Talking man-to-man
The story of Brothers for Life
“No woman will be killed in my name”
Acknowledgments

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<tr>
<td>B4L</td>
<td><em>Brothers for Life</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>CADRE</td>
<td>Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCMS</td>
<td>Centre for Communication, Media and Society, University of KwaZulu-Natal</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOH</td>
<td>Department of Health (South Africa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DramAidE</td>
<td>Drama AIDS Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>DANIDA</td>
<td>Danish International Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender-based violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>HCT</td>
<td>HIV Counselling and Testing</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSRC</td>
<td>Human Sciences Research Council</td>
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<td>JHHESA</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins Health and Education in South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>JHU</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University</td>
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<td>JHU∙CCP</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs</td>
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<tr>
<td>KZN</td>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCP</td>
<td>Multiple concurrent partners (or partnerships)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMC</td>
<td>Medical male circumcision</td>
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<tr>
<td>MSP</td>
<td>Multiple sexual partners (or partnerships)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCS</td>
<td>National (HIV) Communication Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEPFAR</td>
<td>President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMTCT</td>
<td>Prevention of mother-to-child transmission</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSA</td>
<td>Public service announcement (on radio or television)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SABC</td>
<td>South African Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SANAC</td>
<td>South African National AIDS Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBCC</td>
<td>Social and behaviour change communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>STI</td>
<td>Sexually transmitted infection</td>
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<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>Television</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children's Fund</td>
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1. Introduction

Brothers for Life (B4L) is a multi-faceted campaign targeting men over the age of 30 years and younger men to impact on specific areas of knowledge and practices in HIV prevention. With the largest community mobilisation component of any initiative yet undertaken by the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme in South Africa, Brothers for Life aspires to be a social movement rather than a “mere” campaign.

B4L was launched in August 2009 and was still active in October 2012 when this document was written. JHHESA developed and managed B4L as part of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs (JHU-CCP) HIV Communication Programme in South Africa.

“We set out to create not just a campaign but a movement. A lot of communication to that point had been about finger-wagging and calling out men. This was really unjustified for men as a whole. So we decided to change behaviour by getting men to speak to men. We wanted to build a movement where it would be OK to come out, stand out and be an example,” recalls Xolisa Dyeshana, creative director with Joe Public, the creative agency on B4L.

The jury is still out on whether B4L is on course to achieve its goal of being a movement for men. It is clear, however, that B4L has resonated with men from many walks of life, including men who are poor, jobless and out of the mainstream of society. This is borne out by peer educators and trainers working with B4L and interacting with different communities.

One thing we have learned is that Brothers for Life has landed in very good soil. It is very fertile soil . . . we are growing very good fruits with Brothers for Life. (Male peer educator working for Mothusimpilo, an organisation dedicated to the prevention of HIV in a mining area in Gauteng.)

This Brothers for Life, it gives men their belonging, they think this tool belongs to them.

They know now that they belong somewhere. Long time ago they were nowhere; they were not even counted. (Female member of the outreach team of the Valley Trust, a development agency in a rural area outside Durban in KwaZulu-Natal.)

Usually it felt like we just didn’t have enough time. For men it was the first time they were having an imbizvo (community meeting) about their issues. People were asking questions, sometimes giving testimonies. People just couldn’t thank us enough. The thing is people are really here to talk about the issues – they have walked, used bicycles and they are here, thirsty for knowledge. (Stubbs Maluleke of Sonke Gender Justice Network, who co-organised dialogues in several provinces.)

This sense of B4L fulfilling a genuine need is also reflected in the responses of ordinary men and women who participated in focus groups convened to evaluate B4L.

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

2. Summary of relevant evidence

An extensive review of the empirical evidence underpinning all elements of the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme has been presented in another publication in this series (Exploring the Foundations of the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme in SA). For convenience, the national survey findings most relevant to B4L are summarised here together with some specific research on gender-based violence.

B4L was designed primarily to address men over the age of 30 and younger men, not only because HIV prevalence peaks among men in South Africa between the ages of 30 and 34 years and remains high until men
reach their mid-50s, but because South Africa is in many ways a patriarchal society. The attitudes, decisions and behaviour of men have a profound impact on the well-being of their well-being of women and their children.

Major national surveys undertaken prior to B4L showed consistently that:

- Prevalence of HIV among men increased quite sharply after the age of 30 years, with rates of 25.8% in the 30-34 year age group and 18.5% in the 35-40 year age group. (Shisana O et al, 2009)
- Condom use among men declined with increasing age. In 2008, 87.4% of men aged 15-24 years reported using a condom at last sex, compared to 56.4% in the 25-49 year age group. The rate among respondents over the age of 50 years was even lower. (Shisano O et al, 2009) The National Communication Survey of 2009 (NCS 2009) reported slightly lower levels of condom use all round. By the age of 30-34 years, only 43% of men used condoms at last sex, the NCS found, and this figure declined to 34% before men reached the age of 40. (Johnson S et al, 2010)
- Men were less likely than women to know their HIV status. The percentage of men who had ever taken an HIV test was measured at around 28% in 2005 and 43% in 2008, compared to female rates of 33% and 57% for the same years. (Shisana O et al, 2005 and Shisana O et al, 2009)
- While the practice of multiple sexual partners (MSP) was strongest among men under the age of 25 years, the Human Sciences Research Council surveys of 2005 and 2008 found that 14-15% of men aged 25-49 years reported having more than one sexual partner in the 12 months preceding the survey. (Shisana O et al, 2005 and Shisana O et al, 2009) The NCS 2009 figures were consistent with this.
- The NCS 2009 found that 43% of men who had one-night sexual encounters said that they had drunk excessive amounts of alcohol at the time.

During the planning stages of B4L and at the time of its launch in August 2009, medical male circumcision (MMC) had been empirically shown to reduce the risk of HIV infection among men, but the public health sector did not yet offer MMC as part of the state-funded HIV prevention package. A study based on the NCS 2009 showed that 42% of male respondents had been circumcised and that two out of three circumcised men had been circumcised in a traditional setting. Only 8% of male and female respondents were aware that medical male circumcision (MMC) was a way to reduce the risk of HIV infection. (Mashimbye L et al, 2009)
The general pattern that prevailed – and that impelled the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme to coordinate and fund a campaign for men in the 30+ age group – was one of high risk of HIV transmission to and by men in this age category as well as inconsistent and inadequate risk perception within this same group.

The risk of HIV transmission was heightened by South Africa’s extraordinary levels of gender-based violence (GBV), including non-consensual sex.

- While national statistics on intimate partner violence do not exist, a review of population-based studies in three provinces between 1998 and 2009 concluded that there was a “lifetime prevalence of physical violence of 25% and a past-year prevalence of 10% in adult women” living in those provinces. (M Seedat et al, 2009)
- The same article by Seedat et al, 2009 in The Lancet noted that studies undertaken among men and sub-groups of women indicated that 40% of men disclosed inflicting physical violence on a female partner and a corresponding proportion of women said they had been subjected to such violence.
- In a study based on a representative sample of men from selected districts in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, 27.6% of men interviewed reported that they had raped a woman or girl and 42% said they had been physically violent to their partners. (Jewkes et al, 2009)

A 2003 study conducted at an antenatal service in Soweto found that 30.1% of participants reported physical abuse or sexual assault by a male partner in the previous 12 months. It also found that intimate partner violence and gender-based power inequalities were statistically associated with increased risk of HIV infection among abused women. This increased risk of infection was measured by the extent of risk-taking behaviours. (Dunkle K et al, 2003)

Both men and women are at increased risk of HIV infection when violence infiltrates sexual relationships. Not only are women in these relationships unlikely to request partner condom use but, if they are HIV-positive they are unlikely to risk their own safety by disclosing their status in order to protect an abusive partner from infection.

3. **B4L objectives**

*B4L* sought both to influence some of the social norms that define masculinity and influence gender relations as well as to impact on specific areas of knowledge and practice in HIV prevention.

The normative focus of *B4L* centred on promoting an alternative definition of masculinity to “the dominant notions of masculinity [which] are predicated on the control of women and infused with ideas of male sexual entitlement”. (M Seedat et al, 2009)

*B4L* sought to win support for a masculine role based on the values of personal responsibility, mutual respect and support between men and women in intimate relationships, and protectiveness in relation to women and children.

In particular, *B4L* sought to reduce both the acceptance of and incidence of GBV.

**The direct HIV-related objectives were to:**

- Increase correct and consistent condom use by men.
- Increase HIV testing by men.
- Reduce the number of sex partners (MCPs) among men.
- Increase men’s support for and participation in prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV (PMTCT).
- Increase the number of men who understand the benefits of MMC in preventing HIV infection.
- Increase the number of men who undergo MMC.
- Increase awareness of excessive alcohol use and other substance use as a risk factor for HIV.

4. **The theory behind the campaign**

JHHESA adopted its usual combination of complementary communication models in implementing *B4L*. 
In a campaign that seeks to advance an alternative set of masculine norms, the importance of the **social ecology model** is self-evident. This model pays special attention to the combined effect of individual responses, the influence of social networks, community resources and processes as well as broad society-wide developments on individual behaviour and social change.

The community mobilisation element of B4L, described more fully below, was essentially an intervention at the community level. It sought to involve and equip local organisations to bring B4L into the homes, clinics, religious congregations, work places, taxi ranks and sports clubs of many communities. B4L field workers worked with individuals and with social networks, conveying a set of values and practical information. The B4L community mobilisation campaign was guided by the principle that individual and social change is facilitated by the exercise of local leadership, by generalised access to relevant information and resources, and by local organisations taking ownership of the project for change and making it work.

The mass media component harnessed all domains of change identified in the social ecology model, from the individual, through social networks and community structures, to the national society. B4L media were produced in a manner that invoked national and even international leadership (in the form of sporting and cultural symbols), and they were distributed through a wide range of channels (from national radio and TV, to community media and hand-outs at community events or during door-to-door campaigns). The consumption of these media products – TV adverts, posters and leaflets, and radio talk shows – was both an individual and a social experience involving family interactions, community structures and specially convened community dialogues.

While the social ecology model formed a broad foundation for B4L, the social learning theory of Albert Bandura was the more immediate conceptual tool for this campaign.
Social learning theory – which explains how we all learn, to a greater or lesser extent, by observing the experiences of others – was top of mind in creating B4L. The mass media campaign featured television and radio adverts in which a range of men – some famous, some obscure – had each taken on board one or more of the practices advocated by B4L. Framed by the payoff line “Yenza kahle!” (“Do the right thing!”), each of the role models would simply stand up and be counted as a representative of a positive norm such as testing for HIV, using condoms without fail or choosing a single partner over multiple sexual relationships.

The non-judgmental approach of modelling positive behaviours was not lost on peer educators responsible for communicating the campaign at local level.

Actually Yenza kahle! It was meant for brother to brother, whereby you don’t say, ‘Brother you have done the wrong thing’. You just say: ‘If you are doing the wrong thing by abusing your child or your woman, then you must do the right thing. That is what this is all about, this Yenza kahle.’ (Male outreach worker, Lesedi Lechabile, Free State.)

The challenge of the campaign was to ensure that this learning didn’t simply remain in the minds of its audience members but translated into more constructive behaviours. What would motivate change among those men whose behaviour placed their health and that of their partners and children at risk?

• The fact that millions of South African men already lived by the values advocated by B4L. There was a “brotherhood” out there that individuals could be more fully part of if they changed their behaviour. B4L revolved around this central appeal of man-to-man engagement.

• The association of powerfully attractive figures, particularly in the world of sport, with this brotherhood and what it stood for.

• The intrinsic rewards of a less conflicted relationship with one’s partner and a chance to be more involved with one’s children. A new chance at family, perhaps.

• The additional reward of avoiding HIV-infection (if it was not already too late) and possibly enjoying good health.

“Instead of focusing on what’s wrong, B4L builds on the positive. If you focus on the negative, you create a sense that what is wrong is normal and that can make people feel fatalistic. The B4L approach wants to engage those who are already positive examples and turn them into role models,” explained Richard Delate, then programme director for communication at JHHESA. (Palitza K, undated)

5. The big idea and main themes

In its effort to reshape norms relating to masculine behaviour, B4L utilised a combination of traditional formulations mixed with new values and new personal challenges.

The appeal to the comfortable and familiar was made by invoking the notion of a brotherhood, something that resonates across various cultures in South Africa. The term “brother” is used to refer to a close friend in various South African languages and across economic classes; bra, broer, bru, umfowethu.

The B4L logo – two sturdy hands clasped in a brotherly shake – also evokes the convention of male bonding and comradeship. And the black, white and red colours used as standard in all B4L media are both eye-catching and distinctly masculine.

The interlocked hands are also coloured bright red and a second look at them reveals a distinct likeness to the familiar red ribbon that symbolises caring in a time of HIV. The branding of B4L makes it absolutely clear that this is an initiative about men and about men supporting other men. It also suggests, fairly subtly, that this is about HIV.

Creative partner Joe Public envisaged B4L as “a new movement of responsible men” which would “mobilize men across the country to speak out, take action and make a positive contribution to the fight against HIV and AIDS”. (Starting a fire: the making of the B4L commercial. Video.)

However, the B4L brand does not end there. It has two other key elements that are more provocative and less comforting. These are:

• The concept of the “new man” who values himself and stands for personal responsibility; who chooses sexual fidelity and is a supportive partner to the woman in his
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life and a protector of his children; and who respects his woman and rejects domestic violence.

• The pay-off line “Yenza kahle!” (Do the right thing!) which appeared in most radio and television adverts, posters and pamphlets, underscoring the main message which varied as various sub-campaigns kicked in. This call to action was the closest the campaign came to telling or lecturing men on what to do.

Most of the main themes of the B4L campaign are contained in the manifesto which kicked off the campaign in August 2009. The manifesto reads:

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

Six months after the multimedia launch of the B4L manifesto, two further television adverts were made and flighted. They dealt with multiple sexual partners and the role of fathers in relation to PMTCT.

There were three major sub-campaigns over the three years that followed the launch:

• In 2010, there was a sports-themed campaign, Game of Life, which was linked to the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup which was hosted by South Africa. Messaging related to consistent condom use, HIV testing, reduction in the number of sexual partners and alcohol consumption as an HIV risk factor.
• Later in 2010 there was a memorable sub-campaign that focused on GBV and the capacity of perpetrators to change.
• In early 2012, B4L began to focus strongly on the promotion of MMC.

6. The building blocks of B4L

Before describing the unfolding of the B4L campaign in some detail it is useful to get a bird’s-eye view of this programme.

Figure 1 merely identifies the various components but does not indicate their relative weight in terms of audience reach, investment of labour and money, and the extent to which they formed the vanguard of the campaign. These details are filled in later as we tell the story and review the outputs.

Figure 1: Main components of the B4L campaign 2009-2011
7. The main role-players

JHHESA was assisted by three main categories of organisations in the management, creation and execution of the B4L campaign.

**Lead partners** were organisations that contributed a variety of resources to the B4L campaign and included funding organisations.

USAID supported the campaign through a five-year partnership agreement with Johns Hopkins University, Center for Communication Programs (JHU-CCP), through the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme with funding by the US President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). B4L was exactly the type of intervention envisaged in the drawing up of this agreement which emphasised the combination of mass media and interpersonal communication methods.

Additional funding was provided by the Danish Development Agency (DANIDA) and channelled through the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) for social mobilisation on the issue of gender-based violence. This covered some training costs, the production of collateral, the organisation of relevant community dialogues and community radio interventions. DANIDA also contributed through CADRE to the development of a training module on the prevention of child sexual abuse that was included as part of the Brothers for Life Toolkit.

UNICEF supported the World Cup campaign of B4L both in terms of a monetary contribution and use of their networks to secure the participation of players from Manchester United and FC Barcelona in the making of adverts and production collateral.

Various media houses contributed generously to B4L by providing substantial added value for advertising spend on print, radio, television and outdoor media. These included SABC, e.tv, all major newspaper groups and various outdoor advertising companies. Their collective donation amounted to a saving of 58% of total advertising value in the first year of the programme and was sustained at a high level through to September 2012. (Mediology, 2012)

In addition, the SABC played an active role in the broadcast of a 26-part B4L radio series on 11 African language radio stations. While each SABC station was paid a sponsorship fee through the partnership between the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme and SABC Education, two thirds of the costs for the series was covered by the SABC. In addition, SABC producers...
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and presenters from the stations took responsibility for the actual production of the series and the SABC contributed more broadly to B4L by promoting the campaign across multiple broadcast platforms.

Some lead partners brought intellectual resources, leadership and high-level influence to the campaign. They were the national Department of Health (DOH), the Men’s Sector of the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC), and Sonke Gender Justice Network, a local NGO recognised internationally for its work with men and boys in the fields of HIV and gender-based violence. This last group helped keep a watching brief over the execution of the campaign.

Sonke Gender Justice Network was funded to deliver training workshops for other organisations, including the community partners working under the umbrella of the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme and later to implement community mobilisation interventions. It became a focal point for the initiation and conduct of community dialogues on a range of topics including VMMC and gender-based violence.

Contracted research, creative and media providers sound like the faithful hands and feet of the campaign. In fact, a large dose of passion, strategic thought and creative flair was also injected into B4L by its service providers who played an absolutely critical role in:

- Translating the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programmes technical briefs into memorable adverts, posters and billboards that resonated with large numbers of men ... and women.
- Conducting research to facilitate campaign planning, testing various mass media products before final production and providing periodic feedback about the public response to particular sub-campaigns.
- Planning and negotiating the purchase of television and radio airtime in order to reach the intended audience as many times as money would possibly allow.

For the B4L initiative the USAID/JHU HIV Communication programme relied on long-term research partner CADRE which had a proven record of producing useful qualitative research within the unique environment of an unfolding campaign. Mediology undertook the media planning and buying, which secured enormously advantageous deals during the Scrutinize campaign.

However, the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme opted for a competitive tender process for the selection of a creative agency for this broadly conceived campaign for men. A few selected agencies were briefed and Joe Public was selected on the basis of its creative concept, Brothers for Life. The words, the tone, and the symbols that came to characterise B4L all emerged from a company that had worked almost exclusively for blue chip business clients.

The final important category in the B4L action system comprised community organisations, which played a critical role in community mobilisation. There was a small but important group of community organisations that received funding through the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme and undertook intensive HIV-prevention activities in their areas of operation, usually situated in rural or peri-urban districts with high HIV prevalence. There were additional organisations operating in the fields of health, HIV prevention, human rights, and gender relations that received no funding through the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme, but participated in training which enabled them to use the B4L toolkit to conduct B4L community activities. Then there were organisations that lacked the capacity to interpret the content of B4L but invited B4L field workers into their organisations to address their members.

8. The B4L campaign catches light

The story of how B4L unfolded in a series of distinct sub-campaigns is important to understanding the character of the programme. Some communication initiatives can be appreciated purely on the quality of their media products. But B4L is not one of these. In their method of production the B4L team strove to capture the essence of a man-to-man campaign and the resulting TV products, in particular, would have been very different if they had not used this as their yardstick.

In speaking to various role-players who were critical to the process, the phrase “starting a fire” crops up repeatedly. The B4L team clearly shared this vision of
a campaign that would be started deliberately by a few and would spread spontaneously, fuelled by passion and spreading warmth and light.

8.1. Consultation kicks off the process

JHHESA, that was responsible for the implementation of the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme, was persuaded by the evidence reviewed briefly at the start of this section that an HIV campaign for adult men was a priority. It began the process of planning this campaign with a series of consultations with relevant civil society structures and government stakeholders. The purpose of these discussions, which began towards the end of 2008 and extended into 2009, was to develop a more nuanced understanding of the issues and also to afford organisations that might later play a role in implementing the campaign an opportunity to shape it.

Organisations like the DOH, the SANAC Men’s Sector and Sonke Gender Justice Network, which later became lead partners in the campaign, played a significant role in the planning process.

8.2. Setting the fire: the manifesto advert

The period of time between the appointment of Joe Public as the creative agency and the launch of B4L was less than three months. Under any circumstances, these would have been busy months. But JHHESA and Joe Public increased the pressure – just a little! – by embarking on a countrywide hunt for “exemplary citizens” who embodied the “new man”.

Starting in Limpopo and ending up 7 800 km later in the Western Cape, the production team visited more than 30 towns and villages. There they consulted women’s structures within communities to identify men who embodied the spirit of the “new man” and who should feature in the campaign’s advert on the B4L manifesto. (Starting a fire: the making of the B4L commercial. Video.)

Wearing B4L T-shirts and explaining the campaign as they went across the country, the production team got a preview of the heartfelt welcome that the campaign would receive from many men and women.

The manifesto advert set the tone for the entire B4L campaign and has continued to flight, on and off, throughout the three-year period. Filmed in the muted, monochromatic palate of B4L it showed:

- A range of men, some famous and others unknown beyond their immediate neighbourhoods, narrating the manifesto.
- Women partners beside many of the men: young, old, pregnant, holding a newborn.
- Men of all colours. A doctor, a mineworker, a boxer, an engineer, some well-known performers . . . and several men who are simply men, husbands, fathers.
- Landscapes that collectively define South Africa: baobabs in the bush, open beaches, glorious mountains, rural villages, city skylines.

Comedian Trevor Noah participated in the manifesto advert and became a B4L ambassador. In the video documenting the making of the advert, he explained his support: “I grew up in a community where I guess we were a generation of men raised by women. Single mothers were the order of the day. We had no male role models to look up to.” (Starting a fire: making of the B4L commercial. Video.)

The B4L manifesto advert was clearly a message for men mainly about their role as men – but also about the women and children in their lives. It was national in its appeal, transcending race, class, age differences and geographic identities and it was inclusive and unconditional in its invitation: “You are my brother.”

Mediology took total responsibility for negotiating with media companies for the best possible deals on airtime and advertising space. Their approach was to sell the total campaign to advertising sales executives, from the epidemiological evidence to the strategy and the creative elements.

8.3. Striking the match: the launch of B4L

The B4L campaign launched on Saturday 29 August 2009 with an event attended by 10 000 people in KwaMashu, a residential area just outside Durban in KwaZulu-Natal, the province with the highest HIV prevalence in South Africa and arguably one of the most tradition-bound.
The guest of honour was the Deputy Minister of Health at the time, the late Dr Molefi Sefularo. Deputy President and SANAC chairperson Kgalema Motlanthe sent a recorded message of support. Other important guests included SANAC deputy chairperson Mark Heywood and then director-general of health Thami Mseleku.

The following day, in a concerted advertising blitz, the B4L manifesto hit the Sunday print media and national television channels. The above-the-line assault was accompanied by interviews on a wide range of radio stations which served to provide context for the advertising campaign.

The manifesto advert of B4L established the B4L brand and clearly formulated the basic proposition of the entire campaign. It has continued to be broadcast periodically ever since the launch.
A localised community mobilisation campaign in KwaMashu and surrounding areas preceded the national launch event. This accounted to a large extent for the good turnout at the event. But it was some time before a sustained programme of community mobilisation took root in multiple communities.

8.4. Developing tools for mobilisation

From the outset, community mobilisation was intended to be a major component of B4L and the creation of a B4L Toolkit for use by peer educators and their trainers was an early priority. The toolkit combined content on gender relations with general information on health and HIV prevention. It was produced partly by Sonke Gender Justice and partly by JHHESA, with the assistance of various service providers.

Sonke Gender Justice felt that the toolkit skimped on its analysis of gender issues. “JHHESA argued that we had to keep it accessible and not too dense with gender concepts. It was a deliberate decision to keep it usable for dialogues rather than workshops,” recalls Sonke MD Dean Peacock. “In that sense, it’s a bit more superficial than we might have liked. But we understood the trade-off and supported the ultimate decision.

8.5. The safety net: pre-testing ideas and materials

The Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE), a long-standing JHHESA partner, was brought into B4L as soon as the creative agency was selected and the campaign wheels began to turn. “CADRE was asked to pre-test the B4L manifesto campaign in June – it was going live at the end of August. We tested the words and images for TV and radio adverts, posters, pamphlets and billboards,” says CADRE’s Helen Hajiyiannis.

Pre-testing involved a limited number of focus groups chosen to reflect both primary and secondary audiences in urban, peri-urban and rural areas. Elements of the manifesto campaign were clearly affirmed, including the logo and the concept of Brothers for Life.

But some equally important fine-tuning of terminology and images emerged from focus group discussions. The photographs for both the manifesto poster and PMTCT campaign were shot quite differently as a result of pre-testing.

- The PMTCT photo was intended to encourage men to support their partners during pregnancy. But focus groups found it did just the opposite: participants perceived the couple to be completely disconnected. The extremely stylish woman was considered to look too independent.
- The “poster man” for the manifesto advert was judged by focus group members to be aloof, unfriendly – distinctly unbrotherly.

### Table 1: Summary of the manifesto campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV advertising</th>
<th>Radio advertising</th>
<th>Static media</th>
<th>Materials/collateral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three versions of same advert</td>
<td>Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho and Setswana versions of the manifesto advert</td>
<td>Print advertising</td>
<td>Manifesto brochure: English plus six languages and Braille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English: multiple narrators</td>
<td>English: John Kani narrating</td>
<td>Billboards</td>
<td>Brand collateral: caps, T-shirts, bracelets, condom containers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign language</td>
<td></td>
<td>Street-pole posters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Social mobilisation:** The B4L Toolkit was still in development when the manifesto advert was launched, but social mobilisation kicked in a few months later.

**Radio talk shows:** Two radio series on multiple community and national stations provided extended visibility for the B4L manifesto and brand.

**On-line:** A dedicated B4L website was launched and continues to support the brand

**Social media:** B4L initially had a Facebook group. This was replaced with the Facebook page.
The “before” and “after” versions of these photos appear below.

The manifesto text was also shortened and simplified.
Talking man-to-man

In preparation for the World Cup Game of Life campaign CADRE did “an enormous amount of pre-testing even before we knew which players were coming on board,” says Hajiyiannis. “We tested a long list of all probable names from Europe and Africa. During the pre-testing the suggestion came up, why involve only soccer players; why not involve players from others sports and even beyond sports. So that’s where the range of different ambassadors came from.”

Post-testing was done after an initial period of exposure on TV and radio to check that various campaigns were on track. Medical male circumcision (MMC) – a potentially sensitive campaign topic – involved pre-testing of images for posters, leaflets and billboards, using different combinations of men.

The toolkit was an uncomplicated resource for discussion leaders. It comprised nine self-contained modules on different subjects, each of which could be used without reference to other modules. The modules followed a standard format and apart from sound, short information on the topics, they included learning objectives, key messages and a conversation guide comprising several exercises.

The learning objectives generally included increasing knowledge and understanding of the module’s subject as well as promotion of dialogue on that subject. The exercises sought to reinforce retention of the factual content, encourage self-reflection on personal risk and behaviour and promote constructive action in the immediate future.

The nine modules of the B4L Toolkit were as follows:

- Brothers and sex
- Brothers and their sexual and reproductive health.
- Brothers as lovers.
- Brothers for health.
- Brothers are sidestepping STIs (Sexually transmitted infections).
- Brothers are beating HIV.
- Brothers taking a stand against violence.
- Brothers as parents.
- Brothers are good at life.

A tenth module, Brothers protecting children, was added at a later stage. It departed slightly from the format of the earlier modules.

A DVD comprising nine five-minute clips each related to one of the nine original modules, formed part of the training modules. Produced by Drama AIDS Education (DramAidE), the DVD was intended as a prompt for discussion.

Extract

Brothers for Life Toolkit Module 5: Brothers are sidestepping STIs

Key messages

Brothers for Life:
- Stand for responsible relationships.
- Know that STIs are transmitted mainly through unprotected sex with partners.
- Understand that STIs put us at increased risk of getting HIV.
- Prevent STIs and HIV by reducing their partners and always using condoms.
- Know to treat STIs early.

Learning objectives

- Knowing what puts us at risk of STIs.
- Being able to identify the symptoms of common STIs in men and women.
- Knowing the basics of how STIs can be treated and getting treatment at your local clinic.

- Understanding the importance of reducing your number of sexual partners and using a condom every time you have sex.

(Eight pages of factual content on STIs follow.)

Exercise 1
The aim of this exercise is to encourage the participants to talk about myths around STIs. Make sure that all myths are replaced by facts at the end of the discussion. Call on volunteers to tell you myths they have heard about STIs. Write them down on a piece of paper. As a group, talk about these myths and the problems they can cause. Some examples are:

- You inherit STIs from your parents.
- With men, eating too many potatoes gives you drop (discharge).
- Having an STI is a sign of being a man.
- STIs are caused by women.
- You can get STIs from toilet seats.
- Traditional medicine can cure all STIs.

(There are two more exercises. One asks participants to talk about the most important things a man should know about STIs. The other asks participants to identify common ideas that prevent men from taking responsibility in relation to STIs.)
8.6. Human systems for community mobilisation

Sonke Gender Justice played a leading role in building the network of trained facilitators, peer educators and campaigners who took B4L into the streets, the homes and the meeting places of communities. Initially it was intended that Sonke’s master trainers would train only the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programmes community partners, but this was extended to a wide range of organisations that were already working in communities – either in the area of HIV or gender relations – that expressed an interest in the campaign.

**Figure 2: Number of facilitators trained per province***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of training</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Master trainers</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitators</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer educators &amp; campaigners</td>
<td>3,566</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*National facilitators derived from You can count on me PMTCT programme

Source: JHHESA (2012a).

Sonke formed a specific B4L unit within its Johannesburg office. Members of this unit not only undertook training but joined community-based organisers to interface directly with communities in the process of community dialogues.

Training of facilitators usually followed a train-the-trainer format. This training generally lasted three days, was conducted in the province where facilitators resided, and covered all modules in the toolkit. Where possible, Sonke would work alongside or observe those facilitators they had trained to ensure that they were capable of carrying the campaign forward by training others.

“I think the three-day period of training was not sufficient but the participants were the ‘converted’ so it was just a question of filling in the gaps,” reflects Sonke national project manager Nyanda Khanyile.

Feedback on how community-based organisations put this training to use is available only for the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programmes community partners whose peer educators and facilitators participated in focus groups in mid-2011. (Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation, 2011a) Some of these organisations were able to employ dedicated B4L coordinators and/or peer educators, while others included B4L in existing peer education and community outreach programmes. These individuals used their training in individual conversations during door-to-door campaigns; in addressing existing groups of people (for example, in clinics or waiting areas for HIV counselling and testing (HCT); in creating opportunities to talk to groups of men at places like taxi ranks or sports fields; and responding to invitations from a wide range local organisations who had come to know of B4L.

A range of posters, pamphlets and promotional items – caps, bracelets, condom holders – were available to support these activities. Peer educators also reported that they did not dare venture into the community without stocks of condoms.
As B4L launched specific mass media campaigns on PMTCT, GBV and MMC, Sonke Gender Justice joined the principal community partners in conducting community dialogues on these topics. Sonke would partner with local organisations in organising the dialogues. PMTCT outreach was also conducted by personnel from the You can count on me PMTCT programme, a male-driven initiative.

9. Creative mass media maintain the pace

The themes of the above-the-line mass media sub-campaigns tended to set the pace for the community mobilisation component of B4L. Community dialogues – each of which involved 100+ participants – were generally geared to the broadcast schedules of the television and radio advertisements and the display of billboard messages. Peer educators, doing door-to-door education or meeting with smaller groups in their communities, often prioritised the sections of the toolkit that corresponded to the adverts that were on air at the time. But this was not always the case. At times the topic of social mobilisation was selected to address current concerns of individual communities.

Radio talk-shows served as a medium for the delivery of more detailed content on the subjects of B4L and a channel for interaction with the public. In November 2009, B4L launched its first radio programmes on 10 community stations in partnership with ABC Ulwazi, an NGO specialising in multilingual community radio. In May 2010, B4L was broadcast on Ukhozi fm, South Africa’s biggest radio station. And, in 2011, the B4L talk show series expanded dramatically through partnerships with 11 stations of the SABC in partnership with SABC Education.

Radio talk shows followed a different cycle to advertising and were guided by the full-range of toolkit modules. Summary timelines for radio and TV advertising and the radio talk show series respectively are presented below, followed by a description of each new message-set and creative project in the B4L campaign.

Table 2: Timeline for Brothers for Life TV and radio advertising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manifesto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMTCT support</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game of Life*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The HCT-related Game of Life adverts were also run at the end of 2010 and early 2011 in support of the national HCT campaign spearheaded by SANAC and the DOH.

Table 3: Timeline for Brothers for Life radio talk shows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stations</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukhozi fm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABC*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*11 African language channels
9.1. Two new sub-campaigns: PMTCT and multiple partners

Following the strong media showing with the manifesto advert, two additional television adverts went into production almost immediately and were ready for flighting early in 2010. One advert focused on multiple concurrent partners (MCP) and the other on the role of men in supporting women to prevent mother-to-child transmission of HIV.

The adverts looked like the manifesto advert – featuring the same distinct grey on grey palette – but they differed from the original B4L approach in that they spoke about people rather than to people; and they advised rather than modelled. Each told a short story:

• The PMTCT advert showed a man playing pool and getting his hair cut while the mother of his unborn child was learning she was HIV-positive. He receives her distressed phone call and “brothers” gather to advise him to “do the right thing” by supporting her.
• The MCP advert shows a man at home with his wife and children and shortly afterwards meeting up with a young woman in his car. The “brothers” witness the assignation and intervene to persuade him to “do the right thing”.

Each of the two TV adverts was backed by a poster and a leaflet. The PMTCT billboards, featuring couples drawn from different backgrounds, were positioned, where possible, in areas close to public clinics. These two adverts flighted between December 2009 and February 2010.

Table 4: Summary of 2009 campaign on PMTCT and MCP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV adverts</th>
<th>Radio adverts</th>
<th>Small media/collateral</th>
<th>Community mobilisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two 60-second adverts</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Two leaflets: MCP: What brothers need to know about HIV, PMTCT: Brothers for mothers: why men matter in pregnancy</td>
<td>Social dialogues on men supporting PMTCT, Toolkit mini-dramas on DVD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Radio: Community radio talk shows on 10 stations. Implemented through ABC Ulwazi. Various languages. 13 episodes covering various aspects of B4L | On-line and social media: Dedicated B4L website and Facebook group/page |

9.2. Harnessing the spirit of the Soccer World Cup

South Africa’s hosting of the 2010 Soccer World Cup and JHHESA’s relationship with UNICEF presented an opportunity to create a whole series of short TV and radio adverts and posters featuring sporting heroes. This new group of B4L ambassadors included star players in South Africa’s national soccer, rugby and cricket teams and UNICEF Ambassadors drawn from FC Barcelona and Manchester United. The sports ambassadors associated themselves with the various behaviours of the “new man” referred to in the manifesto. Some even walked the talk by taking an HIV test during the course of the campaign.

The Game of Life campaign ambassadors were:

• Teko Modise (SA soccer)
• Matthew Booth (SA soccer)
• Thierry Henry (Manchester United, France)
• Patrice Evra (Manchester United, France)
• Mame Diouf (Manchester United, Senegal)
• Yaya Toure (FC Barcelona, Cote D’Ivoire)
• Lionel Messi (FC Barcelona, Argentina)
Talking man-to-man

The story of Brothers for Life

- Seydou Keita (FC Barcelona)
- John Smit (SA rugby)
- Bandisa Maku (SA rugby)
- Tiger Mangweni (SA rugby)
- Graeme Smith (SA cricket).

Ambassadors from the fields of entertainment and community ambassadors participated in several other B4L initiatives.

Game of Life ambassadors featured in a variety of media. Practicality dictated that some would do only billboards and posters, while others were available to record and shoot a series of 10-second adverts. Their messages were very direct. Here are two examples:

- “Be a man who is not afraid to know his HIV status so he can protect his health and that of his partner. I’m Teko Modise and I’m a brother for life.”
- “Be a man who chooses a single partner over multiple chances with HIV. I’m Matthew Booth and I’m a brother for life.”

Table 5: Summary of Game of Life campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main messages: HIV prevention is the responsibility of every sexually active person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary messages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take responsibility – know your HIV status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take no chances – always use a condom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choose one partner over multiple chances with HIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use alcohol responsibly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV adverts</th>
<th>Radio adverts</th>
<th>Small media/collateral</th>
<th>Outdoor</th>
<th>Community mobilisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multiple short adverts featuring sport stars</td>
<td>Multiple short adverts featuring sports stars in English, French and Spanish</td>
<td>Range of posters featuring sports stars</td>
<td>Billboards, major transit routes, at airports and near major stadiums</td>
<td>Community mobilisation and condom distribution at World Cup fan parks, and in selected communities across the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leaflet: What men must know about HIV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Radio: Community radio initiative ended just as the Game of Life campaign kicked off

On-line: Dedicated B4L website and Facebook group/page

Peer educators who participated in focus group discussions had little doubt that the Game of Life series won B4L popularity by association.

Do you recall those posters around the World Cup? . . . Actually they assist us when we are facilitating. We just put a poster there and we ask them, ‘what do you think about that poster?’ Obviously there is a message, be responsible around your partners or whatever message might be there. So it’s assisting because they will be interested in Messi. (Male outreach worker, Mothusimpilo, Gauteng)

People were crazy about the posters for some time. I think it was because of the soccer stars that were on the posters, so people were really crazy about the posters. (Female outreach worker, Sonke Gender Justice Network, Cape Town)

The advertising campaign ran from April to August 2010, with the month of the World Cup as its mid-point.

Ambassadors involved in Game of Life continued to undertake public engagements for B4L until the end of 2010. For example:
In August the Springbok rugby team took a stand against GBV.

In November, national rugby captain John Smit tested for HIV and undertook a school outreach project in KZN.

On World AIDS Day national soccer stars Teko Modise, Matthew Booth and Tshepo Maseko tested for HIV during a community campaign against GBV in Alexandra, Johannesburg. National cricket captain Graeme Smith also tested publicly.
Being *out there...* and looking good

A figure of around R25 million sounds like a lot to spend on buying advertising time and space. But when a campaign has many facets and the audience is split among different radio stations and TV channels, the purse begins to shrink. Compared to major commercial advertising budgets it is quite a modest amount.

The role of Mediology in *B4L* was not simply to spread the advertising budget as widely as possible but to strike the best possible bargain with marketing executives of major media houses.

“Getting the best value from media owners is always a one-on-one negotiation. We would take them through the full strategic presentation on *B4L*. We would show them the creative in advance,” says Mediology MD Ana Oxlee-Moore.

“The refreshing thing for media owners about *B4L* is that the creative is good-looking. It stands out and it resonates with the target market. If the creative is weak, no matter how much media pressure you have, the campaign is not going to break through.”

Mediology negotiated huge amounts of value-added airtime on radio and TV and display space on billboards for *B4L*. The total contribution from media corporations – both public and private – exceeded the value of cash put up by *B4L*’s main sponsors, USAID/PEPFAR, and had the effect of more than doubling advertising space and time.

Oxlee-Moore is totally aware of the exceptional support shown for *B4L* by media companies. But gratitude doesn’t stop her believing that donations need to be as well managed as purchases. Mediology ensured that donated airtime was not randomly allocated but scheduled to reach large numbers of the target audience.

Her objectives for *B4L* going forward? More diverse advertising using a variety of platforms and bringing print and cinema companies more fully into the *B4L* fold.
Talking man-to-man

The story of Brothers for Life

9.3. Gender-based violence: bolder and braver

JHHESA realised that a mass media intervention on GBV had to be believable, memorable and powerful or it was not worth doing. “I remember saying that the GBV advert should be the best we’ve done,” recalls Mandla Ndlovu. “Many of the initial concepts felt like they had been done before or they didn’t feel strong enough.”

Eventually the possibility of a personal testimony of change was explored and veteran actor Patrick Shai, familiar in homes countrywide, was suggested as a possible subject for the advert. After careful discussion with managers from JHHESA and Sonke Gender Justice Network, Shai agreed not only to do the advert but to undertake a series of media interviews and personal appearances.

The GBV advert, shot mainly in close-up, was powerfully emotive. The language was simple and honest. The tears shone on his face. The weakness and self-doubt that gave rise to cruelty were plain to all.

“I used to beat up my wife. I beat her up for my own infidelities. I beat her up for my own insecurities,” Shai confessed on camera. “I wanted her to love me. But how can someone love you when they fear you?”

A series of special community dialogues on GBV was organised during the period that the advert was on air. They were facilitated by community partners or by Sonke Gender Justice in collaboration with local structures.

Focus groups of facilitators and peer educators working for community partners suggested that the GBV campaign touched a nerve as no other had. Participants spoke of unease in the room when the mini-drama on GBV was played to start group discussion. Participants “with a guilty conscience” were said to absent themselves from discussions on GBV.

However, there were also reports of individuals who phoned or approached peer educators after discussions to ask for referrals for assistance. After a community dialogue, a participant anonymously reported her abusive neighbour to the police and saw the wife – who had been pregnant and unable to get healthcare – freed from captivity in her own home.

Members of the Sonke team say that the role of specialised social service organisations was vital in community dialogues on GBV as they would break the silence by making presentations on the topic. This served not only to start discussion but also made community members more aware of help available to them.

Furthermore, in various focus group discussions on this aspect of B4L the point was made that B4L turned a blind eye to abuse of men by women and children.

‘If a guy like me can change . . . so can they’

Veteran actor Patrick Shai was an unlikely pin-up for B4L. He was an experienced wife-beater from a line of abusers. He lived in a world where wife-beating was simply what men did. But Patrick Shai had the revelatory experience of playing an abusive husband in the edutainment series Soul City.

In an interview with Drum magazine (16 December 2010), he recalled what happened during filming: “My co-star became my real wife, the kids were mine – it was as if I was beating my wife as usual. Something switched . . . For the first time I could really see my own family and their helplessness. I could hear the cries of my wife and my child begging me not to kill his mom. No-one (on the set) understood what was going on. I couldn’t stop crying.”

This crisis was a turning point in Patrick Shai’s life. He got help and eventually won the right to say he was a different man. A few years later he agreed to become a B4L ambassador and tell his story to the world.

“I want people to understand why I’m doing it – it’s because I believe men can change, despite childhood conditioning. I’m not telling my story to glamorise myself, but to give people hope: if a guy like me can change, so can they.”
Table 6: Summary of GBV campaign

Main message: Stop gender-based violence (explicit)

Secondary message: Perpetrators can change if they are honest with themselves and they want to change (implicit)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV adverts</th>
<th>Radio adverts</th>
<th>Small media/collateral</th>
<th>Community mobilisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One 60-second advert</td>
<td>Scripted advert based on real case study. Several languages</td>
<td>One leaflet: 16 Points of Action to Stop Violence against Women and Children</td>
<td>69 community dialogues on GBV Toolkit mini-drama on DVD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Radio: Talk show on 11 SABC indigenous language stations overlapped with campaign and dealt with various B4L toolkit modules

On-line Dedicated B4L website and Facebook page

9.4. Medical male circumcision

Increasing public awareness and approval of MMC as well as actual uptake of MMC services were included in B4L objectives and programming from the inception. MMC formed a module in the training toolkit and the topic was addressed during the B4L radio talk shows as well as in community mobilisation activities which were supported by various pamphlets and posters.

These interventions were strengthened in the latter part of 2011 when preparations for an above-the-line campaign on MMC got underway. By this time public health facilities, with the support of international funding partners and NGOs, had begun to offer MMC services on a meaningful scale. JHHESA’s search began for a real-life model who would feature in the television advert advocating MMC.

Filmed in a public health clinic, the advert featured Sandile Mdluli, a young man from KwaZulu-Natal who had undergone MMC. The intention was to demystify MMC by exposing the public to the clinical setting and the first-hand testimony of an individual who had the procedure. The advert also defined MMC very clearly as a health intervention and distinguished it from the traditional form of circumcision which is a rite of passage invested with traditional meanings of manhood.

Table 7: Summary of MMC campaign

Main message: Get circumcised.

Secondary message: Continue to use a condom to prevent unwanted pregnancies and ensure maximum protection from HIV and STIs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV adverts</th>
<th>Out-of-home</th>
<th>Small media/collateral</th>
<th>Community mobilisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One 60-second advert in English only</td>
<td>Taxi TV</td>
<td>Two leaflets in nine languages: Get circumcised: know the facts Caring for your wound after being medically circumcised</td>
<td>Community dialogues on MMC-Training of partners for community mobilisation on MMC Creation of teams to create demand for MMC and distribute condoms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Radio: Talk shows on 11 indigenous-language stations of the SABC. Not specific to MMC. Covered a range of B4L concerns

On-line: Dedicated B4L website and Facebook page provided information on MMC services

Mobile phone: SMS service for accessing details of MMC services
10. The chemistry of media and mobilisation

Focus groups of peer educators and interviews with B4L community mobilisation coordinators bore testimony to the complementary purposes served by mass media (radio and TV), print materials (posters and pamphlets) and outreach activities.

The advertisements and talk shows built B4L’s profile in the community and lent credibility to peer educators’ efforts to convey the same messages to members of their communities.

*If ever it is something that you will see on TV, they (viewers) believe that it is something that is well researched – unlike something that you just come with from the streets . . . If I go to my neighbour and say I am here to educate you about HIV and AIDS, she is not going to listen. But if she saw . . . an advert for B4L and then she sees me hanging with a T-shirt for B4L it creates a spark to say . . . how is this person who is my neighbour related to that thing on TV.* (Male outreach worker, Mothusimpilo, Gauteng)

*For me the media campaign played a bigger and a greater role. When I get to a community and I’m from B4L people have already heard about it. There’s that general awareness in communities. It’s like an ice-breaker for us.* (Stubbs Maluleke, Sonke Gender Justice B4L team)

On the other hand, face-to-face encounters added value to mass media campaigns by giving community members more detailed information and responding to their questions.

*If somebody is wearing a B4L T-shirt or a cap or whatever, then at least somebody will ask, what is this B4L? I have seen it on TV, but I don’t know what is happening. . . . Then you start explaining to people.* (Male outreach worker, Lesedi Lechabile, Free State)

Small media played three roles:

- Posters that were popular because they featured sports celebrities kept the messages visible in people’s homes and kept B4L top of mind.
- Both posters and pamphlets served as a way to open discussion on the subject of the campaign and to deepen knowledge.
- Leaflets, in particular, left individuals with something that they could refer to in the future and consider matters in their own time.

11. Radio extends opportunities for dialogue

In November 2009, through a partnership with ABC Ulwazi – an NGO producing content for community radio stations – the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme introduced a 13-part series of 30-minute programmes on 10 community radio stations. The series covered a range of B4L topics and was funded by USAID and DANIDA (through UNICEF) as part of the GBV sub-campaign.

The community radio initiative established a model of decentralised production which made it possible to include a multilingual radio element in its campaigns. Some months later, a similar initiative was run in partnership with Ukhozi fm, the largest radio station in South Africa which broadcasts in isiZulu.

In June 2011 – nearly two years after the launch of B4L – the radio component really came into its own on a national scale. Through a sponsorship arrangement with the SABC, the public broadcaster’s 11 African-language stations carried a 26-part series of 30-minute B4L programmes.

These stations have a combined audience of more than 14 million and include the largest in the country. Furthermore, they span a greater socio-economic range than most other radio stations as well as reach more deeply into rural areas.
Talking man-to-man

“The series started with a broad introduction to B4L and discussions about communication in relationships and then worked though the modules in the B4L toolkit,” says B4L programme manager Mandla Ndlovu. “JHHESA would develop a script for each show and suggest speakers to be invited on air. The stations were responsible for securing the speakers. Some did an excellent job while others could have done better.”

Apart from the call-in format of the programmes, the B4L talk shows included a Man of the Month competition in which listeners could nominate candidates from their own communities. Men were chosen for representing the values and norms that B4L sought to encourage. This process resulted in 60 additional local-level ambassadors becoming associated with B4L.

Johan Neethling of SABC Education relates that the broadcaster considered the matter of B4L very carefully before entering into a partnership with an established campaign. Ultimately they decided in favour of the initiative, having already had a positive radio partnership with the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme in relation to Intersexions. (Exploring the Web of Desire: The Story of Intersexions)

The preparation for the B4L radio series was similar to that used for Intersexions: JHHESA convened a briefing workshop for senior producers from all 11 stations to ensure they understood the content and the goals of the campaign. There is a feeling in JHHESA that a second such workshop midway through the first talk show series would have been useful but the budget did not allow for this.

Sonke Gender Justice and community partners often played a role in assisting the stations to locate expert guests who could speak the languages used by the various stations. “The Ukozi FM series worked really well because Nhlanhla Vezi of our partner organisation, the Valley Trust, became the de facto co-producer and co-presenter,” says Mandla Ndlovu.

12. Digital media: a new middle ground

Digital media – including social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter – have come to represent an intermediate zone of campaign communication. They do not have the mass reach of radio and TV in a country like South Africa but they expand the possibilities for dialogue and the campaign’s ability to respond to individual needs.

B4L’s dedicated website (www.BrothersForLife.org) was launched in August 2009 at the same time as the campaign itself. The site has been a source of news and information on major B4L themes and a library of resources for the public and organisations interested in the subjects dealt with by B4L. Perhaps most importantly it provided a platform for interaction between “brothers”.

The site is monitored through Google’s monitoring service. It registered more than 52 000 unique users in the period August 2009 to April 2012 and more than 146 000 page views. Approximately 8 400 downloads have been logged against the page which catalogues print, radio and video files of the various campaign materials. It has served an important role in providing detailed information on services offering MMC. (JHHESA, 2012b)

B4L’s Facebook presence reached 3 200 group members before the campaign developed a Facebook page. It took time to re-establish its base of participants: in April 2012 there were 355 registered participants and the number grew to about 2 000 a year later. (JHHESA, 2012B)

Cell phone technology was arguably the most accessible of the “intermediate” channels used by B4L. In 2009, a “please call me” SMS system was promoted through the mass media. In addition, B4L collected phone numbers from people who registered to join the B4L “movement” and sent them regular text messages about B4L news.
In 2010, JHHESA entered into a partnership with Lifeline in relation to the latter’s Stop GBV Helpline. Helpline counsellors received supplementary training to enable them to assist male perpetrators of GBV who called in.

The information on MMC on various B4L Internet platforms has been backed by an SMS service which helps individuals locate circumcision services.

### 13. Advocacy and the SANAC Men’s Sector

The social ecology model which underpins all the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programmes campaigns emphasises the need to address the barriers in the broader social environment that might undermine an individual’s attempts to “do the right thing”.

JHHESA identified a particular avenue for impacting on policies and programmes related to men’s health in the Men’s Sector of the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC). Chaired by South Africa’s Deputy President and comprising high level government and civil society representatives, SANAC is the forum responsible for key national decisions on strategy, policy and programme development in the areas of HIV and TB. Many important decisions, from earlier initiation of antiretroviral treatment to the mass HIV testing campaign of 2010, have been taken by SANAC.

However, SANAC’s role has waxed and waned over the years and the quality of civil society input to the forum has been a critical factor in its willingness to move forward and tackle problems in a progressive manner. Some SANAC sectors such as faith-communities or trade union members have very large social constituencies while others are much narrower in scope. The SANAC Men’s Sector comprises men’s organisations that have a particular interest in HIV.

The USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programmes strategic decision was to assist the Men’s Sector to strengthen its organisation and expand its base.

#### 13.1. Provincial Men’s Sector Summits

In 2010 JHHESA and Sonke Gender Justice Network partnered with the SANAC Men’s Sector and provincial governments to hold nine provincial summits for the sector. The aim of these meetings was to strengthen the Men’s Sector and increase its activities by utilising B4L as a mobilising tool. Summit attendance varied from province to province but generally included district and provincial representatives of the Men’s Sector, provincial health officials, municipal representatives and delegates from labour, business and traditional authorities.

The outcomes of this process were:

- District Men’s Sector plans for engaging men within the framework of broader provincial HIV plans. District activities would include the B4L community mobilisation strategy.
- Plans for resource mobilisation which would be pursued by provincial Men’s Sector structures, provincial departments of health and the respective Premier’s Offices.
- A Men’s Sector provincial steering committee in each province to drive the implementation of activities.
- Plans for the Men’s Sector to support the mass HIV testing campaign at provincial and district level.

#### 13.2. Coordination of sector activities

Funding was provided to the Sonke Gender Justice Network through the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme for office infrastructure for the Men’s Sector secretariat. In 2011 a full-time coordinator was employed to strengthen the secretariat and improve coordination among the 32 organisations that constitute the national membership of the sector. There is a national executive committee for the sector which has representatives from all provinces. With a full-time coordinator in place, national meetings became more regular and better directed.

With B4L support, the Men’s Sector met with traditional leaders in 2011. The main purpose of the meeting was to build a mutually supportive working relationship between the two sectors and to adopt consistent messaging in support of the roll-out of MMC. (JHHESA, 2012a)
14. Management of the B4L initiative

According to implementation partners, the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme convened team meetings to ensure that all were able to play their roles effectively as the B4L campaign unfolded. The frequency of these meetings was dictated by the intensity of work which varies hugely across different phases of a campaign. Research, creative, media and community mobilisation partners indicated that there was frequent and open communication between relevant programme managers and themselves during periods when this was needed.

The USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme coordinated the input and comments of the lead partners on various campaign concepts and materials. As the principal implementer of the USAID and JHU-CCP contract, JHHESA also had the final say on mass media products. All service providers were required to submit written reports to JHHESA. These varied in format as the services provided were diverse.

15. B4L resourcing and expenditure

In the three full financial years reported (2009/10, 2010/11 and 2011/12), expenditure on advertising space and airtime constituted by far the main budget item for the mass media element of B4L. Financial years accord with those of the US government, commencing on 1 October.

Advertising spend is also a good proxy for the visibility of the campaign, and it is readily apparent that 2009/10 was a bumper year for B4L. (Figure 3) In that year, JHHESA spent R28.5 million on advertising air time and space, and received advertising worth R64.7 million thanks to added value contributed by media companies. The corresponding figures for the two subsequent years were R7.6 million spent for R18.2 million worth of exposure and R14.1 million spent for R37.2 million worth of exposure. (Mediology, 2012)

In late 2009 the manifesto advert was still new and enjoying high volumes of advertising, the PMTCT and MSP adverts were introduced and the Game of Life campaign ran its course during the months prior to and after the Soccer World Cup.

Over the three-year period added value contributed by media companies consistently exceeded the actual amount provided by USAID.

Expenditure on television advertising represented by far the greatest share across all three financial years, while spending on radio and outdoor media was more modest and fluctuated from year to year. Print advertising was not a major component of B4L. (Figure 4)

![Figure 3: Annual B4L advertising spending and added value from media companies](source: Mediology (2012))
16. Evaluating the B4L programme

The USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme seeks to measure communication programmes in terms of the extent of public exposure to them, their impact on ideational factors that may pave the way for behaviour change and actual behaviour change as specified in the objectives of the programme.

In addition to this, qualitative research also seeks to elicit responses to the manner in which the programme was executed – its visual appeal and the meanings given to its key symbols and slogans.

Qualitative research methods were used to learn whether the execution was successful in terms of the selected model of behaviour change. In the case of B4L, which was modelled on social learning, relevant questions would be whether audiences:

- Identified with the social models presented and the behaviours that they stood for.
- Understood the “lessons” and found the recommended actions acceptable and do-able.
- Were sufficiently motivated to adopt new attitudes or behaviours.

16.1. Output and reach of B4L

The first hurdle that any communication campaign needs to leap is that of access or exposure. No matter how appealing, relevant and educational a campaign, it will have no impact if large numbers of people in the correct audience category are not exposed to it. The following four tables all speak essentially to this single point.

The mass media reach of B4L was extensive: for example, in the 2010 financial year (October 2009 to September 2010), adverts reached more than 30 million TV viewers and nearly 25 million radio listeners.

At the height of media activity, between October 2009 and September 2012, the TV campaign reached more than 90% of its target audience (men in the 30+ age group) and a similar proportion of the general TV-viewing public. (See television audience measurement survey ratings in Table 8). The average number of times viewers saw B4L adverts varied substantially across the years, with frequency of exposure rising to 62 times per person in the target audience in the 2010 financial year when a total of 1 696 spots were broadcast.
### Table 8: Audience reach and frequency of exposure to B4L television adverts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Target Audience</th>
<th>Complete audience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No of spots</td>
<td>Reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 2009-Sep 2009</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2,304,624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2009-Sep 2010</td>
<td>1,696</td>
<td>3,041,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2010–Sep 2011</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>2,965,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2011-Sep 2012</td>
<td>1,148</td>
<td>3,237,531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: TAMS 2008 – 2012
Target audience includes men watching television aged 30 years and older.
Complete audience includes all individuals watching television aged 4 years and older

In terms of radio advertising, both the absolute numbers and the percentage of targeted and general viewers were lower than those reached by television. (Table 9) Frequency of exposure was also generally lower than for television. That said, radio advertising added significantly to the depth and extent of the B4L campaign.

### Table 9: Audience reach and frequency of exposure to B4L radio adverts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Target Audience</th>
<th>Complete audience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No of spots</td>
<td>Reach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 2009-Sep 2009</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>4,640,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2009-Sep 2010</td>
<td>1,797</td>
<td>4,978,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2010–Sep 2011</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>3,812,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2011-Sep 2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: RAMS 2008 - 2011

According to Mediology’s media schedules, outdoor advertising peaked during the 2010 financial year, with 1,797 billboards, compared to 56 and 63 in the two subsequent years.

The reach of community mobilisation activities carried out under the banner of B4L requires information on major community dialogues, the other B4L activities of the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programmes funded community partners and the B4L interventions of a large number of additional organisations that received training on use of the toolkit. The number of community dialogues organised in the period 2010-2011 and the reach of these activities is presented on the next page.
Table 10: Community dialogues in 2010 & 2011 and attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Number of dialogues</th>
<th>Total number attending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PMTCT</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>22 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMC</td>
<td>&gt;40</td>
<td>4 556</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: JHHESA (2012a)

The sub-contracted community partners of the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme provide regular statistics on their social mobilisation activities. However, these were reported against USAID/PEPFAR requirements in terms of broad messages and themes addressed and are not disaggregated by specific campaign. The main message areas of B4L have been substantially promoted through these partners, but they overlap with Scrutinize messaging and the figures cannot be separated.

At present no data exists or research undertaken on the extent to which organisations that were not funded by through the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme but that received training on the B4L toolkit have integrated B4L as part of their outreach work. An opinion expressed by JHHESA’s Mandla Ndlovu is that as these organisations are not receiving funding that the commitment to implementation was not high. "We learned that organisations only do what they are funded to do," he said. To act any differently would be “like writing an exam and answering a question that was not asked”. How to scale-up the outreach network without investing vast amounts of money remains one of the most difficult issues posed by the B4L model.

While the quantity of B4L printed materials distributed was significant, it was not massive. There are other HIV communication campaigns that produce materials on a much larger scale. However, most B4L materials were used in outreach and were combined with interaction rather than simply dropped in letter boxes or left on counters.

Table 11: Volumes of B4L print materials distributed by year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toolkits</td>
<td>2 000</td>
<td>2 000</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>4 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posters</td>
<td>152 760</td>
<td>78 052</td>
<td>23 550</td>
<td>254 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brochures, leaflets, booklets</td>
<td>171 962</td>
<td>152 250</td>
<td>638 007</td>
<td>962 219</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: JHHESA (2012a)

16.2. Qualitative reception analysis

CADRE conducted two sets of focus groups to evaluate different aspects of B4L. One set comprised B4L outreach workers and the other members of the public. They contributed different perspectives to the evaluation process.

Focus groups with workers from JHHESA community partners

In mid-2011 CADRE conducted four focus groups with facilitators and peer educators working for or trained by JHHESA’s community partners in the Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and the Western Cape. The purpose was mainly to evaluate the materials that
had served as their tools during outreach. However, the groups yielded some additional information of interest, particularly about the response to messaging that addresses certain norms for masculine behaviour. (Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation, 2011a)

**Evaluation of toolkit and materials**

The comments of outreach workers about the positive public response to B4L are included in section 10 which discusses the mutually reinforcing effects of mass media and outreach activities. Peer educators and facilitators also felt that B4L materials were more appealing than those commonly used in campaigns.

> I will say these materials are not like other materials. You know, this one . . . the look, the colour, the way they wrote it – it just draws attention. (Male, Valley Trust, KwaZulu-Natal)

The need for more materials and toolkits in indigenous languages was mentioned several times.

**Responses to messaging**

The focus groups inevitably reflected on the messaging of the B4L materials and mass media. Messaging that challenged established masculine norms presented more problems to them than more traditional HIV messaging, such as consistent condom-use, HIV testing and partner support for PMTCT.

GBV registered as a sensitive area of messaging. The uneasy response of members of the public to the GBV clip on the training DVD has already been mentioned as has the avoidance of GBV workshops by individuals “with a guilty conscience”.

Outreach workers reflected on the difficulty of tackling patriarchal norms. As a member of the Sonke focus group said, they were often confronted with the reality that “African men think that they should be boss of the house”. Peer educators found they had to present all sorts of benefits for men in treating women as equals – such as two salaries in a family and two managers to share household responsibilities.
There were indications in the Lesedi Lechabile group that some B4L campaigners themselves had problems with the GBV messaging.

_We were discussing this thing of why don’t we see where the women are disrespectful to us. Because we are promoting the thing that men should stop abusing women and children._ (Male, Lesedi Lechabile, Free State)

Sonke Gender Justice in Cape Town indicated that messages on responsible alcohol use were resisted.

_“Men are reluctant to stop drinking. They will tell you: ‘We are men. We are circumcised. We drink when we are circumcised.’”_ (Male, Sonke Gender Justice, Cape Town)

Some workers raised difficulties in communicating about MMC. They said some men felt B4L viewed traditional circumcision as second best. A Mothusimpilo worker said this was enough to cause a walkout from the workshop or meeting, while a Sonke participant said he was confronted with the following response: “They are telling me to go and remove the other part of my foreskin – you are telling me to go and circumcise again . . . Have you ever been there twice?” This participant continued: “We find out we are saying the right things, but now we lose the way of saying it.”

The Valley Trust group reported fewer difficulties dealing with MMC. It operates in a province where traditional circumcision is not generally observed and the organisation’s track record has won it the right to raise difficult issues. “They receive us very . . . like, it’s not like we started yesterday to do that . . . Valley Trust started offering services to people like, we built a road previously, we built a community garden and we built a dam.”

Outreach workers seemed to have most difficulty with messaging on having **only one sex partner**. Not only did participants indicate this message was at times flatly rejected by members of the public, but the question of outreach workers practising what they preached arose.

_The issue of multiple partners is happening. I’m not talking about the people that we are telling, I’m talking about the people who are leading the process. You know what I used to say? I used to say: guys, I know you are going to have multiple partners but I want you to do me a favour – use a condom . . . because this language of multiple partners, we are struggling to get there._ (Male, Sonke Gender Justice, Western Cape)

This was reinforced by another male worker in the same group.

You can say reduce the number of partners and still they can’t, so what do they do? Give them the message about using condoms . . . so he can prevent himself from getting an infection also protect his partners. (Male, Sonke Gender Justice, Western Cape)

A male participant from the Valley Trust commented: “We can’t go telling people to reduce the number of partners whereas we are having more than one partner. Because those people know us, we are living with them. So we have to practise what we are preaching.”

A participant in the Mothusimpilo group indicated that the organisation was struggling to promote partner reduction in the context of the migrant labour system, where men were separated from their wives and families for extended periods.

**Signs of impact or change**

The focus groups were held when B4L had been active for two years and participants mentioned signs of impact, small changes that gave them hope. These included:

**Participation by community institutions**

In most focus groups there were reports of a demand for B4L workshops and discussions from a range of community organisations, churches, employers and the South African Police Service. The Mothusimpilo group reported that they formed two voluntary B4L community action teams to conduct outreach in hard-to-reach areas and that these groups were functioning well. The Valley Trust related that B4L groups were spontaneously formed in their area.

**Observed and reported patterns of change**

These observed changes included:

- Police reporting a drop in rape and domestic violence after a community dialogue. (Lesedi Lechabile)
Talking man-to-man

• More men accompanying their partners to antenatal clinics. (Valley Trust)
• Widespread requests for condoms, B4L promotional items and pamphlets. (All groups)

Individuals taking action

Individual instances of behaviour change included:

• People approaching B4L workers privately to seek help with partner abuse, excessive drinking or a sexual problem.
• An individual reporting an abusive neighbour to the police.
• Requests for referral for MMC even from older men.

Overall, focus group participants conveyed a sense that the work was enriching and inspired them with hope that change was possible. This sense is captured in the following story:

One day I was with (a colleague). Someone stops us and he said ‘give a Brothers for Life cap because now I am a brother for life, I have changed now’. We asked him, ‘what is it that you have changed?’ He said, ‘I went for HCT and now I am no longer drinking.’ We gave him a cap, then later on he phoned to ask for some pamphlets. He said people who saw him wearing this cap keep asking him questions that he can’t answer, so he asked us to come and have a conversation and bring some pamphlets. (Male, Valley Trust, Kwazulu-Natal)

Audience focus groups

In the middle of 2011, CADRE also conducted 18 focus groups (two per province) comprising members of the public who corresponded to the primary and secondary audiences of B4L. A mix of urban, peri-urban and rural areas was selected. Six communities were chosen specifically because B4L had outdoor media and outreach activities in these areas. (Myers L et al, 2012)

Overall, focus group participants were most likely to recall unaided the TV public service announcements (PSAs or advertisements) and billboards, CADRE observed. Far fewer remembered the radio PSAs and talk shows.

Different combinations of mass media products – for TV, radio and outdoor – were shown and discussed in each group. It was impossible for any group to deal with all of the B4L mass media products.

Response to campaign identity

The response to the B4L look and feel and its brand identity was overwhelmingly positive and in tune with what JHHESA and its partners had intended. The CADRE report sums this up as follows: “Most focus group participants expressed (the view) that the campaign conveyed messages about unity, taking responsibility (particularly in relation to abuse and HIV and AIDS) and personal change. These messages were perceived to make the campaign ‘refreshing’ and ‘different’ and to set it apart from other initiatives.” (Myers L et al, 2013)

The following comments are illustrative:

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

To me it (the main idea) is one of space, open space for men to discuss men’s issues, to resolve those men’s issues in a right manner. (Male, 30+ years, Eastern Cape)

The campaign name, Brothers for Life, carried positive associations for respondents, such as unity, friendship and connectedness.

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

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

The tagline, Yenza kahle! (Do the right thing!), received mixed responses. Most interpreted it positively as meaning to behave well and change your ways, if needed. They saw it as encouraging positive behaviours and respecting one’s self. But there were other views, with a few saying it as a weak call to action. “It’s what your mother told you your whole life.” (Male, 18-29, Western Cape)
The B4L logo, strong hands clasping, was widely liked. People said it showed forgiveness, unity of purpose and determination to do things together.

**Influence on norms of male identity**

In evaluating how B4L impacted on masculine norms and identity, the qualitative evaluation considered the degree to which the campaign triggered critical reflection and critical dialogue (both internal and within the social network) on harmful norms and more positive alternatives.

Focus group participants confirmed that existing norms for males legitimised the abuse of women. Women as well as men expected that husbands and boyfriends would beat their women. There was also great shame in a man allowing a woman to dominate or physically abuse him.

The point of greatest identification with B4L was the PSA in which Patrick Shai told his story. CADRE observed that this often “triggered the emotional and psychological processes of retraceing personal experiences of witnessing, experiencing or perpetrating abuse”. The advert touched many people deeply. It made them consider right and wrong, think about who they were and want to be better people. The following is one of many similar reactions.

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

There were fewer examples of strong emotional engagement with other B4L themes and media products. But there was some critical reflection on multiple partners and living positively with HIV, CADRE noted.
Talking man-to-man

CADRE concluded that B4L resulted in identification with a more positive social role for men and with a belief in the possibility of change. The new identity that emerged most frequently was of “a man who takes responsibility, provides for and protects his family who are by nature more vulnerable than him”. The researchers commented that B4L portrayed this role in an actionable way, in forms of behaviour that were clearly spelled out.

The manifesto advertisement summarised many of the actionable behaviours and focus group participants responded to and interpreted it as follows:

• . . . it motivated me, that men are being encouraged.
• . . . whatsoever a man is doing, he is responsible and there is no excuse.
• Go step by step, step by step, love your family, love your friends . . .
• It shows you can change . . . you can also be that man.

Game of Life campaign

The evaluation of this aspect of B4L was of special interest because it cast light on the much-debated approach of using celebrities as ambassadors or campaign champions.

Respondents felt celebrities raised the B4L profile in a positive way and they liked the variety, the presence of men from different race groups and different codes of sport. Many also felt the use of celebrities added clout to messaging.

It’s a celeb, Messi . . . I watch Barcelona and he turns heads so he is in our hearts. Whatever he says we will listen to it. Even if he had to do something bad, we would end up seeing it as good. (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal)

Gender-based violence

Not only was there high approval for the Patrick Shai advert, but more discussion about attitude and behaviour change took place about GBV than about any other subject. Various participants spoke about the part alcohol and drugs played in the perpetration of violence. Several shared how they had taken action to moderate their aggressive behaviour.

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

Yes, it is a touching thing . . . because it leaves a scar on your heart, something that you never forget, even if you change. But the way you think about violating women, it makes you regret, ask yourself why you did not know about this before. (Male, 30+, rural, KwaZulu-Natal, aided recall)

Personally, I had (been) Patrick Shai once in a while. Everyone once had. But to come out and say it to the public, it was very brave of him. (Male, 18-29, urban, Northern Cape, unaided recall)

It has influenced me, as I have spoken earlier. Those days when I was beating a girl, honestly I didn’t receive any guidance from someone. But when I saw the advertisement for B4L for the first time, I realised it had influenced me because it means that I am on the right track in terms of pursuing my life. (Male, 30+, peri-urban, Western Cape)

Conclusions on audience evaluation

The essence of CADRE’s conclusions from the 18 focus groups was summed up in a single paragraph.

“The findings presented in this evaluation demonstrate that the campaign is achieving its objectives, particularly in regards to communication about the prevention of gender-based violence and the promotion of positive male gender norms, and secondarily (in relation) to partner reduction and male involvement in PMTCT. Participants engaged with messages that relate to alcohol abuse, condom use, and HIV testing less meaningfully than the others. However, there was still evidence of critical reflection and internalisation of these themes. The campaign was seen as successful precisely because it opened up spaces for communication and dialogue over key issues, so that men can learn from and support each other in finding ‘the right direction’ and in eliciting critical reflection about social norms and in some cases behaviour change.” (Myers L, 2012)

The researchers also concluded that focus groups indicated that:

• Public figures who participate in the campaign need to appear in an authentic manner and not as though they are simply acting a role because they have been paid to do so.
• Audience identification with the character or the situation portrayed was critical to whether media products stimulated self-reflection and discussion about the subject matter.
• The portrayal of realistic scenarios in various mass media interventions added to their strength.
• The expression of emotion by characters lent weight to the messaging and resulted in audiences regarding the advert as convincing and genuine.
• Length and personalisation of messages were also important for absorption and resonance.

### 16.3. Quantitative Impact evaluation

The third National HIV Communication Survey (NCS) was undertaken in the first half of 2012 and it evaluated the reach and impact of a range of communication programmes on the behavioural drivers of the HIV epidemic. The survey sampled 10,034 males and females from all provinces in the age range 16 – 55 years.

D Lawrence Kincaid and Maria Elena Figueroa, faculty at Johns Hopkins University Center for Communication Programs, undertook specific analysis on the impact of B4L and on related intervening variables. (Kincaid DL and Figueroa ME, 2012a). Multivariate causal attribution (MCA) analysis (Kincaid & Do, 2006; Babalola & Kincaid, 2009) was used to justify causal inference and estimate the impact of B4L on HIV prevention behaviors. MCA analysis includes Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) to test the directions and causal pathways (direct and indirect effects) between communication exposure and dependent variables via multiple regression analysis. Dose response analysis was also conducted. Some of these results are shown below.

#### Reach, recall and understanding of the B4L programme

The 2012 NCS found that men and women were equally exposed to B4L and more than six out of every 10 respondents were able to recall unaided at least one aspect of the programme. The relative levels of recall of various aspects are reflected in Table 12.

Although B4L targeted an older age group (30+ years), its exposure was roughly equal in the age groups 16-24 years and 25-35 years at around 67%, and dropped substantially to about 54% in the 36-55 year age group (data not shown).

### Table 12: Recall of B4L campaign components

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component of B4L</th>
<th>Percent unaided recall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Correct identification of B4L logo</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any correct meaning: B4L manifesto advert</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any correct meaning: World Cup adverts</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any correct meaning: GBV advert</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct completion of any of three B4L slogans</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correct naming of any personality associated with B4L</td>
<td>35.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any correct meaning: B4L concept (eight options)</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to one or more of above components</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Weighted data. N=10,034, equivalent to 28,092,779 men and women 16-55
** All components include unaided responses
Television dwarfed all other means of communication as the channel associated with Brothers for Life, despite the extensive use of African language radio stations. The limited reach of interpersonal communication channels, although expected, is underscored by the NCS data.

Figure 5: Communication medium through which people were exposed to B4L (weighted data)

Figure 6: Unaided meanings ascribed to B4L programme (weighted data)

Meaning ascribed to B4L programme
The construction of masculinity contained in the B4L manifesto and in various other above-the-line elements of the campaign was largely absorbed and retained by members of the public. Qualities such as taking responsibility, protecting the family, respecting women and refraining from GBV dominated the responses to this question.

n=5,288 men and women 16-55 that provided a response about the meaning of B4L
Impact of B4L on risk-reduction behaviour

The NCS 2012 yielded data on B4L’s impact on condom use, HIV testing, sex partner reduction and uptake of MMC. In all cases, it also measured the impact of B4L on ideational factors that might facilitate behaviour change and whether movement at the ideational level was actually associated with behaviour change.

Condom use

The analysis of NCS data explored whether B4L increased condom use, built efficacy in condom use and contributed to positive attitudes towards condom use. It also considered the relationships among these factors, and after various potential confounders have been controlled for, the findings indicated that:

- Respondents with high exposure to B4L reported higher self-efficacy in condom use (55%) than those with low exposure to B4L (49%).
- Higher self-efficacy in the use of condoms was associated with positive attitudes about condom use.
- Respondents who felt self-confident and positive about using condoms were more likely to report using condoms than those who reported low efficacy and lacked positive attitudes (57% against 47%), a 10 percent point difference.

HIV testing

The intervening factors measured in relation to B4L impact on HIV testing were:

- Having discussed HIV testing with one’s sex partner(s) in the last 12 months.
- Perceiving that HIV testing was normal in one’s social circle.

After controlling for various potential confounders, the analysis showed that B4L had a direct positive impact on HIV testing. Among those with the highest level of exposure to B4L, 56% reported testing for HIV in the last 12 months compared to only 42% among those not exposed, a difference of 14 percent points.

Figure 7: Direct impact of B4L on HIV testing in last 12 months
Talking man-to-man

The story of Brothers for Life

(Figure 7) Exposure to B4L was also associated with an increased likelihood of discussing HCT with one’s sex partner. In turn, reported HIV testing was almost twice as high among those who had discussed testing with their partners as among those who had not discussed testing. (Figures 8 and 9)

**Figure 8: Impact of B4L on discussing HIV testing with sex partner(s)**

![Diagram showing the impact of B4L on discussing HIV testing with sex partner(s)](#)

N=6004 (16-55yrs.); if had sex in the last 12 months; p<0.001; adjusted by logistic regression analysis

**Figure 9: Impact of discussing testing with partner on HIV testing in last 12 months**

![Diagram showing the impact of discussing testing with partner on HIV testing in last 12 months](#)

N=6004 (16-55yrs.); if had sex in the last 12 months; p<0.001; adjusted by logistic regression analysis
Talking man-to-man

The story of Brothers for Life

The impact of B4L on perceived norms for HIV testing (number of friends one thinks have been tested) was higher among respondents with a high level of exposure as compared to those with no exposure (58% and 51%, respectively). Perceived norms were in turn related to the likelihood of having taken an HIV test in the previous 12 months. However, this effect was less marked than the effect of discussing HIV testing with one’s sexual partner.

Multiple sexual partners

The impact of B4L on Multiple Sex Partners (MSP) was indirect through increased self-efficacy to avoid having multiple sex partners (MSPs). Respondents with higher self-efficacy were less likely to approve of MSPs or to have multiple sex partners. This pattern of impact is shown in Figures 10 to 12 below.

**Figure 10:** Impact of B4L on self-efficacy in avoiding MSP

![Figure 10](image)

N=6062 (16-55yrs.); if had sex in the last 12 months; p<0.001; adjusted by logistic regression analysis

**Figure 11:** Impact of MSP self-efficacy on favourable MSP attitude

![Figure 11](image)

N=6,062 (16-55yrs); if had sex in the last 12 months; p<0.001; adjusted by logistics regression analysis
Medical male circumcision
Levels of knowledge of the protective effect of MMC in terms of HIV infection increased dramatically from NCS 2009 to NCS 2012. In the latter survey:

- 44% of uncircumcised male respondents were aware that circumcision reduced the risk of HIV infection (compared to 8% in 2009) and 48% were aware that it reduced the risk of other STIs.
- One out of three uncircumcised men indicated that they would probably or definitely undergo circumcision in the next 12 months, and this intention was highest in the 16-24 year age group where it rose to 46%. High circumcision intention was lowest among the older men (36-55) and average among men 25-35 years old –17% and 34%, respectively-- (Figueroa & Kincaid, 2013).

After controlling for various potential confounders, B4L had a direct impact on the intention of uncircumcised men to undergo circumcision and on forming positive attitude toward circumcision. Among uncircumcised men with the highest level of exposure to B4L, 40% reported high intention to get circumcised; the figure was almost half that (22%) among men with the lowest exposure (Figure 13). Favourable circumcision attitude was also higher among men with higher exposure to B4L (Figure 14). Men with higher favourable attitude were two times as likely as those with lower favourable attitude to have a high circumcision intention. These results suggest both a direct and an indirect effect of B4L on circumcision intention and a dose response effect of B4L on these outcomes as shown in Figures 13 and 14 below.

Figure 13: Direct impact of B4L on intention to undergo circumcision

![Graph showing direct impact of B4L on intention to undergo circumcision](image-url)

N=1,647 men 16-55 year p<0.001; direct adjusted by logistic regression analysis
Figure 14: Direct impact of B4L on positive attitude towards circumcision

Summing up NCS 2012 data on B4L
The analysis of NCS data revealed that B4L was achieving some of its stated behavioural objectives and shifting attitudes, perceptions and interpersonal dialogue in a manner that contributed to such behavioural changes.

- Exposure to B4L had a direct impact on the uptake of HIV testing and the intention to undergo MMC.
- B4L also built efficacy in relation to condom use and the ability to avoid MSPs, as well as encouraged inter-partner discussion of HIV testing. All of these factors were respectively associated with increased levels of self-reported risk-reduction behaviours.
- Exposure to B4L was also associated with positive shifts in perceptions and attitudes in respect of HIV testing and MMC, and these ideational changes went hand in hand with increased levels of self-reported HIV testing and intention to get circumcised, respectively.

“‘No homophobia in my name’”
Table 13: A summary of B4L impact on ideational factors and self-reported risk-reduction behaviour (NCS 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of B4L impact: direct and indirect</th>
<th>Percent point* differences on reported behaviours and/or Ideational variables between scores of those least and most exposed to B4L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>B4L direct impact on behaviour/practice</strong> (intention to act, in case of MMC)</td>
<td>Condom use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>14ppt (42-56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B4L impact on attitude toward the practice</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B4L impact on perceived norm regarding the practice</strong></td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B4L impact on efficacy regarding the practice (avoid, for MSP)</strong></td>
<td>6ppt (49-55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B4L impact on discussion about the practice</strong></td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indirect Effects through intermediate variables**

| Impact of attitude on practice/behaviour (intention, for MMC) | 10ppt (47-57%) | - - | 4ppt (5-9%) | 20ppt (21-41%) |
| Impact of perceived norm on practice | - - | 6ppt (43-49%) | - - | - - |
| Impact of efficacy on practice | 10ppt (47-57%) | -4ppt (9-5%) | - - | - - |
| Impact of discussion on practice | - - | 31ppt (32-63%) | - - | - - |

*Percent point difference (ppt) refers to the arithmetic difference of two percentages; in this table it is the difference in the outcomes between those with the highest and those with the lowest exposure.

- - indicates variable not measured or analysis not available.

It is understandable that the NCS, in order to remain reasonable in length, must focus on the variables that are common to most HIV communication programmes. However, this means that the NCS data are not able to throw light on some of the most interesting aspects of B4L such as building partner support for PMTCT, redefining masculine norms, and changing attitudes and behaviour relating to GBV. These were precisely the factors cited by NCS respondents when asked the meaning of B4L. In fact, the qualitative evaluation undertaken by CADRE concluded that these were some of the areas in which B4L was making most progress towards its stated objectives.
17. Concluding comments

*B4L* was a visually striking and, at times, emotionally powerful mass media campaign supported by the most extensive community mobilisation initiative to date. It took the bold step of talking about widely accepted male practices that expose men and their female partners to HIV infection. And, evidence suggests, it found an acceptable way of doing so by framing these issues in a “brotherly” discourse that focused on the positive alternatives, on doing the right thing.

The qualitative evaluation by CADRE suggests that *B4L* achieved a number of its objectives in the area of beginning to transform social norms, particularly norms relating to masculinity and the tolerance and perpetration of gender-based violence.

*B4L* also aimed to encourage particular behaviours that would protect men and their female partners from HIV infection. The analysis of the NCS data as it applied to *B4L* confirms that exposure to this campaign was directly associated with gains in some HIV risk-reduction practices and that it also led to changes in perceptions, attitudes and social interactions that resulted in risk-reduction behaviours. In this sense, *B4L* had both a direct and indirect effect on such behaviours.

17.1. Giving effect to social learning theory

All of *B4L* sub-campaigns constituted an application of social learning theory. The various TV and radio adverts presented a range of models who set out clear behaviours for emulation by viewers.

The central premise of a man-to-man appeal for change – or “brotherly” discussion – resonated strongly with members of the public. The mere introduction of a campaign that recognised men and spoke specifically to them won a favourable response from men.

Focus groups suggested that viewers remembered both the message and the role model far better when the advert was content-rich (or narrative), emotive and longer. Both retention and the possibility of emulation increased in these instances. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the GBV television advert, where the appeal was made not by an exemplary model, but by a fallible man, a public figure who had the humility to share his painful journey to a better family life.

The use of celebrity ambassadors in a range of adverts during the FIFA World Cup season was remembered more for the celebrities than for the particular messages that each one stood for. Either the length of time between the campaign and the qualitative research (a year and half later), the brevity of the adverts or the sheer number of ambassadors may have resulted blurred recollection in viewers’ minds, the CADRE focus groups suggested. However, the NCS analysis suggests that the specific linking of a celebrity to his message might have been irrelevant. The HIV risk-reduction messages appear to have contributed to self-efficacy, to attitude change and to some degree of behaviour change in most areas: condom use, HIV testing, intention to undergo MMC and fewer sex partners. The directness of messaging and the general association of these messages with a group of admired men might have been an effective formula.

It was unclear how successfully the radio talk show programmes were able to carry through the social learning approach. A matter of real concern was the low recall of these programmes among focus group participants and NCS respondents. If people do not retain the social modelling presented, it is impossible to emulate the relevant behaviour. Two possible situations were suggested by this low recall:

- People heard the programmes but did not identify them as *B4L* and therefore reported no recall. The programmes were broadcast in the regular health slots of the relevant radio stations using established presenters. It is possible that the *B4L* brand was not obvious enough, although the programmes might have provided actionable information.

- People encountered the programmes but found them too bland to command attention. With 11 radio stations broadcasting in different languages and using different guests each week over a period of 26 weeks, it is difficult to monitor and maintain quality standards. The question that requires answering
is whether producers and presenters at these stations were able to combine the scripts prepared by JHHESA and the input of the expert guests to provide clear models of the various behaviours B4L aimed to address.

Whatever the reason, JHHESA would benefit from a specific evaluation of the quality and impact of the SABC talk show format used both in B4L and Intersexions. This would assist the organisation in deciding whether to retain this element of communication programmes or to modify or substitute it.

Depending on the outcome, an alternative radio intervention might be considered, involving just a few radio stations that reach audiences in those provinces where exposure to HIV communication programmes is lowest. It appears the rest of the country is being effectively reached by fairly impactful TV interventions. By having fewer radio stations on board and possibly undertaking fewer episodes closer attention could be paid to the quality and creative appeal of these programmes.

### 17.2. Undertaking interpersonal outreach

The only solid information available on the success of the B4L outreach component was from those who were responsible for this area of activity: the national training and mentoring team at Sonke Gender Justice Network in Johannesburg and outreach workers from JHHESA’s community partners.

The passion of the majority of these individuals for the work they had undertaken was quite unmistakable. There was little doubt that they were positively received in communities and that this has generated an increased loyalty to B4L and enthusiasm for the work. Several outreach workers were able to give anecdotal evidence of behaviour change.

Yet their feedback was realistic and tempered with the kind of criticism that is yielded by real experience.

- Outreach teams found that B4L messaging was not always popular precisely because it conflicted with established norms in the area of gender and
sexual relations. Outreach workers needed the skills and resilience to manage the more difficult areas of discourse.

- The training was not always ideal. In some instances too little time was allowed to cover the entire set of modules and outreach was made difficult when only English materials were available for distribution to the public.
- The demand for the “services” of outreach workers from surrounding communities sometimes outstripped their capacity to answer the need. They felt the need for a reliable way to expand the network of outreach workers.

### 17.3. Balancing training and action

A major question posed by the *B4L* experience is whether it is possible to scale up outreach activities so that they are truly national in scope.

The USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programmes formal community partners appeared to have conducted quite intensive *B4L* education and mobilisation. But they were limited in number and represented only a fraction of the trainers, facilitators and peer educators trained under the banner of *B4L*, some directly by Sonke Gender Justice Network and others through a system of master trainers.

Mechanisms need to be explored that allow organisations and/or partners that receive training to provide feedback and to report on the extent to which these organisations integrated and drove *B4L* within their own programmes and thereby expanding its face-to-face reach.

If the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme were to satisfy every demand for partnership in planning of campaigns, the lead times on campaigns would be extended considerably. Furthermore, there is a real risk that too many decision makers would lead to a dilution of the creative essence; compromises might make campaigns dull and unappealing to the public.

There is a possibility that more active coordination of on-the-ground outreach would make a significant difference to the number of organisations identifying with and implementing campaigns like *B4L*. If the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme had a direct presence at provincial level to form and sustain strong relationships with local organisations, there might be much stronger commitment to supporting the campaign brands, which have the real advantage of being both evidence-based and creatively compelling. Larger volumes of print materials with more systematic distribution might also persuade an extended network of community organisations to participate in *B4L*.

### 17.4. Using on-line and social media

*B4L* utilised on-line platforms and mobile technology in various ways during different stages of the programme. The highpoint of social media participation was the development of a Facebook group with a large number of members.

A combination of on-line and mobile phone platforms was used to provide information on services offering MMC, thus closing the loop between awareness-raising, education and service provision.

Valuable lessons about the need for constant monitoring and responsiveness to social media were learned through the *B4L* experience. These platforms have the potential to deliver campaigns as dialogue rather than monologue. But they demand that organisations that utilise them invest time and expertise in pursuing the dialogue.

### 17.5. Partnership revisited

*B4L* involved the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme in a particularly diverse set of partnerships. Some of these might more clearly be described as contracted service providers, but JHHESA’s respect for the expertise and skill that these organisations brought to the project is indicated by the honorary title of “partner”. Joe Public and Mediology fell into this category. Both companies were familiar with the client-service provider relationship (in which the client takes the final decisions) and comfortable working with JHHESA on this basis. Representatives appreciated the scope that JHHESA afforded them to utilise their knowledge and express their creativity.

The other two major implementation partners were the SABC and Sonke Gender Justice Network. There was an established working relationship with the SABC.
but the Sonke relationship was new and different from others: Sonke was both an expert advisor and a hands-on implementer of the training component of B4L. Sonke was also an independent and rapidly expanding NGO, set up principally to fulfil its own mandate rather than to provide a service to other NGOs. Furthermore, Sonke’s mandate overlaps closely with the objectives of B4L, to the extent that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the two.

Sonke understood its role more as a partner and less as a service provider and there were some areas of confusion about management and decision-taking. This was a critical area of learning and an experience that should inform future programmes.

17.6. Dilemmas relating to evaluation

B4L highlighted the need to consider whether to take additional measures to monitor and evaluate aspects of its programmes.

This report previously noted the need for a dedicated evaluation of the B4L radio talk shows on African language stations of the SABC as well as the matter of monitoring outreach activities undertaken by community groups that were trained but not funded through the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme.

In addition, it appears that further evaluation, both qualitative and quantitative, was needed to identify B4L’s impact on specific and unique areas such as GBV and masculinity, and to assess the influence of emotional appeals.

The NCS measured B4L’s impact on recognized HIV risk-reduction behaviours that are tackled in many HIV campaigns. But the NCS also showed that respondents felt the B4L messages were about being a responsible man and treating women and children well.

The focus groups conducted by CADRE identified the strength of interest and emotional response among the public to the campaign’s “non-traditional” HIV issues, such as masculine norms, masculine identity and GBV. They suggested that there was a measure of change at the level of both attitudes and behaviour in relation to these underlying HIV risk factors. But qualitative research is not able to measure the extent of such change. Due to the NCS’s necessary length limitations, these specific outcomes were not fully measured. The question, going forward, is how to balance the need for more specific evaluation of initiatives such as B4L without jeopardizing comparability between surveys on other HIV-related outcomes and intermediate variables over time. Finding this balance or alternatives for survey data collection will provide clearer answers about the value and cost-effectiveness of its most original work.

17.7. Living the brand – and living up to it!

B4L is a compelling brand well-suited to a strongly participative and inclusive campaign. Despite this, the extent to which it meets Joe Public’s aspiration to create a social movement among men for HIV prevention is yet to be measured. Complex social organisation almost inevitably underpins any mass movement and the machinery that was able to leverage it in support of B4L was limited. However, there is little doubt that the brand has some lifespan left and that lessons about social mobilisation may yet be applied to expand participation in the B4L experience by men in many more communities.
"No woman will be raped in my name"
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Palitza K (Undated). Mobilising men all over the country to join in and support each other: a brother for life. Johannesburg and Cape Town: Sonke Gender Justice Network.


**Video material**

Brothers for Life/Scrutinize World Cup Festivals 2010. JHHESA, 2010.
Brothers for Life Training DVD.
All Brothers for Life television commercials.

**Interviews**

Xolisa Dyeshana, creative director B4L; Sbu Sithole (creative director B4L), Monique Kaplan (art director, B4L) and Charlotte Marriner (copy writer B4L), all of Joe Public
Helen Hajiyiannis, acting director, Centre for AIDS Development and Research
Nyanda Khanyile, national project manager B4L, Sonke Gender Justice
Stubbs Maluleke and Neo Mokhudu, B4L team at Sonke Gender Justice Network
Mandla Ndlouvu, B4L programme manager, JHHESA
Johan Neethling, commissioning editor: public education and social development, SABC Education
Ana Oxlee-Moore, managing director, Mediology
Dean Peacock, managing director, Sonke Gender Justice Network
Bob Phato, director, Ukhamba Projects
Setjhaba Ranthako, executive director, South African Men’s Action Group.