14%	67%
1 source	13%	9%	79%
2 sources	13%	6%	81%
3 sources	9%	4%	87%

Table 3 shows that respondents exposed to more than one component of the Soul City intervention were significantly more likely to think people in their communities “disagreed” with the statement that HIV positive people should be moved away, than respondents exposed to one source only.

In the sentinel sites, subjective norms relevant to HIV /AIDS also shifted significantly in KwaZulu/Natal, but not in Gauteng.

Table 6. Shift in subjective norm: % desired (correct) responses on HIV / AIDS attitudes

<i>People in your community think that:</i>	KZN (rural)				Gauteng (urban)			
	<i>baseline</i>		<i>evaluation</i>		<i>baseline</i>		<i>evaluation</i>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
People with AIDS should be moved away	77.6	81.7	92.7*	94.4*	68	68.8	60.5	61.3
A man is right in expecting a woman to have sex without a condom	44.1	49	69.8*	76.8*	40.1	53.5	52.7	55.9

* significant shift

Prominent themes emerging from the qualitative research on Soul City’s impact on HIV/AIDS across interviews, are 1) accounts of personal attitudes and values shifting towards greater acceptance, inclusion, support, and the normalisation of living with people who are HIV positive, and 2) awareness of the fact that one can live a normal, healthy life as an HIV positive person. Again, the qualitative data is supported by survey results presented on the Soul City audience’s willingness to help people who are HIV positive – see page 14 of this report.

Mixed Sex, Rural

It [Soul City] taught us that when a person has the AIDS virus, it doesn't mean that s/he is now an animal, s/he is now different. AIDS is like all the other things that are there, a person who has it, we should accept him/her like another person.

Male, Urban

At first we use to be afraid of AIDS sufferers or even isolate them, but now we live with them we even talk and encourage them that this is not the end of their lives. It [Soul City] taught me that you can talk and live with AIDS sufferer without fear of contracting the virus, you can also communicate with him, I mean physically, but I do not mean to have sex with her. You can even share a plate with her. I learned to be compassionate to such people, not necessarily to treat her like a child and she must not feel despondent. Do not make feel you over pity her, show her that life is not yet over, invite her to a football match or go out with her. Do not let her stay too much in the house because she will start thinking too much if there is no one to talk to.

Female, Urban

Like the time that someone, I found out that he is HIV positive, not to turn him down, to stand by him. Not to say we can't kiss, you've got AIDS, because I think Soul City made it a bit clear, you can kiss or whatever, but you can be careful there where sex is involved.

Female, Rural

Soul City has changed my life, there's an episode there, the one about AIDS, I have learned because of that when you have AIDS, you live just a like a person, and not that because you have AIDS you lose a job, and not that because you have AIDS you don't even have a boyfriend, you just live like a person and be like people.

Male, Rural

What I have learned from Soul City about AIDS is that those who are infected, we should not reject them, because they are human being as well.

Youth sexuality attitudes:

A large part of the HIV/AIDS messaging in the fourth series was directed at attitudes towards youth sexuality:

In response to the statement: "A boy who forces his girlfriend to have sex even though she doesn't want sex is raping her" there was no change from baseline to evaluation overall but there was a significant Soul City multimedia dose-effect, i.e. increased exposure to Soul City multi-media was associated with an increased percentage of desired / correct answers: 99% who had access to three parts of the Soul City intervention answered 'yes', while 94% of those with access to one or two parts of Soul City answered 'yes'.

Rape in marriage

The question of rape in marriage shifted significantly between baseline and evaluation:

Table 7. Change in attitude from baseline to evaluation

	Baseline (N=1694)	Evaluation (N=1750)
"A man who forces his wife to have sex even though she doesn't want sex is raping her." (Agree)	86%	90%

Exposure to Soul City TV, radio or print had a significant association with whether respondents agreed with this statement. A dose effect also appeared to be operating in all three cases, with respondents exposed to higher levels of any component of the intervention performing better than respondents with less exposure.

Table 8. Proportion of respondents who agreed that “A man who forces his wife to have sex even though she doesn't want sex is raping her”, by exposure to Soul City – national survey:

<i>Exposure to Soul City TV</i>	<i>%</i>
No TV	87%
No SC TV exposure	82%
Low SC TV exposure	90%
Medium SC TV exposure	92%
High SC TV exposure	93%

<i>Exposure to Soul City Radio</i>	<i>%</i>
No radio	87%
No SC4 radio exposure	85%
Low SC4 radio exposure	92%
Medium SC4 radio exposure	93%
High SC4 radio exposure	93%

<i>Exposure to Soul City Print</i>	<i>%</i>
Low SC print exposure	87%
Medium SC print exposure	94%
High SC print exposure	96%

<i>Exposure to Soul City Multi-Media</i>	<i>%</i>
No SC	80%
1 source of SC	89%
2 sources of SC	92%
3 sources of SC	97%

Transactional sex:

On the question of transactional sex (the exchange of goods - or money - for sex), respondents were asked to rate the following question: “Boys or men have the right to have sex with their girlfriends if they buy them gifts” First they rated their friends’ opinion and then their own. There was no change in personal opinion, but there was a significant positive shift in respondents’ perception of their friends’ opinions, indicating a significant, desirable shift in subjective norm. Furthermore, the difference between “own attitudes” and “perception of friends’ attitudes” decreased from 18% in the baseline to 11% in the evaluation, indicating a trend towards convergence of positive personal attitudes and positive subjective norms, and is supported by qualitative data presented on page 13.

Although there was not an overall shift from baseline to evaluation Soul City was associated with more positive responses:

Table 9. Proportion of respondents who disagree with that statement “Boys or men have the right to have sex with their girlfriends if they buy them gifts”, by exposure to Soul City TV.

<i>Exposure to Soul City TV</i>	<i>%</i>
No TV	74%
No SC TV exposure	79%
Low SC TV exposure	84%
Medium SC TV exposure	86%
High SC TV exposure	91%

A dose effect can be seen though this is not statistically significant. The association with Soul City Radio and Print was inconsistent. However, there was a significant dose effect operating with the number of Soul City media accessed on this item:

Table 10. Proportion of respondents who disagree with that statement “Boys or men have the right to have sex with their girlfriends if they buy them gifts”, by multiple components of Soul City.

<i>Exposure to Soul City Media</i>	<i>%</i>
No SC	73%
1 source of SC	83%
2 sources of SC	87%
3 sources of SC	91%

Women in particular who had any exposure to Soul City TV or who had exposure to the print material were significantly more likely to disagree with the statement.

Rural Soul City viewers were also likely to disagree with the statement: although no dose effect was noted, all rural respondents who had had any level of exposure to Soul City TV (low – 90%, medium – 85%, high 94%,) performed significantly better than rural respondents who had no exposure (72% disagreed with the statement).

Rural respondents exposed to Soul City radio productions performed significantly better than those with no exposure and this was dose related:

Table 11. Proportion of rural respondents who disagree with that statement “Boys or men have the right to have sex with their girlfriends if they buy them gifts”, by exposure to Soul City radio.

<i>Rural respondents: Exposure to Soul City Radio</i>	<i>%</i>
No radio	67%
No SC radio exposure	72%
Low SC radio exposure	81%
Medium SC radio exposure	89%
High SC radio exposure	89%

On a similar issue the respondents were asked to rate the following statement: “Girls or women need to depend on their boyfriends or husbands for a better life”. The percentage of desired answers again did not change for the respondents overall; again the shift was in the perception of the social norm. Respondents’ opinion of their friends’ disagreeing shifted from 61% to 68%. The difference between subjective social norm and personal opinion decreased from 13% to 10% between baseline and evaluation – again pointing towards Soul City’s association with reducing negative peer pressure, and possibly serving as a more reliable estimate of shifts in personal attitudes as argued on page 8.

In rural respondents there was an additional significant positive shift in personal attitudes, from 67% to 73% disagreeing with the statement.

Sex as a necessary expression of love:

With the statement “If a person really loves their boyfriend or girlfriend they will have sex with them” there was no shift in personal attitudes, but again there was a significant shift in subjective norm; from 45% disagreeing in the baseline to 49% disagreeing in the evaluation. The difference between perceived social norm and personal attitudes decreased from 15% to 9%. There was some association of Soul City with the question though this was inconsistent: TV and radio did not have a significant association, while the association with print did not show a dose effect.

iv) Social Norms

(Subjective) social norms were measured in the attitude questions and are mainly discussed in the section on attitudes above. Social norms play a particularly important role in younger people where the pressure to conform to the social norm is the greatest. Shifting the social norms is thus particularly important in behaviour change, as young people are the most vulnerable in the AIDS epidemic. The items measured reflect gender power relations where men are viewed to have rights to sex which are not negotiable. A specific

question about whether a man can expect sex without a condom showed a significant change from baseline to evaluation. Those with higher levels of education were more likely to disagree.

Table 12. Most of your friends think a man is right in expecting a woman to have sex with him without using a condom?

<i>Phase</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
Baseline (1658)	41%	0%	59%
Evaluation (1748)	22%	13%	65%

The difference between personal opinion and perceived social norm shifted dramatically from 19% in the baseline to 7% in the evaluation. There was a significant association with the Soul City TV and print. Interestingly it is younger respondents (16-24) in which there is a greater difference between own attitudes and perceived social norms.

The issue of peer pressure featured repeatedly in interviews with youth: there is evidence that Soul City effectively encourages young people (through role modelling and providing accurate information) to resist negative peer pressure in favour of engaging in safer sexual behaviour:

Young female, urban

It changed my life as well because my friends used to tell me that if you sleep with your boyfriend with a condom he is going to leave you because he does not feel any sensation he feels only rubber. But through Soul City I have discovered that I don't have to listen to friends, I should do what I think is best for me and that is to use a condom. And that by using a condom you are protecting yourself you don't have to listen to friends when they tell you that you are stupid if you use a condom. Do not mind that continue to use it for then you are protecting yourself and he is being protected as well. And I have learned from Soul City that even if you have one partner use a condom because you never know where they go to when you are not there.

Young male, urban

R: The change I was talking about is that of pressure from friends. They pressurised me about my girlfriend. So, that gave me a lot of pressure but fortunately after watching that episode [Soul City youth sexuality episode] I abstained from committing that thing [sleeping with my girlfriend]. ... What I saw as important for me is that of the guy [in Soul City] who was pressurised by friends. That is so because even when we spoke about it at school as boys, I could express (speak out) myself that this is what you were doing to me. I feel different, because now when I do not like something I can speak out and say I do not like it, even to my friends. Before that I was under pressure, but now I feel I can express myself.

I: In what way can you say Soul City contributed to your friends to start listening to you?

R: I took Soul City serious but they did not. After I explained it to them they stopped treating me that way. They got a message from it. I told them to stop pressurising me.

Young male, Rural

And again when it came to HIV I saw that from that young man who just wanted to sleep with that girl just because he wanted to prove to his friends that he was a man. What came to my mind when I saw that is that being a young person you need to ask about sex from people who have already gone through that path they are the ones who can tell you the right things. Not people your age because they are green as you are and they can land you in a ditch.

v) Intermediate practice

Willingness to consider behaviour:

This section measured peoples willingness to undertake various practices which could lead to safer sexual practices or greater acceptance of, and care for, people living with HIV or AIDS.

Soul City was significantly associated with people's willingness to perform the following actions:

a) Phone the AIDS helpline:

Soul City's radio, TV, and Print had a significant association and there was a reinforcing effect for accessing the different media. In the older group aged 46+ yrs, 55% with low, 78% with medium and 100% with high print exposure said they would consider phoning an AIDS helpline. Among respondents aged between 25-35 yrs, 69% of those with low, 79% with medium and 82% with high print exposure would consider phoning an AIDS helpline.

b) Help someone who is HIV positive:

Soul City radio, TV and print had a significant association and there was a reinforcing effect with someone with three media sources being most likely to say they would help someone.

Table 13. 'Would you consider helping someone who is HIV positive?' 46 years and older

<i>Access to Soul City Print</i>	Yes
Low Soul City Print	55%
Medium Soul City print	78%
High Soul City print	100%

Qualitative research results, capturing expressions of openness to accept and provide interpersonal support to people living with HIV / AIDS in the context of Soul City impact, are presented in detail on pages 8 and 9.

c) Ask your partner to use condom:

There was a strong shift from the baseline to the evaluation survey with Soul City TV, radio and print having a significant association with asking a partner to use a condom, and there is a reinforcing effect if one accesses more than one source of Soul City. Many of these are also a dose effect i.e. the more one accesses Soul City the more likely one is to consider asking one's partner to use a condom.

Table 14: Would you consider ... asking your partner to use a condom to prevent getting HIV/AIDS?

<i>Access to Soul City Media</i>	Yes	No
no SC	58%	42%
1 source	72%	28%
2 sources	81%	19%
3 sources	88%	12%

d) Going for an AIDS test.

Soul City radio and print had significant association with positive responses to this question and there is a reinforcing effect.

Table 15: Would you consider ... asking your partner to go for an HIV/AIDS test?

<i>Access to Soul City Media</i>	Yes	No
no SC	58%	42%
1 source	72%	28%
2 sources	77%	23%
3 sources	82%	18%

These changes are mirrored in the two sentinel sites:

Table 16. Consider an intermediate practice

<i>Intended action</i>	KZN (rural)				Gauteng (urban)			
	<i>baseline</i>		<i>evaluation</i>		<i>baseline</i>		<i>evaluation</i>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Consider phoning helpline	67.1	66.6	70.5	69.3	70.1	67.2	83.6*	90.7*
Consider helping someone who is HIV positive	80	80.3	89.3	90.1*	78.1	80.2	88.2	93.6
Consider asking partner to use condom	55.7	50	72.5*	77.1*	60	56.4	84.2*	80.9*
Consider asking partner to go for a test	55.8	54.6	59.1	66.6	60.9	57	78.3*	76*
Consider going for a test	58.2	57.5	59.1	62.8	58.8	61.4	77.6*	74.5*

* significant shifts

vi) Actual Intermediate Practice:

This section looks at similar questions, but focuses on whether respondents had actually done / engaged in the behaviour.

a) Phoned the AIDS helpline

Soul City TV and Soul City print did not have any association with whether respondents had phoned an AIDS helpline in the past six to seven months.⁵ Log linear analysis indicated that Soul City radio and exposure to Soul City from more than one media source, had a significant association with respondents having phoned a helpline in the past six to seven months but the cell sizes were too small to be reliable.

b) Helped someone who is HIV positive

Soul City radio did have an association, but there was no dose effect. TV and print had no effect.

Table 17. 'Have you ever helped someone who is HIV positive in the past six to seven months?'

<i>Access to Soul City Radio</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
No radio	8%	92%
No Soul City radio	25%	75%
Low Soul City radio	41%	59%
Medium Soul City radio	56%	44%
High Soul City radio	44%	57%

c) Asked your partner to use a condom in the past six to seven months.

Neither Soul City radio, TV nor print had an association with this practice, but people who accessed more than one component of Soul City were significantly more likely to say that they had asked their partner to use a condom.

d) Asked your partner to go for an AIDS test.

Soul City radio had a significant association with respondents having asked their partner to go for an AIDS test in the past six to seven months.

⁵ These figures were analysed at the 1% significance level because of small cell sizes.

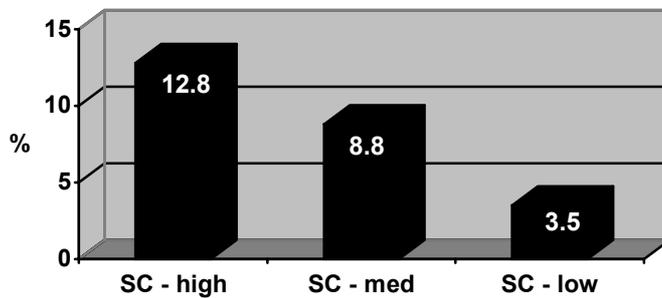
Table 18. Have you ever asked your partner to go for an HIV/AIDS test in the past six to seven months?

<i>Access to Soul City Radio</i>	Yes	No
No radio	52%	48%
No Soul City radio	34%	66%
Low Soul City radio	68%	32%
Medium Soul City radio	77%	23%
High Soul City radio	70%	30%

“Soul City radio appeared to be a particularly effective vehicle for encouraging respondents to take measures to try to find out more about HIV/AIDS, assist someone who is HIV positive, using condoms or going for an HIV/AIDS test.”^{vi}

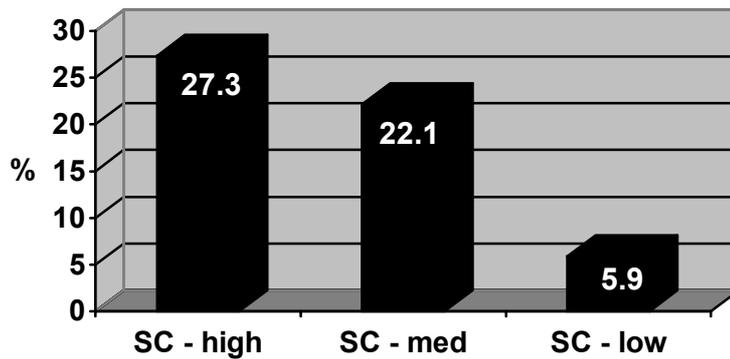
In the KZN sentinel site there is an apparent association between Soul City exposure and desired response on actual practice. All of the five items in the “practice” scale indicate a higher desired response rate amongst people with greater levels of exposure to Soul City. The combined percentages are reflected in the graph below.

Figure 2. Actual Practice (% desired action)



This is consistent with practice in the sentinel site in Gauteng:

Figure 3. Actual Practice (%desired actions)



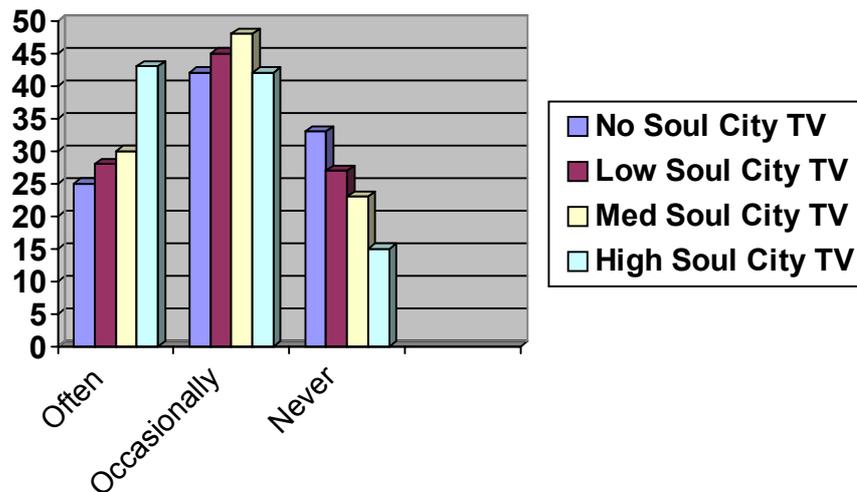
19% of respondents in the sentinel site panel survey who had undertaken desired practice during the intervention period directly (and spontaneously – through unaided recall) identified Soul City as a motivating factor.

e) Talking about the issue:

A particularly important practice is talking about the issue, as this is seen internationally to assist people assess their own behaviours and the social norms and engage with the issue at hand, encouraging social change.^{vii}

Soul City TV had a general relationship with whether respondents talked about HIV/AIDS. Respondents exposed to Soul City TV were significantly less likely to say they ‘never’ talked about HIV/AIDS. A dose effect emerged with respondents exposed to high levels of Soul City TV significantly more likely to ‘often’ discuss HIV/AIDS (43%), compared to 30% with medium and 28% with low exposure to Soul City TV.

Figure 4. How often have you talked to someone close to you about AIDS? – sentinel site data



Exposure to more than one component of the intervention had a significant association with interpersonal communication.

Table 19. ‘How often have you talked to someone close to you about HIV/AIDS? National Survey data

<i>Access to Soul City Media</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Never</i>
no SC	21%	38%	40%
1 source	29%	43%	28%
2 sources	36%	42%	22%
3 sources	39%	47%	14%

Talking to family or neighbours was also important and change was seen from baseline to evaluation. Soul City Radio, television and print were associated with increased discussion, with rural radio having a particularly consistent impact.

Table 20. ‘How often have you talked to your family or neighbours about HIV/AIDS?’ (rural sub-sample – national survey)

<i>Access to Soul City Media</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Never</i>
No radio	13%	28%	59%
No Soul City radio	19%	34%	47%
Low Soul City radio	20%	44%	36%
Medium Soul City radio	27%	45%	28%
High Soul City radio	32%	41%	28%

Soul City had a significant association with promoting interpersonal communication about HIV/AIDS. Each component of the intervention was associated with the frequency with which respondents discussed HIV/AIDS with different individuals.

This shift was borne out in the sentinel sites:

Table 21. Talked about AIDS

<i>Action</i>	KZN (rural)				Gauteng (urban)			
	<i>baseline</i>		<i>evaluation</i>		<i>baseline</i>		<i>evaluation</i>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Talked to someone close to you	74.4	77.9	90.1*	91.1*	74.3	80.2	88.6	90.1
Talked to family and friends	75.6	76.7	83.6	89.2	70.4	81.7	91.3*	92.3

* significant shifts

In the sentinel site survey, as in the national survey, there was an association with Soul City:

Figure 5: KwaZulu/Natal Talked to someone about AIDS

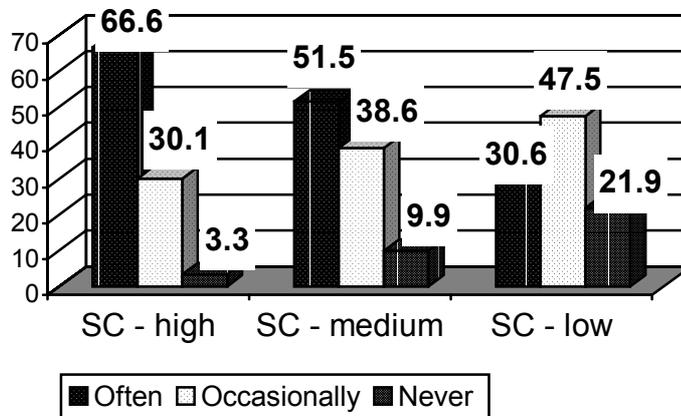
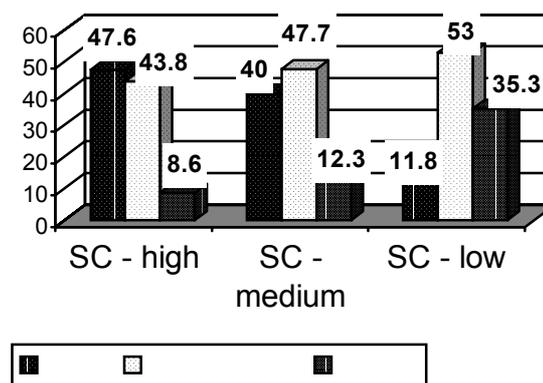


Figure 6. Gauteng Talked to someone about AIDS



In KwaZulu/ Natal (KZN) a third of the people who spontaneously (through unaided recall) referred specifically to “Martha’s Story” (one television story about AIDS), had not themselves seen this episode. Despite the fact that frequencies are low, this means that the drama was discussed and in substantial detail, which indicates that messages around HIV/AIDS are circulated within the community through interpersonal communication about the Soul City drama.

A recurring theme in the qualitative data supports the quantitative findings presented here: Soul City contributes to creating greater openness / willingness (as well as ease from parents’ side) around talking about traditionally taboo subjects – especially when it comes to youth sexuality.

Female, Urban

Another thing that Soul City has done for us, is to help us in talking to our children. You know most of the time as parents we don't know how to broach a subject to our children. But because now we watch it as a family and when he/she asks about something that is being aired you now know what to say because Soul City has given you a starting point. You know we are afraid to talk about sex, and if your children ask

you about it you now know what to do or what to say because you will be lead by Soul City in that department.

Male, Urban

Before, people were very ashamed to talk about condoms, but since this picture (Soul City) has been playing for along time, things have changed. Even our parents were not comfortable to watch sex showing programs with us but now they even invite us to watch what is being shown about AIDS and condoms. These days they feel free to discuss sex related topics with girls.

Female, Urban

And sometimes they come with questions they picked up from the subject that was taught at school. One time she said they were taught not to allow anyone to touch them on their private parts. But then she wanted to know from me why is that, before we would have evaded that question but today, no chance. You have to tell them exactly why is that, and that is thanks to Soul City we are not longer thinking that sex is a forbidden subject.

vii) Practice

Condom use:

There was one indicator of practice – condom use. The answer “always use condoms” was taken as the safest practice (though there were respondents who said they were not sexually active, and this is also safe, it was not clear what they meant by not sexually active i.e. what period of time)

Soul City TV had a significant association with “always” using condoms.

Table 22. When do you use condoms?

<i>Access to Soul City TV</i>	<i>Not sexually active</i>	<i>Always</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Never</i>
No TV	12%	13%	12%	63%
No Soul City	20%	13%	8%	59%
Low Soul City	9%	24%	16%	51%
Medium Soul City	9%	28%	14%	49%
High Soul City	12%	31%	17%	41%

“African” respondents who saw Soul City TV were significantly more likely to say they 'always' use condoms. Thirty two percent of African respondents with high Soul City TV said they 'always' use condoms, compared to 31% with medium and 28% with low Soul City.

Young respondents (16-24) exposed to Soul City were also more likely to say they always use condoms:

Table 23. When do you use condoms? (16-24 years)

<i>Access to Soul City TV</i>	<i>Always</i>
No Soul City TV	26%
Low Soul City TV	38%
Medium Soul City TV	32%
High Soul City TV	38%

Soul City radio had a significant association with respondents saying they always use condoms:

Table 24. When do you use condoms?

<i>Access to Soul City Radio</i>	<i>Not sexually active</i>	<i>Always</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Never</i>
No radio	19%	6%	14%	61%
No Soul City radio	18%	15%	10%	58%
Low Soul City radio	11%	28%	15%	46%
Medium Soul City radio	7%	29%	20%	44%
High Soul City radio	8%	31%	13%	48%

Soul City print also had a significant association with respondents saying they always use condoms. Of those who had low access to print 16% always used condoms, while 32 % of those with medium access to Soul City print always use condoms and 41% of those with high access to Soul City always use condoms.

Exposure to more than one source of Soul City had a significant association with respondents saying they always use condoms:

Table 25. When do you use condoms?

<u><i>Access to Soul City Media</i></u>	<i>Not sexually active</i>	<i>Always</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Never</i>
No SC	22%	6%	5%	67%
1 source	14%	16%	16%	55%
2 sources	9%	30%	14%	47%
3 sources	7%	38%	17%	38%

Qualitatively, the direct link between Soul City and increased condom use (i.e. explicit articulation of Soul City as the origin of change in attitude (see 23) as well as actual behaviour in this regard), dominated all interviews.

Urban female, in the context of relating "Soul City's impact in your life":
I have denied mine sex for the past two weeks, I have told him that if he does not want to use a condom he can forget it. I don't know what he does our there, you find

that he is running around and I have kept myself clean. Then at the end he brings that disease to me I am not going to allow that.

Male, rural

R With me Soul City did help a great deal, before I started watching it I used to like women a lot and my aim all the time was that when I meet a woman I have to sleep with her and that time I did not even think about protection. Then in that process all the time I would hear my family saying that they are going to watch Soul City but then I was not that impressed, but then eventually I did and what I saw really scared me. I was scared because I had slept with different women without even protecting myself, but since then I have never had sex without a condom.

Urban male

I was not using a condom, I did not like it, but after watching Soul City I started using a condom. Before then I use to associate using condom with masturbation (go Sekomola).

Rural female:

Mine changed a lot when I saw that Soul City teaches, because a condom - I didn't pay attention to the condom.

B: HIV / AIDS - change in a broader environmental / community context:

The Sentinel Sites were used both for panel surveys and for gaining a more in-depth assessment of what and how behaviour changed at both a personal and community level. Further reports will deal in greater detail with this behaviour change modelling. This section deals with qualitative data on HIV / AIDS from the sentinel site studies only.

Creating a Supportive Environment

Part of the function of the mass media is to create a supportive environment in which on the ground workers can more easily do their education and counselling work^{viii}.

There is evidence in the sentinel site studies that Soul City messages impact on the larger environment / community through its impact on community leadership (e.g. traditional leadership, local councillors and religious leadership,) and service-providing institutions (e.g. health and education specifically, as well as the broader CBO and NGO sector):

A recurring theme across these sectors (with reference to HIV / AIDS specifically) is the fact that Soul City (as a vehicle) is not only passively supported and recognised as a relevant educational vehicle by leadership structures and service providing institutions, but that the people in these leadership roles or support positions are themselves influenced by Soul City with reference to awareness raising and attitudinal influence, and proceed to actively use Soul City / Soul City messages through the course of their community involvement - be that in (health) service delivery, or preaching, teaching, or providing general leadership to the community. Thus,

Soul City messages are effectively actively "amplified" through community-based vehicles, structures, services and through larger community forums. Soul City, in turn, serves a support function in face-to-face health and development communication:

a) Support for Soul City, and recognition of its educational role in the community

Rural traditional leader

HIV - a lot of people, some of them, when we heard about HIV, some of the people didn't understand, they don't believe it too. They didn't believe it too, you see usually when someone is caught by – has caught this disease, he or she says that he's got TB, someone says no it's pneumonia, someone would say this thing and this thing, that's why it was not - people in the community didn't believe it, till you saw from Soul City, and then now, people now, they understand about this thing.

Urban teacher:

What I have noticed is that the part Soul City played in AIDS awareness is one they don't forget, because you can hear them when they are talking about it they will always mention Soul City because there it was discussed thoroughly.

Rural Preacher

*We have received them, they are available at the clinic and they can be found in town, they are available in certain offices, they talk about sex, they really advise, as Father *** said they assist, it really emphasises, in our sermons they emphasise and they educate our young for us, and the adults who behave without care, they learn and behave better*

Rural Clinic Nurses

We know Soul City, it teaches about very important things that help us the people of the clinic. It started in the past years teaching about making salt water, they were just teaching many things to our community about helping yourself at home. And that you should go to the clinic, people should always know that when it's like this I should go to the clinic ... We also hear it on the radio telling us that when - encouraging the community that if you sweat or you feel hot or whatever you have you should go to the nearest clinic so that they can examine what you have, and indeed we do see people coming sometimes and they say that they heard on the radio.

Rural teacher

It's relevant because sometimes it is able to shape the children psychology, when they are watching the things that are happening in Soul City, they're state of mind is ready, that sometimes when it happens to him/her s/he would be able to cope with this thing and learn, and then be able to solve it, a problem that is directed at him/her directly. S/he is able to adapt in her/his whole life.

b) Pervasiveness and popularity of Soul City HIV / AIDS message; open discussion around HIV / AIDS spontaneously started with interviewees echoing one of the salient HIV / AIDS messages in Soul City 4 – destigmatization of people living with HIV / AIDS :

Urban CBO sector:

People living with the virus we have to tackle with care really.

Rural preacher

There's no problem with living with sick people, I don't see that as a problem, that it's a problem living with a person who's sick because you know that this person is sick

so you should not abuse him/her, you should help him/her with everything s/he needs if s/he's close to you, I think And the other fathers I also see that the people who have AIDS, living with them, we can't separate them from us because most of them when we talk about AIDS, it's not something that is passed along easily, only if they keep the guidelines that they are taught by health workers. In that way we should be with them and we should also receive them as people in religion, to preach to them, so that they can feel welcome in religion.

Urban councillor:

I think people who are living with AIDS should be accepted in the community because they are human beings. And I think that if the community is being made aware on how a person is being infected they will be now able to understand those people.

Rural Traditional Leader

But I used to encourage all my people not to hate the people who have HIV or AIDS, to love them because this disease - you can't say you haven't got it. Everybody must think that - must know that maybe everybody's got HIV, everybody's got HIV. There's no need for anybody to hate someone who's affected with this disease.

Urban NGO sector

Okay according to my opinion or my organisation's, people living with AIDS are just normal people like us. The problem is the attitude some other people have towards these people. They are the ones who are not satisfied to some extent that some think if you are HIV you must be killed. They do that not knowing whether he/she is HIV positive or not. At the end of the day if a person is HIV positive he is like everybody. Why must we reject and isolate them.

c) Soul City's HIV / AIDS messages effectively reached people in leadership / service delivery positions - as individuals

Rural Traditional leader

I think it was important about HIV. Yes and forcing the people about sex, sexually. Yes, those are things that are still in my heart ...These two issues.

Urban preacher

Because Soul City talked a lot about sexually transmitted diseases and they showed explicitly how one is infected that is why I say it influenced me. I never thought that it could be transmitted solely in that way.

Urban preacher

It did influence me because it made me to waken up that I should teach the community about the dangers of sleeping around.

Rural clinic nurse

I can say that it influences us as workers in the community and as workers directly. Number one as I have explained, TV is indeed the one with the most influence more than everything, and yes the radio works a lot with those who don't have a TV. But TV, something that you watch is what affects you more than what you hear with your ears, hearing and seeing affects you. And the things that you see on TV it makes this thing to stick with you and you are able to - even if you were working in health without paying attention, it revives you as well, it doesn't revive the community only, it revives your conscience that if there's a problem like this, what role should you play as a health worker, because it is clear that this problem is there. When it even appears on TV, sometimes you become alert if you were not paying attention, that it means that we should also stand if, if we were not standing up yet. It influences us a lot, it doesn't influence the community only.

Urban CBO sector:

And me too I like Soul City because it helped me with so many things.

d) Leadership figures and community services - using Soul City, or engaging with Soul City through the course of impacting on the community

- Soul City is perceived as, and used as an extension of community work; i.e. it supplements various forms of messages to the community :

Urban Councillor

We have used these themes in our meetings because they are sort of a daily life that we are living.

Urban nurses

When we taught our clients we used to refer them to Soul City because we knew that there are many things they will get there.

Urban preacher:

One other thing that Soul City has done for us is that we use it as an example even when we are preaching in church. I mean they are so influential in that they teach people morals, and it's easy for people to follow what they are taught by Soul City because they identify with it. I mean those are your daily people that are acting there, so people see themselves in that, that is why it's easy for them to take what they learn from Soul City and practise it. So when one preaches you take any moral value subject from Soul City and tell the congregation because you know they are going to learn something and they have already been tuned by Soul City so its going to be easy for them just to soak it in.... One other thing that I have learned as a pastor is that I cannot shy away from the AIDS issue. I try to talk to the congregation about it and when I have seen an episode that is concerning AIDS I come and tell them about how this diseases is transmitted and how a person can protect himself/herself that is one thing that I preach about all the time because it's there and It's not going away.

Rural preachers

*Well I can say that us as ministers, it's part of preaching, that we should - we should spread this message. ... So now we as ministers, it [Soul City] has made us be able to preach, because those who bring this to the girls and to the young men, so they have added to the sermon, that as you saw on Soul City, you saw that it happened like this and this, so it means that the way you should behave should follow what we are preaching ... it [Soul City] is relevant because it is our work as leaders, because even the presidents, the state presidents are busy preaching about ways of behaving, especially this lesson of AIDS, so we have also been compelled as religious leaders to preach about these things like this. That is why I say that they play a very important in helping us in our preachings... I can emphasise and say that no we did learn something, and that was good, but we were already preaching, Father *** explained this and said Soul City followed a lead of what we were already talking about of how the youth should behave. And when it came we were very happy because we talked about something they saw on TV, and heard on the radio and read about it at the clinics where they go for contraception, they gave them the books and they saw, so we were talking about something they knew, it has really helped us a lot.*

- Reorientation of services: Soul City facilitates better understanding of issues, and a more caring attitude on the part of the service provider:

Rural clinic nurse

Yeah I will say change - as I have said that it affects you as an individual besides being a health professional or whoever, because it can revive your conscience... So it revives the conscience so that we know how to deal with issues

like that. Because most of them are sensitive, I see that a person has a signs of a certain disease and then s/he comes to clinic, even there s/he won't come to the clinic if we also have a bad attitude.

Rural preacher

It is because we saw on Soul City, now when something comes up which is like what you saw, you hear it better because you saw it, as the community - how to handle the problems they bring.

- Soul City makes it easier to talk about sensitive issues:

Urban preacher

With me the influence I got from Soul City is that I should not be ashamed any more to talk about sexual matters with the youth, because if I do then I am not a good Shepard. They need guidance from us because most of he time they don't get it from home... so I really got help from Soul City because now I am able to explain things to them that I found difficult before. Because what they have done they have touched topics involving the youths.. now I see there's nothing to it – I just speak to them truthfully and they respect that, and that is thanks to Soul City.

Rural Traditional leader

Well in fact I'd say it's 100% because every people in my community are talking about Soul City, they are talking about what they learned.... It's because of Soul City... It did [Soul City affected the people] because they talk about this thing, they know about it [HIV / AIDS].

Rural Preacher

The truth is that it was already there, that they knew that if there's something that affects the church members at home, they could come forward and come clean, we take it as coming clean, they would come and talk about what made them unhappy, Soul City came and added to that, they do come, they come just like before when they used to come. So I'm saying that we're still walking on the Soul City path, because they used to come and confess and we would guide them in any way we could guide them. So a change that seems to come from Soul City, I wouldn't be sure that it's because Soul City came along, I would say Soul City has added something in the sense that now they feel free and they don't feel afraid, because there were some who were afraid.

- Soul City messages in interaction with those from existing community structures, increase the impact on the community through recursively reinforcing health messages:

Rural Clinic Nurse

And it helps in that the people of community, when you teach them they get used to you, they take what you say and they don't believe it sometimes, when it comes from someone else, that's when they believe what you say as well if it's the same.

Rural Community Health Worker

I saw Soul City as playing a big role: it assists us in the community, in that if there is a meeting we held or to talk about protecting yourself from the virus, when they hear on the radio as well and on TV, they are talking about the same thing you were saying...

e) Local policy changes attributable to Soul City

Part of creating a supportive environment is having healthy public policies in place which contribute to making healthy choices the easier choice. In KwaZulu/Natal a clear example of local policy change emerged:

The nurses in KwaZulu/Natal seemed particularly struck by the way in which condoms were so openly advocated – and physically displayed on Soul City – this was reiterated a few times. It was regarded as an influence of Soul City that the clinic, which apparently used to have a specific day of the week for condom distribution and family planning, now has condoms permanently and freely available.

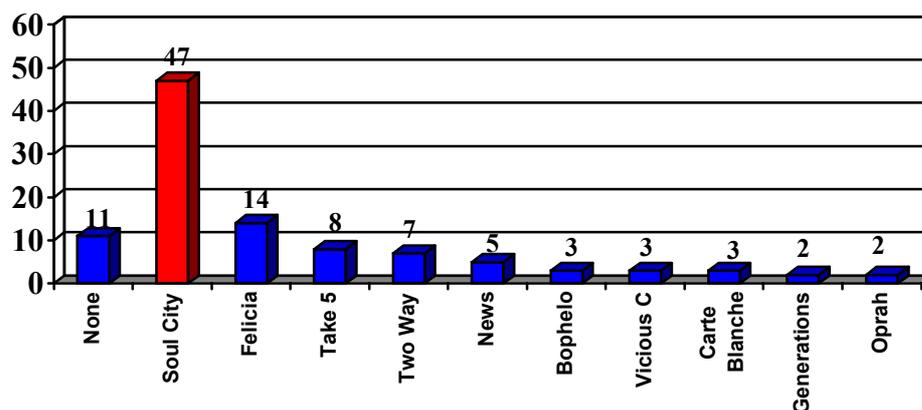
Thus, there is strong qualitative evidence of Soul City's enabling role on a community level of analysis.

4. Sources of AIDS Information

Seventy eight percent of respondents claimed to get their AIDS information from the electronic media (National Survey).

An independent research study conducted by MarkData^{ix}: showed that Soul City was the most frequently spontaneously mentioned Television and Radio programme from which respondents had gained useful information about AIDS:

Figure 7. Spontaneous recall of TV programmes from which respondents (statistically representative of the national population in South Africa) feel that they have obtained useful information about HIV/AIDS



(This statistic increases to 54% amongst Soul City's target audience: African and Coloured viewers)

On radio the figures were lower with 12% of people recalling no programme dealing with AIDS, 9% recalling Soul City (15% spontaneous first mention for African listeners), followed by 6% recalling hearing something on Umhlobo Wenene, and 5% each recalling hearing something on Ukhozi or Thobela radio stations.

This is borne out by sentinel site data:

Soul City was a dominant, “top-of-mind” source of information on HIV/AIDS in the sentinel sites. Respondents were asked to be specific about which type of programme or particular programme they found informative. Responses were grouped into broad categories as follows:

Table 26. Sources of information on HIV/AIDS, television, sentinel sites

Programme	KwaZulu Natal (%)	Gauteng (%)
Soul City (specific mention)	50.6	66.5
Generic / unspecified (could be SC)	2.5	4.7
Generic / unspecified (not SC)	9.4	6.2
News	27.5	12.5
Talk shows / magazine programmes	7.5	11.7
Dramas	2.5	14.0
Educational programmes / documentaries	1.9	-

Table 27. Sources of information on HIV/AIDS, radio, sentinel sites

Programme	KwaZulu Natal (%)	Gauteng (%)
Soul City (specific mention)	26.0	28.0
Generic / unspecified (could be SC)	11.5	23.1
Talk shows / phone-in/advice programmes	36.7	6.3
Generic / unspecified (not SC)	7.1	13.3
News / documentaries / educational prog.	23	21.7

Table 28. Sources of information on HIV/AIDS, print, sentinel sites

Magazine / booklet	KwaZulu Natal (%)	Gauteng (%)
Soul City (specific mention)	57.6	29.2
Generic / unspecified (could be SC)	12.1	2.1
Other specified booklets/mags (not SC)	18.2	81.3

Soul City is a dominant information source (The proportion of Soul City mentions was higher in the urban and rural control groups than amongst the respective panel groups indicating that, contrary to initial concerns, the high proportion of specific Soul City mention is not a result of design effect.)

5. Conclusion

Measuring and capturing the impact of a mass media communication vehicle is very difficult, especially in a climate where there are numerous influences on peoples' behaviour, both positive and negative. The Soul City 4 evaluation design deliberately engaged with many of these measurement difficulties.

The quantitative evidence presented here, shows a strong statistical association between change and Soul City exposure. Both quantitative and qualitative evidence show that Soul City has played a major role in increasing accurate knowledge about HIV / AIDS, and in shifting people's attitudes, subjective social norms, intermediate practice, as well as direct practice towards sustaining increased safer sexual behaviours on an individual level of analysis. Qualitative evidence indicates how Soul City contributes to creating supportive environments for behaviour change.

ⁱ R.E. Rice and C Aitkins (eds) 2001. Public Communication Campaigns (3rd Edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Chapter 28.

ⁱⁱ Papa, M.J., Singhal, A, Law, S., Pant,S., Sood,S., Rogers,E.M., Shefner-Rogers,C.L: Entertainment – Education and Social Change: An Analysis Of Parasocial Interaction, Social Learning, Collective Efficacy and Paradoxical Communication. Journal of Communication. Volume 50 (4)

ⁱⁱⁱ Piotrow,P.T.,Kincaid,D.L., Rimon II,J.,& Rinehart, W.(1997)Health communication: lessons from family planning and reproductive health, Westport, CT:Praeger

^{iv} Piotrow,P.T.,Kincaid,D.L., Rimon II,J.,& Rinehart, W.(1997)Health communication: lessons from family planning and reproductive health, Westport, CT:Praeger

^v Ottawa Charter, World Health Organisation. (1986)

^{vi} *An Evaluation of Soul City 4*, researched for Soul City by Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), T Samuels, J Mollentz, R Olusanya, M Claassens, S Braehmenr and Z Kimmie, October 2000

^{vii} Rockerfeller Foundation. Communication for Social Change. www.comminit.com

^{viii} Wallack, L. (1987) What is public health? *Propaganda Review*, No 9, p 4 - 6.

^{ix} HIV/AIDS – Popular Perceptions And Dangerous Delusions, A Profile Of Risk-Awareness And Attitudes To The Disease Among South Africans In Late 1999, February 2000