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SEX, AIDS AND VIDEOTAPE

VIDEO AS A TOOL
IN INFORMING ABOUT HIV/AIDS
AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE
IN RURAL MOZAMBIQUE

For Marlon Tamarind

*"Um grande abraço e muito obrigada" to all the children in Mozambique
that participated in my study,*

*And very special thanks to the following people for assisting me and
bearing with me,*

*Sue, Bert, Emmy, Thomas,
Rosita,
Hasse, Titti, Lubo, Fred,
André,
Chan, Lianna*

RESUMO

Este é um estudo realizado no Moçambique entre meados de setembro à novembro 2002. A AIDS é uma das Doenças mais devastadoras do mundo e particularmente na África subsaariana. Cada ano, as vítimas se contam em milhões. As mulheres são triplamente infeccionadas por esta doença, por de razões seguintes ;

- Uma mulher pode ser diretamente contaminada pelo HIV e mais tarde desenvolver a AIDS
- Durante a gravidez a mulher risca de transmitir o HIV ao bebê e este pode desenvolver mais tarde a AIDS.
- E em casos particulares são as mulheres que se encarregam de cuidar dos doentes, que sejam próximos da família, ou um vizinho.

As crianças são cada vez mais contaminadas por essa doença devastadora, ficando mais tarde orfelinhas e sem proteção alguma. As crianças tem um papel capital, pois elas representam a nova geração e é através delas que uma mudança de atitude e comportamento devem ser estabelecidos. Nos podemos constatar que a maioria das pessoas não se protegem por causa do tabu que existe a falta de informação e uma interpretação errada da informação dada ; apesar que acesso a informação, faz parte do direitos humanos un dos mais elementares.

Desde de alguns anos, « l'edutainment » (=educação formato média combinado com um fator de divertimento) é um meio de difusão e de informação através do mundo que faz um grande sucesso. Este tipo de meio de informação, comunicação e de divertimento mostra toda a eficacidade quanto ao acesso e o impacto da mensagem preventiva. Estes projetos ed educativos têm o objectivo de divulgar a mensagens e sobretudo de provocar um debate. Até o presente momento a maioria dos estudos já realizados sobre os projetos « d'edutainment » compreendiam seriados na televisão, emissões radiofônicas e também peças de teatros. A idéia é de utilizar um suporte de vídeo é recente e tem a vantagem de se adaptar perfeitamente as situações rurais. Este estudo compreende, de uma parte um filme de um projeto lançado pela organização Iris Imaginações com o nome de FilmAfrik e de um otro lado de três filmes fazendo parte de um projeto sul-africano que se chamam « Step for the future ». Os filmes foram projetados em varios vilarejos ao Moçambique dentro de pequenas « cantinas de vídeo », ou seja o equivalente dos cinemas africanos. Estas cantinas se encontram um pouco em tudo quanto é lado e oferecem as pessoas um lugar publico onde eles podem ver filmes. Muitas vezes, essas lugares se encontram dentro de casas feitas de terra dentro das quais foram instaladas um aparelho de vídeo cassete e uma televisão. Tudo isso funciona com a ajuda de um gerador de electricidade.

A maioria do publico das cantinas são jovens de 4 à 24 anos, as projeções de vídeo são um bom meio de comunicação e adaptadas para captar a atenção deles. Divertir, agradar, educar e provocar o debate, a fim de contribuir a uma mudança de comportamento entre os jovens.

O estudo tenta em general de constatar se esse tipo de meio de informação provoca uma reação positiva entre esses jovens e sobretudo tenta saber si as mulheres têm um acesso igual aos dos homens e si para elas estes filmes contribuem a mudar as condições de vida precaria que elas levam.

Esta dissertação é dividida em duas partes. A primeira é constituída de uma análise da problemática da doença AIDS e a segunda do conceito de l'edutainment, e as varias enquetes feitas por este. Em seguida eu continuo com a análise das atitudes e observação das crianças e jovens tendo participado ao estudo e entrevistas realizadas. A análise mostrara que a idéia de usar o formato vídeo para informar, educar e provocar um debate sobre a AIDS – questionamento quanto ao virus ele-mesmo e também quanto as idéias gerais relativas ao sexo e a gravidez prematura entre jovens de 10 à 24 anos parece um método popular eficaz. Entretanto, existem algumas falhas ao nível da distribuição de filme qui parece em desequilibrio e um forte diparate entre a presença dos dois sexo. Em efeito as mulheres são sempre as grandes ausentes e a participação delas as projeções são. Fica à saber si este é dado aos afazeres domésticos, muito importantes ou simplesmente uma falta de interesse. A primeira hipotese (afazeres domésticos) é a mais plauível. Esta enquete me permitiu de constatar o impacto das projeções ao lado do publico e também de constatar si as diferentes mensagens foram retenidas ou aplicadas depois da projeção antes minha chegada.

RESUMÉ

Ceci est une étude entreprise au Mozambique entre mi-septembre et mi-novembre 2002.

Le SIDA, est une des maladies les plus dévastatrices dans le monde, et particulièrement en Afrique subsaharienne. Chaque année, ces victimes se comptent par millions. Les femmes sont triplement touchées par cette maladie, pour les raisons suivantes :

-une femme peut être directement infectée par le HIV et par la suite développer le SIDA

-pendant la grossesse, elle risque de transmettre le HIV à l'enfant et celui-ci peut-être développer le SIDA

-parce que dans bien des cas, les femmes sont chargées du soin aux malades et c'est sur elles que reposera la lourde responsabilité de la prise en charge d'un proche parent atteint du virus.

Egalement de plus en plus d'enfants sont victimes de ce fléau soit en tant que malades ou en tant qu'orphelins. Les enfants ont un rôle capital car ils représentent la nouvelle generation et c'est donc parmi eux qu'un changement d'attitude et de comportement doit s'établir.

On constate que la quasi-absence de protection lors du rapport sexuelle est en grande partie due au manque d'information, au tabou, et à la mauvaise interprétation. Et ceci malgré le fait que l'accès à l'information fait partie des droits humains les plus élémentaires.

Depuis un certain nombre d'années, l'« edutainment » (= éducation dans le format média combinée avec un facteur de divertissement) est un moyen de diffusion d'informations à travers le monde qui rencontre un grand succès Ce genre de moyen d'information et de divertissement montre toute l'efficacité quant à l'accessibilité et à l'impact du message préventif Ces projets éducatifs ont pour but de diffuser des messages et surtout de susciter le débat. Jusqu'à présent la plupart des études déjà effectuées sur des projets d'edutainment comprennent des séries télévisées,des émissions radiophoniques et aussi des pièces de théâtre. L'idée d'utiliser un support vidéo est assez récente et à l'avantage de s'adapter parfaitement aux situations rurales. La vidéo est un palliatif à l'absence d'électricité et de télévision dans la plupart des foyers ruraux.

Cette étude comprend d'une part le film d'un projet lancé par l'organisation Iris Imaginacoes sous le nom de Filmafrik, et d'autre part trois films faisant partie d'un projet sud-africain s'appelant « steps for the future. » Les films ont été projetés dans plusieurs villages au Mozambique dans de petites « cantinas de video », soit l'équivalent des cinémas africains. Ces cantinas se trouvent un peu partout et offrent au gens un lieu public où ils peuvent regarder des films. Souvent, ces endroits se trouvent dans des cases en terre dans lesquelles ont été installés un magnétoscope et une télévision. Tout ceci fonctionnant à l'aide d'un générateur.

Etant donné que la majorité du public dans les cantinas est jeune (4-24 ans) les projections de vidéo semblent un moyen parfaitement adapté pour capter leur attention. Divertir ,plaire ,éduquer et provoquer le débat, afin de contribuer à un changement d'attitude parmi les jeunes.

L'étude tente en général de constater si ce genre de moyen d'information provoque une réaction positive parmi ces jeunes, et surtout tente de savoir si les filles et les femmes ont un accès égal à celui des hommes et si pour elles ces films contribuent a changer leur situation précaire.

Ce mémoire est divisée en deux parties. La première est constituée d'une analyse de la problématique de la maladie du SIDA, et la deuxième du concept de l'edutainment, et les diverses recherches dont ceci a fait l'objet. Ensuite je continue avec l'analyse des attitudes et observations des enfants et jeunes ayant participé à l'étude et aux interviews menées. L'analyse montrera que l'idée d'utiliser le format vidéo pour informer, éduquer et provoquer un débat sur le SIDA - questionnement quant au virus lui-même et aussi quant aux idées générales relatives au sexe et à la grossesse prématurée- parmi les jeunes (10-24 ans) semble une méthode populaire et efficace . Néanmoins, existent quelques petites faiblesses au niveau de la distribution qui semble parfois déséquilibré, et un fort déséquilibre entre présence des deux sexes. En fait, les filles sont toujours les grandes absentes et leur participation aux projections est limitée. Reste à savoir si ceci est du aux tâches ménagères trop importantes ou tout simplement à un manque d'intérêt. La première hypothèse (tâches ménagères) semble la plus plausible.

Cette recherche m'a permis de constater l'impact immédiat des projections auprès du public ainsi que de constater si les différents messages avaient retenus ou appliqué après les projections antérieurs à mon arrivée.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 HIV/AIDS – a threat to humanity

HIV/AIDS – infection with Human Immunodeficiency Virus, leading to Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome – is one of the greatest threats to humanity. It is a disease that makes no difference between rich and poor, between males and females, or between young and old. Once it has touched a person, a family or a community, it is devastating in all aspects, social, economical and medical. It is, even though there is medication today that allows certain people to live longer and healthier lives than ever expected, a death sentence for most people that are touched by it. Last year (2001), 3 million people died of AIDS¹. An estimated 5 million have been infected during 2002². The majority of people that are infected with HIV today live in Africa – 70% of the people infected with HIV live in Sub Saharan Africa. Sub Saharan Africa has an estimated 29 400 000 people infected with HIV at the end of 2002.³ That is close to two thirds of the world's total HIV infected people.⁴ HIV/AIDS is the fourth most common reason for death in the world, however in Sub Saharan Africa it is the number one most common reason for death.⁵

In addition to the problem that this represents for each individual, and their community, it is an increasing problem on the job market, with the most productive part of the population is lost as in some areas people have a life expectancy of 24 to 33 years less than in a situation without HIV⁶. In addition, 13 million children are orphaned⁷ as an effect of their parents dying of AIDS or AIDS related diseases such as TBC⁸. In addition to this, in Africa, most of the people infected by HIV are female, contrary to the rest of the world where men contract the virus more often. For every 10 men infected, 13 women are as well, and among 15-19 year olds, girls are five or six times more likely to be infected than boys the same age.⁹ Finally, the disease is still very stigmatizing, putting its victims into precarious situations risking exclusion from their community, colleagues, family or friends.

¹ <http://www.globalfundatm.org/index1/html>, (2002.11.29)

² HIV i världen och i Sverige, information pamphlet from the Noak's Ark Foundation, the Swedish Red Cross, statistics taken from UNAIDS, december 2002.

³ SIDA, les nouveaux territoires, Courrier International, no 630, nov. 29th – dec.4th 2002.

⁴ Idem.

⁵ HIV i världen och i Sverige, information pamphlet from the Noak's Ark Foundation, the Swedish Red Cross, statistics taken from UNAIDS, december 2002.

⁶ Sida, une menace pour la survie du continent, article from l'Atlas du Monde Diplomatique, hors série de Manière de voir, january 2003, page 186.

⁷ Idem.

⁸ <http://www.jhpcap.org/pr/j46/j46print.stm>, (2002.11.29)

⁹ Linking HIV/AIDS to women's peace advocacy, by Femmes Africa Solidarité, page 19, part of the Women's best Practices in Africa series, Geneva, 2000.

1.1.1 Information to break taboos and stigma

It is true that there are a lot of taboos around the disease, and how it is being spread, who can get it, as well as how to cure it. These are of course partly due to old traditions and misunderstandings of the information given. There is also a fair amount of taboos and privacy around sex in general, making sexual health education a difficult subject to touch on. However, a lot of it is also due to pure lack of information, education and lack of access to this information.

One idea that has to be stressed is that in order to address the problem of HIV/AIDS effectively one needs to focus on the younger generation, that is about, or just started to become sexually active. More than half of those newly infected by HIV/AIDS are 15 to 24 years old¹⁰ making young people an essential focus of any HIV prevention efforts. Out of the now 42 million people infected with HIV, 20 million are men, 19 million are women and more than 3 million are children under the age of 15¹¹. 800 000 out of these were infected in 2002.¹² 1 million children in the developing world are infected with HIV or live with AIDS, and about 1 000 die every day from AIDS related diseases¹³. It is important to realize that the problem will not be solved in a day, but while it requires time, addressing the issue among the youngest part of the population becomes a key question not only because they represent the next generation, but also because if there is change achieved from “below” the possibility for this change to spread and affect coming generations is higher. A newly adopted attitude towards sex and health education, accepted by the young then becomes the norm that will continue to rule during future generations.

People do want to inform themselves, and to find out about how to protect themselves from life threatening diseases. Access to information is part of basic human rights, and a possibility to protect oneself from getting infected with HIV is as well. Several organisations underline the immediate link between human rights and the access to information about HIV/AIDS. UNESCO's response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic seeks to combat complacency, concentrating on preventive education, encouraging responsible behavior and reducing vulnerability.¹⁴ WHO points out the importance of addressing stigma, as it is critical in preventing further infection, as well as in improving care¹⁵.

Studies have shown that when seeking to increase knowledge of AIDS without adequately catering for effects on fear and tolerance, educational strategies may be directly responsible for

¹⁰ <http://www.unaids.org/youngpeople/index.html>, (2002.11.29)

¹¹ HIV i världen och i Sverige, information pamphlet from the Noak's Ark Foundation, the Swedish Red Cross, statistics taken from UNAIDS, december 2002

¹² idem.

¹³ <http://www.jhpcap.org/pr/j46/j46print.stm>, (2002.11.29)

¹⁴ http://portal.unesco.org/ev.php?URL_ID=1134&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201&reload=1038563773, (2002.11.29)

psychological “boomerang” effects opposite those intended.¹⁶ In other words it is important to counter this type of attitudes by underlining tolerance and making people aware of the problem. AIDS is a human rights issue, says Mary Robinson. The revised guidelines on HIV/AIDS published by the Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights and UNAIDS in 1998, puts a renewed focus on access to prevention, which includes access to information, access to treatment, care and support.¹⁷

Comparatively few people are born with AIDS, and everyone can take action to avoid it, but only if they know what to do. People can die from ignorance.¹⁸ One important step in informing about HIV is not only to provide facts, but also to create debate, and open up for discussion. In a climate where people feel comfortable enough to speak about problems, it will be a shorter step to actually address them.

1.1..2 HIV/AIDS and gender based violence

HIV/AIDS is one of the worst threats to sustainable development today. Over 37 million people live with the virus in the developing world. Every day another 11 000 people become infected. Every sixth second a new person becomes infected.¹⁹ In the worst affected countries more than one in four adults are living with HIV/AIDS.²⁰ Girls are especially at risk, due to their exposed situation and the existence of sexual violence. This increases the spread of the virus even more. Thousands of girls of every race and economic group are encountering sexual violence and harassment that impede their access to education. School authorities rarely challenge the perpetrators and many girls interrupt their education or leave school altogether because they feel vulnerable to sexual assault.

Human Rights Watch has recently published a report on this problem present also in other African countries called "Scared at school, Sexual violence against girls in South African Schools" (report published on 14.03.02.)

It documents how girls are raped, sexually abused, sexually harassed, and assaulted at school by their male classmates and even by their teachers. Teachers misuse their authority to sexually abuse girls, sometimes reinforcing sexual demands with threats of corporal punishments

¹⁵ <http://www.who.int/hiv/events/wad2002/dec1/en/>, (2002.11.29)

¹⁶ AIDS prevention through health promotion, Facing sensitive issues, page 31, published by World Health Organization in collaboration with the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam. Printed in England 1991.

¹⁷ http://www.unaids.org/whatsnew/press/eng/pressarc02/Humanrights_100902.html, (2002.11.29)

¹⁸ AIDS prevention through health promotion, Facing sensitive issues, page 77, published by World Health Organization in collaboration with the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam. Printed in England, 1991.

¹⁹ HIV i världen och i Sverige, information pamphlet from the Noak's Ark Foundation, the Swedish Red Cross, statistics taken from UNAIDS, december 2002

²⁰ www.panos.org.uk (19.03.02)

promises of better grades, or even money.²¹ This, in addition to the enormous amount of orphaned children due to HIV/AIDS contributes to a severely decreasing rate of school attendance. Shocking numbers of children are orphaned because of AIDS, the most acute problem being in Sub-Saharan Africa, home to 95% of the children orphaned by the epidemic.²² Not only is AIDS an extremely stigmatized disease, making the children shunned by the rest of their families, thus being left alone to care for themselves and their siblings. Young boys and girls often become the head of the household, and have no choice but to drop out of school and go to work.

Lack of proper instruction as well as illiteracy further disempowers these young people to take action, or to gain control over their situation. Not only is there no easily accessible information available on the disease, in addition, most people do not get anywhere near any of these sources of information, either due to illiteracy, or simply because of lack of infrastructure/working means of communication.

In many ways HIV/AIDS is more a social than a medical problem. It is primarily transmitted by sexual intercourse, an activity often shrouded by secrecy and shame. In most countries, the stigma surrounding the disease makes it difficult to help protect those at risk of contracting the virus and to care for those who are ill.

Above all, HIV feeds on the deep divisions within societies – illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and inequality between the sexes – and deepens the divisions by making communities poorer.

During the 20th century, HIV/AIDS turned out to be one of the largest threats to humanity. We are still far from having reached a solution to the problem. The virus is still devastating large parts of the developing world. Meanwhile in the West, governments are slowly gaining control on the spread of the virus, as people become more aware and cautious. However, in the developing world, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, we are nowhere near a decrease in numbers infected by the HIV. Men and women are dying, children are orphaned, often due to lack of information and lack of medical assistance as well as the stigma surrounding the disease and sexual issues in general. All this takes place while the world is silently watching.

1.2 HIV and information access in Mozambique

Mozambique counts among the most badly affected countries when it comes to the HIV virus. Between 5 and 15% of the population is infected by HIV.²³ Experts still claim that the country has not yet reached its maximum infection rate, due to the fact that the country was isolated until the

²¹ www.hrw.org/pub/web/webcat-104htm (14.03.02)

²² www.who.int/multimedia/wac/index1.html (19.03.02)

early 90s because of the civil war raging the interior. However since then numbers are increasing and Mozambique is in no way sheltered from what is and has been the last plague of the world.

According to statistics it is also the young people that are being infected at the highest rate. Indications show that the age group 10-14 is the one currently being infected at the highest rate with HIV in Mozambique. In a survey by SIDA, on how many of the young girls and boys aged 15-19 knew how to protect themselves from getting infected with HIV, 75% of the girls, and 63% of the boys did not know any way to protect themselves against HIV/AIDS...²⁴

All over the world, the critical need for information, knowledge and understanding on HIV/AIDS and related issues is underlined²⁵. In a world racketed by HIV/AIDS there is a great danger in lack of information. It is especially important for young people to possess knowledge of the risks posed by (unprotected) sex, or the measures that can be taken to reduce these risks.

Education and the access to information are recognized internationally as a fundamental right for all, including children.²⁶

However, in a country like Mozambique, where the majority of the people live in rural areas, reaching people with information and creating debate is a challenge – mainly because of great distances, unequal infrastructure and difficult accessibility. In addition, there are also a lot of different local languages spoken, as well as a high rate of illiteracy. While many people speak and understand basic spoken Portuguese, numbers indicate that only 40% of the population actually is luçophone.

TV and radio have been used effectively to inform as well as entertain in many countries but one medium that still is rare when it comes to systematic use is video.

There are many aspects of video that make it attractive in rural settings. Not only does it present the audience with a popular, and attractive medium, a moving image that is more accessible in areas where parts of the population may not be fluent enough in the official language to follow and understand a radio show. It is also a medium that can be used in areas without electricity, as the use of generators allows for structured viewing and people get together to watch video as a recreational activity. With its symbolic language – images – film can also be understood by a young audience who may not be familiar with the problematic and discussions around a particular topic. Finally it is one of the most popular media that exist today, making the information available to a

²³ Sida, une menace pour la survie du continent, article from l'Atlas du Monde Diplomatique, hors série de Manière de voir, janvier 2003, page 186.

²⁴ SIDA, (2000) AIDS, the challenge of this century. Prevention, care and impact mitigation, page 12.

²⁵ See for example, http://www.comminit.com/pdf/youth_in_action.fdf, (2002.12.04)

²⁶ Scared at School, Sexual violence against girls in South African Schools, page 108, Human Rights Watch, 2001.

wider audience regardless of social standing and background, facilitating quantitative diffusion of informative and social messages.

1.2.1 HIV and video – diffusing social messages

The goal of many NGO's as well as government agencies is that no person should contract the AIDS virus due to lack of information.²⁷ It has been proven that one of the best methods of stopping the spreading of the virus is through information. Since the cultural beliefs and preconceived ideas about condoms in many countries prevent people from using this way of protecting themselves from HIV, usually is due to misconceptions and lack of information²⁸, there is a great need to reach out to populations that are affected and especially the young and sexually active generation.

Iris Imaginações' project FilmAfrik is using videocassettes distributed all over Mozambique in an attempt to address social issues from work rights and health care to agricultural problems and human rights such as education. This idea of using video as a tool in order to diffuse social messages and create debate around various issues, among them HIV/AIDS, is interesting because of various factors. The idea to use non-print media to reach rural populations is necessary due to the high level of illiteracy²⁹, but it is also a popular medium, that easily attracts an audience.

I believe that in order to change attitudes, and behavior, there is a need to involve the younger generation when addressing problems like HIV/AIDS. There is also much to be learned from the reactions and points of view of a group that may be less listened to.

I have chosen a project that combines my interest in human rights issues with development and communication theory. Access to information and education are part of basic human rights and fundamental components of a democratic process. Young people need to be taken into consideration in the development process. They are the future generation and should be more involved in reaching solutions to social problems. I will be looking at this situation through a gender specific angle.

The reasons for taking a particular interest in the gender aspect of the study relates directly to females all over the world being particularly vulnerable to the spread of HIV/AIDS and also to the fact that many women across the world have less power than their male counterparts and do not always have the rights or opportunities to negotiate sex. HIV actually represents a triple threat to females, because of the following reasons;

- A woman can be directly infected by HIV, and subsequently develop AIDS
- During a pregnancy, a woman risks transmitting HIV to the baby, which may develop AIDS

²⁷ See among others; www.yaids.org/initiatives.htm (2002-02-25)

²⁸ www.unaids.org/wac/2001/campaigndocs/condoms.doc (2002-02-25)

²⁹ www.ui.se/ (2002-02-25)

- In most cases, women are the ones responsible of caring for sick family members, including those infected by HIV.³⁰

In addition there is a lot of sexual violence committed against females, which increases the spread of AIDS even more. The HIV/AIDS epidemic has put men's sexual behavior in the spotlight, making prevention the only solution. Yet too many men still engage in risky sexual practices, such as having multiple sex partners, including other men, and not using condoms consistently. In several Asian and African countries, some older men seek out virgin girls, known as cherry girls, whom they believe to be safe from HIV³¹. Men's sexual behavior puts women at risk. In some countries, including the US and several Sub-Saharan African nations, HIV is now spreading faster among women than men HIV and other STDs have been described as showing "biological sexism". That is, women are more susceptible physiologically to the viral and bacterial agents that cause them. As a result, men transmit infections to women more efficiently than women do to men. For example, men are eight times more likely to transmit HIV to a female partner through repeated, unprotected sexual intercourse than women are to transmit the virus to men.³²

1.3 Objectives

This study aims to take a look at if and how video can be used as a means of information and as an instigator of debate on and around HIV/AIDS, sexual health and related issues such as teenage pregnancy and gender questions.

I have taken a particular interest in whether there is a difference in male's and female's reactions, and feelings when exposed to this kind of information, and whether there is a difference in general in attitudes towards sex. I also look at whether there is an equal amount of girls and boys actually getting access to the information. That is, while the diffusion of messages on HIV/AIDS and creation of debate among young is my primary objective, I will take a particular look at how this, in addition, may, change the situation for girls, when it comes to access to education, information and their own attitudes and feelings in regards to questions of sexuality.

The study involves observations of attitudes and reactions during video screenings of a few selected video films, as well as focus group and individual interviews with children, teenagers and young adults (10-24 years old) on relational issues, sexual health and information and prevention of

³⁰ SIDA, Une triple menace pour les femmes, Panos, L'Harmattan 1991.

³¹ <http://www.jhpccp.org/pr/j46/j46print.stm>, (2002.11.29)

³² idem.

pregnancy and STD's³³ in Mozambique. In addition to looking at the impact made by one of the two films so far distributed by FilmAfrik, I have taken the opportunity to project where possible a number of films selected from the South African project Steps for the future. A complete listing of the films as well as brief summaries is given below. Most of the screenings were done in rural to semi-rural settings but a few took place in provincial capitals or "bairros"(suburbs). The films all bring up HIV/AIDS either as a main topic, or as a sub-topic. One of the films, *Cartão Amarelo*, a Zimbabwean box-office hit, is part of the project FilmAfrik, distributed by the Maputo based organisation Iris Imaginacões. The other three were all films produced in Mozambique, but part of Steps for the Future.

I have studied the impact and effect that video can have on the youth population in regards to questions concerning health, and more particularly HIV/AIDS. I take a general look at how children and young adults (teenagers) react, and in particular explore whether the female part of the audience were positively affected by the projections, and in particular whether the actual access to the films was equal between males and females. My research has in no way been able to actually measure quantitative effects of the project, but is rather a qualitative evaluation of how and if the films contribute to create a debate and to ensure a fertile ground for change of attitudes when it comes to sex and issues of health, particularly so HIV/AIDS. The issue of teenage pregnancy being closely linked to that of HIV infection and sexual initiation is also part of the discussion.

My main objectives while conducting this research has been twofold:

- a) To explore and describe the process, work and functioning of the project FilmAfrik, and by doing this to study how edutainment methods in general, and video in particular can be used to communicate information to youth population about HIV/AIDS. I will also make a conclusion about the lessons learned by the project.
- b) To examine to which extent young people are touched by this type of project, what impact it has on these people (their reactions, their thoughts, and their attitudes). The choice to specifically look at how these reactions may change the situations for girls directly or indirectly (through the reactions of the boys) is immediately linked to the problematic of violence against girls that is present in the region. On a secondary level it is linked to the idea of basic human rights such as access to education and information being equal for all

³³ Sexually Transmitted Diseases

regardless of sex. Finally I aim to find out to which extent the films or the themes that they are bringing up are subject to discussion between people later, whether they stimulate debate.

I will also look at, more concretely, who is reached by the films. Do girls and boys watch it to the same extent? Is there is a difference in thoughts, reactions and attitudes between girls and boys, younger, and older? Another interesting point is how the reactions of their male counterparts may change the situation for the girls for the better. I mean to look particularly for signs suggesting that the situation may change for girls, whether through their own empowerment or from the changing attitudes towards women from boys and young men.

According to Melkote and Steeves, the most at risk populations, may not be reached by entertainment education, populations that may disproportionately include women.³⁴ Women have also to a larger extent been excluded from technical training, education, rights to land and modernizing technology.³⁵

I will inquire about the reactions to, on the one hand the documentary showed before the main feature, and on the other hand the film itself. One point of interest is to ask how the package has been promoted. Are people aware that they will be seeing a documentary in addition to the "regular" movie? Do they know ahead of time the theme, or the origin of the film?

The objectives of this research are in no way to solve the problem, nor to present answers to all those questions that surround it. Rather, I will take a look at video as one possible way to engage people in debate, inform and educate on the AIDS-virus, as well as directing attention towards the issue of young people and their attitudes in regards to HIV/AIDS. I will take a particular interest in how the messages are perceived by young girls, and whether they feel in any way reinforced, emancipated or supported by the project.

I will also take a quick look on a few other projects that have successfully used an edutainment strategy in order to address a social problem. By introducing different projects using edutainment as a way of spreading information and stimulating debate, as well as other media initiatives that have addressed specific issues in different settings, I mean to direct future attention

³⁴ Worthington, N. Gender and class in AIDS education; An analysis of the Aidscom project in Africa, unpublished masters thesis, University of Oregon, School of Journalism, 1992, and Luthra, R. Communication in Social Marketing of contraceptives; A case study of the Bangladesh project, unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1988, in Melkote, Srinivas, R. & Steeves, H., Leslie, Communication for development in the third world. Theory and practice for empowerment, Sage Publications, London 2001, page 143.

³⁵ Boserup, E., Woman's role in economic development, New York, NY, St, Martins Press, 1970, in Melkote, Srinivas, R. & Steeves, H. Leslie, Communication for development in the third world; Theory and practice for empowerment. Sage Publications, London 2001, page 186.

towards a possibility of continuing the entertainment genre, in various development questions and specifically in the battle against HIV/AIDS.

1.4 Method

The research was done during a two-month period, from mid-September to mid-November 2002 in Mozambique, and covered all provinces except Maputo and Gaza. It included a large number of voluntary subjects, who participated in group or individual interviews, with the only prerequisites for selection being fitting within the age limits of the research and having watched at least one of the films.

I have used interviews as well as observations as my method. My choice of interview subjects is based on participation, and viewing of the film, age, and gender. Participants in the focus group were between 10 and 24 years old. The choice was strategic and based on the mentioned prerequisites but completely random, in order to obtain a representative group and in order to avoid biases. The interviews were of a qualitative type using observations as well as prepared questions.

I acknowledge the fact that since the interview subjects were picked randomly, and among those who demonstrated an interest in participating in the interviews, these may not be entirely representative for the whole population within the age limits. In other words, there may be a bias as to participants already showing an interest in the films. Nevertheless, I have tried to pick the subjects as randomly as possible.

Examples of questions asked are:

- Do you remember the film X, can you briefly retell the story?
- Did you identify with any of the characters in the film? If yes, which one, and why?
- Are you aware that there is a social message diffused by the film? If yes, how do you understand it? How do you feel about a) the message, b) being imposed this type of information while watching a film considered entertainment? (whether the person feels manipulated, receiving this type of messages).
- Did you learn anything new, or has the film contributed to your thought on HIV/AIDS? etc.
- Did you ever find yourself in a situation similar to the one that (X....) did? How do you feel about her/his reactions/action?
- What would you do if this happened to you?

I also asked particular questions linked to each film, eg. for *Cartão*:

- Who do you think is responsible for the baby?
- How could Tiyaane and Linda have avoided having a baby?
- Do you think it was fair that Linda was kicked out of school because of her pregnancy, while Tiyaane got a promotion? Why?
- What about Tiyaane's friend, X, who is in the hospital? Why is he there? How did that happen? And how could he have avoided it? (he has HIV, and is sick)
- Do you know what HIV is? Explain. Is there a cure?
- Do you know in what ways you can get infected with HIV?
- If you had a friend who got infected with HIV, how would you react?
- Do you believe that some people are more at risk for getting HIV? If yes, who, and why?
- What can you do to avoid exposing yourself to HIV?
- Do you feel that HIV positive people are being discriminated against, in society? Among friends? Family? Is this right?
- When somebody gets sick with HIV, who takes care of that person?

During visits to villages where *Cartão Amarelo* had already been screened a few weeks or months earlier, but where circumstances did not allow me to screen it again, nor to propose another film, I also asked the audience whether they remember the film, the theme, the message, etc, and whether this has changed anything in their life, in their attitudes or in interactions with others.

All of the information gathered has been analyzed in a qualitative manner. Based on these interviews and observations I have drawn a larger, general conclusions about the possible impact that video as a tool of information on HIV/AIDS may have among young people, particularly through a gender specific perspective.

In other words whether the films have had the expected impact, or what kind of impact they have had among the young audience. I also take a particular interest in whether the audience is made up out of the same amount of females and males, and whether their reactions correlate, and what kind of films appeal to them.

Provinces visited:

Manica, Inhambane, Zambezia, Sofala, Tete, Nampula, Niassa, Cabo Delgado

Films projected:

Cartao Amarelo (part of FilmAfrik),
Dancing on the edge
O Mineiro (A miner's tale)
Night Stop (all part of Steps for the Future)

1.5 Outline

Chapter two deals with a background on communication for development, leading on to development theory and a discussion on different models of communication, placing particular emphasis on the education-entertainment (E&E) genre. The successful Soul City project in South Africa will be briefly introduced as well as a few other development projects using media to address social problems.

How can video be used as a medium in remote villages in order to diffuse messages on HIV/AIDS? And does it have a positive effect on young people and in particular girls and young women? Chapter three will introduce Iris Imaginações projects FilmAfrik as well as the South African project Steps for the future and look at how a very popular but fairly unusual medium can be used as an E&E strategy.

Chapter four will be a discussion of methodology and a description and analysis of my findings. Finally, in chapter five I will summarize my findings and draw some conclusions on receptive communication and young people.

1.6 Language

A short note on the language. Hoping to find readers not only at my university department in Sweden, but also among those concerned by my research I will try to use a simple and straight forward language, without being overly simplistic. However, writing in English, I automatically shut the door to most people in Portuguese speaking Africa, (and Brazil) as well as French and Spanish speaking parts of the developing world, where in addition most people will only understand local or national languages or dialects. Furthermore, many children, and adults are illiterate and will not be able to read this anyway. I therefor provide a brief summary in Portuguese, and one in French.

1.7 Ethical considerations

Even though I have been asking questions randomly, to those fitting into the criteria of having watched at least one of the films as well as being between 14 and 24 years old, children who were

younger than this, but that had still watched the film were often allowed to stay for the larger focus group interviews. When interviewing girls, I have to a larger extent done single interviews or small group interviews, due to them not wanting to speak in larger groups. Since there was also a tendency for the girls to be less represented during the screenings, I sometimes spoke to all girls present, while only speaking to a part of the boys present.

I have tried my best to make the children comfortable enough to speak openly, and to take into consideration any practical details facilitating the interviews, or otherwise enabling the subjects to participate in the interviews.

2. EDUCATING AND ENTERTAINING ABOUT HIV/AIDS

2.1 Communication for Development

There is a strong relationship between human rights and information, with legal documents stating people's rights to information and the freedom of media and information.³⁶ The idea that access to information is a right, held by rich as well as poor, women as well as men, is of central importance in development programs. According to Bathla, media is an extremely powerful institution of the public sphere in today's society. It shapes public consciousness, initiates debates, facilitates dialogue and is a major means of communication.³⁷

In Communication for Development, the idea is that information and the access to information will add to the emancipation of people, and thus reinforce human rights is primordial. However the spread of information such as market prices, HIV/AIDS-prevention and human rights is only one side of Communication for development.

The other side is about strengthening public participation in the projects. Through media communication people are committed and enabled to choose and make demands, as it stimulates debate at the same time as it informs.³⁸

2.1.1 Education-Entertainment

The idea of the entertainment-education (E&E) or "edutainment" strategy is to use mass media characters as models of behaviour for influencing people towards social change.³⁹ It has the unique quality to engage the audience in ways that public affairs programs do not, since it is a popular art form, and as such a very promising vehicle for transmitting information as well as stimulating debate.⁴⁰ The combination of entertainment and education is a strategy that intentionally incorporates educational issues in entertainment programs. India has been a pioneer in entertainment-education television soap operas and radio soap operas⁴¹ where it has proven to be very successful in addressing issues such as family planning, gender equality and HIV/AIDS prevention. In this sense, edutainment provides a unique opportunity to balance the mass media's

³⁶ Burke, Adam, *Communications & Development - a practical guide*, London: Social Development Division. UK: Department for International Development 1999

³⁷ Bathla, Sonia, *Women, Democracy and the Media; Cultural and Political Representations in the Indian Press*, Sage Publications, New Delhi/Thousand Oaks/London, 1998, page 160.

³⁸ Tufte, Thomas and Rasmussen, Finn. *Medier og Udvikling*, nr 9, 1999.

³⁹ Bouman, Martine, *The Turtle and the Peacock* 1999, page 23

⁴⁰ Montgomery, K.C, *Promoting Health through Entertainment Television*, in C.K. Atkin and L. Wallack, *Mass Communication and Public Health, complexities and conflicts*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications 1990

⁴¹ Singhal, Arvid, Rogers, M. Everett, *India's Communication revolution; From Bullock Carts to Cyber Marts* Sage Publications, London, 2001, page 256-257.

commercial interest with its public service mission. The function of edutainment includes the process of purposely designing and implementing media messages to both entertain and to educate, in order to increase audience's knowledge about educational issues, create favorable attitudes and change overt behaviour.⁴²

The most positive aspects of E&E are the accessibility of the medium and its easy and entertaining form. The negative aspect would be that it primary functions one-way. The messages are diffused without the participation component often cited as relevant in development projects. However stimulating debate and making sure that there is an ongoing dialogue between receptors can prevent this effect. Gordon Adam and Nicola Hartford suggests in their handbook about radio and AIDS⁴³ that by taking certain precautions you can compensate for the deficiency of a medium like radio (or video) being a one way medium. Initial research and pre-testing can help ensure that the content is relevant and culturally appropriate. Careful scheduling and repetition will help maximise listenership and programmers can use a variety of formats and presentation styles to hold listeners interest.

“The entertainment-education theory aims to satisfy, among other things, the need for information, entertainment and (para)social interaction.”⁴⁴, according to Bouman, while drawing on several different theories to explain the phenomena, that television plays as social tool. There is for example the pleasure of looking, being able to see the secret, private life of others on television that gives the viewer a certain power over them.⁴⁵ Bouman further refers to Albert Bandura's social-cognitive theory⁴⁶, which states that people can not learn only in formal learning situations, such as in schools, but also vicariously, by observing the overt behavior of models. The models used in this observational learning can be real life people or, characters seen in films and on television. The essence of edutainment strategy is to use television characters as role models for pro-social behavior. Para social interaction refers to the seemingly interpersonal face-to-face relationship that viewers develop with television personalities or characters of a popular series.⁴⁷ Further, the parasocial interaction contains two aspects, both working in favor of the intended behavioral

⁴² Singhal, A., Rogers, M. Everett, Entertainment Education: A communication strategy for social change, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates, 1999, in Singhal and Rogers, India's Communication Revolution; From Bullock Carts to Cyber Marts, Sage Publications, 2001, page 34 & 71.

⁴³ Adam, Gordon and Hartford, Nicola, The essential Handbook, Radio and HIV/AIDS: Making a difference, page 5, UNAIDS & Media Action International, 1999.

⁴⁴ Bouman, Martine, The Turtle and the Peacock, 1999, page 33.

⁴⁵ Mulvey, L, Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, 1975, Screen, Vol.16(3), page 6-18, in Bouman, Martine, The Turtle and the Peacock, 1999, page 32.

⁴⁶ Bandura, Albert, Social Foundations for Thought and Action; A Social cognitive theory, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986 in Bouman, Martine, The Turtle and the Peacock, 1999, page 33.

⁴⁷ Bouman, Martine, The Turtle and the Peacock, 1999, page 83.

change, says Bouman⁴⁸. The first is the effect of “intimacy at a distance”; the viewers feel that they have a personal relationship with the characters on television, more or less as if they were talking to their own family or neighbours. The other aspect follows from the first. Because of the parasocial interaction effect, the events and the experiences of the characters in the series or show will become of interest to the viewers. They want to discuss these with their peers, so there will be a tendency to convert parasocial action into social interaction. In other words the identification with the characters assist in provoking a discussion among viewers. The adoption of the “messages” of the series in social discourse enhances their chance of inculcation.

Mc Quail distinguishes four models to illustrate different ways of looking at the relationship between sender and receiver; the transmission model, the publicity model, the expression or ritual model and the reception model.⁴⁹

The transmission model is the oldest and most traditional way of looking at the process of communication. It is based on a rather linear sequence of 1) sender 2) message 3) channel 4) receiver. This model implies a cause and effect relation and a one-directional flow, and cognitive process by the receiver.

In the publicity model the name of the organization becomes more important than the message and the media audience is more often a set of spectators than participants or information receivers.

The expression or ritual models linked to ideas such as sharing, participation, association, fellowship and the possession of a common faith. The central goal of this model is not to transmit messages but to underline and stress in order to maintain the common values of the society that uses them.

The opposite of the transmission model according to Mc Quail⁵⁰ is the reception model. It originates from critical theory, semiology and discourse analysis. In this model the central player is not the sender but the receiver who has the primacy to attribute and construct the message. In other words it leaves it up to the receiver to interpret the message transmitted, and therefor may not always understand or perceive the message "as sent" or "as expressed" by the source or the sender of the message. Media research in this field tries to find out by ethnographic studies and discourse analysis how viewers decode and construct their meaning of the message.⁵¹ Elements from all four models may be applicable to the implementation of the E&E strategy, according to Bouman,⁵²

⁴⁸ Idem.

⁴⁹ Mc Quail., D, Mass Communication Theory; An introduction, London Sage Publications 1994.

⁵⁰ Idem.

⁵¹ Bouman, Martine, The Turtle and the Peacock; the Entertainment Education Strategy on Television. (1998)

⁵² Idem.

however the reception model reminds us that the seeming power of media to mould, express or capture is partly illusory and that the source of the message has to take careful account of the many ways the audience perceives, interprets and disposes.

In his book “Living with the Rubbish Queen; Telenovelas, Culture and Modernity”, Tufte writes about the role that telenovelas play in the lives of Brazilian women. He quotes Da Silva’s⁵³ reception analysis on television news that led him to the conclusion that telenovelas, despite their distorted and stereotyped expressions, represent true problems, types of problems that are totally absent in telejournalism. The result being that there is more realism in fiction than in journalism, which then becomes the world of fantasy.⁵⁴

Further Tufte refers to Valerio Fuenzalida⁵⁵, who stresses that another element of the relation between media, culture and everyday life is the emotional relationship, which the viewer has to television. Fuenzalida says that especially TV fiction can create substantial emotional involvement in the viewers when they tell stories of everyday life. Recognition is fundamental in creating this identification and subsequently emotional involvement. This type of testimony validates audiences’ daily life.⁵⁶ “The ritual viewing of the daily TV programmes influences the social creation of a feeling of wholeness in everyday life”⁵⁷

Further, Tufte points out that TV can provide the possibility of insight into the non-obvious, the possibility of something different, and in this way helping to create ruptures and shifts in everyday life. It can serve as a stimulant or formulant for dreams and wishes. An example would be the involvement and projection towards a television character that may promote the desire for another (different) life and perhaps in this way stimulate action for change among viewers.

Finally Tufte refers to the reception analysis of the discursive practices of television, the talk about TV among its viewers. This type of analysis contrasts with the analysis of the social uses of television described above, that focuses on interpreting social interaction and factual organization of time, space and social relations as well as the use and consumption of television.⁵⁸ Reception analysis deals with question like identification, how the viewers relate to the characters, with whom

⁵³ Da Silva, Carlos Eduardo Lins, 1985, *Muito alem do Jardim Botânico: Um estudo sobre a audiência do Jornal Nacional da Globo entre trabalhadores*, in Tufte, Thomas, 2000, *Living with the Rubbish Queen; Telenovelas, Culture and Modernity in Brazil*, page, Luton Press, page 21.

⁵⁴ Idem.

⁵⁵ Fuenzalida, Valerio, in Tufte, Thomas, *Living with the Rubbish Queen, Telenovelas, Culture and Modernity in Brazil*, page 38, Luton Press, 2000.

⁵⁶ Idem.

⁵⁷ Tufte, Thomas, *Living with the Rubbish Queen; Telenovelas, Culture and Modernity in Brazil*, page 50, Luton Press 2000.

⁵⁸ Idem.

do they identify and why, and what in the narrative is criticized, or rejected. What attracts attention and how does the audience compare and contrast the telenovela world with their own social world?

One of the conclusions that Tufte draws in his book is that media experiences obtained by watching television can be fundamental in the formation and articulation of identity, as well as in the organization of time space and social relations.

Many edutainment-projects have been judged successful. One of the most known in this genre is Soul City in South Africa, where a soap opera is combined with various other communication methods such as radio, a children's programme, education materials and a web site. Edutainment methods are used in television as well as in print and Internet based media.

Education-entertainment has proved to be a very successful way to, with a participatory approach, use media in order to address social problems. The researchers of the Soul City campaign report that it was successful in terms of affecting knowledge, attitude and practice⁵⁹. Especially knowledge about incorrect social beliefs, such as giving milk to children who have swallowed paraffin, and putting various substances on burns. However it was on the issue on HIV/AIDS that the exposure to Soul City gave the most impressive results. The program was especially effective in helping to dispel myths around how people get HIV/AIDS⁶⁰.

2.1.2 Soul City

Few health education projects have used the media so comprehensively as South Africa's Soul City, a primary health care initiative involving linked TV and radio soap operas in a total of nine languages, a newspaper supplement serialised during the thirteen week run of the radio and TV series, a public relations campaign involving competitions and articles on radio, TV and the newspapers and a multi media educational package aimed at health and educational workers. Not surprisingly, the impact of Soul City has been remarkable: the TV series was the most popular show on South African television and over 50% of black South Africans saw or heard the series.

Soul City is a huge, very ambitious, and equally successful project in South Africa, using participatory communication to address health issues such as HIV/AIDS among numerous other topics as for instance women's rights. It is based in Johannesburg and uses TV and radio as well as other publications to diffuse information on various subjects and stimulate debate. The target group

⁵⁹ CASE, (Community Agency for Social Enquiry), Let the Sky be the limit; Soul City Evaluation Report, Johannesburg, South Africa: Jacana Education, 1995, in Bouman, Martine, The Turtle and the Peacock, 1999, page 99.

⁶⁰ Samuels, T., Stevens, L., Gulati, A., Everatt, D. Learning the easy way; Evaluating Soul City series 2 as edutainment for health, Johannesburg, South Africa; Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) in Bouman, Martine, The Turtle and the Peacock, 1999, page 100.

is the general population and the beneficiaries are estimated to be several millions.⁶¹ Soul City has increasingly come to direct more attention towards the issues of HIV/AIDS, as it is one of the main threats to (South-) African society.

Soul City is a great example of a communication project showing the power of mass media when it comes to social change and how it can contribute to changes in attitude and behaviour. The initial idea was to use the power of the very influential medium of popular entertainment to address various social problems, one of which was HIV/AIDS. The Soul City programmes are thus what is widely referred to as edutainment, which is an enriched version of traditional TV, radio and print. Media is here used as an opportunity to educate, inform and create debate at the same time as it is entertaining, and in this way succeeds in drawing larger audiences. They are popular, designed and produced to air in prime time, rather than in less-viewed educational time slots.

Soul City is one of the most popular programmes in South Africa, the winner of the Avanti award for excellence in educational broadcasting. At least some of the storylines of each of the five series so far have focused on HIV/AIDS. Other health issues featured include mother and child health, diarrhea, rape and violence against women, smoking, disability and alcoholism.

There are many structural and environmental barriers in the way of individuals making healthy choices. Shereen Usdin from Soul City says the need to advocate for healthy public policy, that can help create a supportive environment for behaviour change is vital.⁶²

It is widely acknowledged that media is an efficient and cost-effective way of reaching large, dispersed and often illiterate audiences. The vast majority of South Africans, even in marginalised and remote areas, have access to at least one form of mainstream media approximately 92 percent of South Africans have access to radio, 71 percent to television, and 17 percent read daily newspapers. The use of entertaining programmes to empower people with knowledge, however, is a relatively new concept in South Africa and because of this Soul City has pioneered this edutainment approach contextualising educational messages within a dramatic genre.⁶³

Sue Goldstein, director of research and children's programming at Soul City, says that the main reasons accounting for the enormous success of Soul City is huge attention to process and detail.⁶⁴ She points out that pre-research is done meticulously and that follow up research is made not only to measure results but also in order to further improve and correct any imperfections. The attention given to single messages is thoroughly discussed before actually being formatted in order not to

⁶¹ www.comminit.com/drum_beat_77.html (22.03.02)

⁶² *idem.*

⁶³ www.comminit.com/drum_beat_77.html (22.03.02)

send out a wrong message. For example, when deciding to incite people to go and have their blood pressure checked, a measure taken in order to combat high blood pressure, the initial message had been “Go to a (health) clinic and have your blood pressure checked!” However, after having discussed with the department of health, who pointed out that sending out a message like that would contribute to have all of the health clinics collapsing due to too many patients, the message was finally changed to “When you go to the health clinic, get them to check your blood pressure!”

Goldstein also points out that using mass media is a huge responsibility and brings up another example taken from a rather popular TV drama/soap opera in South Africa linked third in national ratings. This particular show, she says, had a way of glamorizing gangsters, and while the intention was to show how terrible conditions in jail are in order to frighten young people and discourage them, all the attention and discussion around this show ended up being on a rape scene in prison and whether or not it should have been showed on national television, and the show did not achieve its purpose. In other words the content is as important as encouraging people to discuss and enter into debate, says Goldstein. In addition she points out that positive role modeling is incredibly important and, that the scare techniques (shocking theory) that a lot of projects use in order to prevent the spreading of HIV or crime for example is not a good way. This is a comment linked directly to the critique that Soul City has received for being too positive, too happy ending and too “Mickey Mouse land”.

Another characteristic that has made Soul City successful according to Goldstein is that it is a high quality drama show as well as “entertainment as we can afford it” rather than just plain education. This coupled with meticulously done research, makes it an attractive product, and in the case of Soul City, these details allow for a certainty that before going into production that the message is right and that it will reach its target audience.

2.2 Targeting young people through communication

As the global AIDS epidemic grows, so do the number of children and young people devastated by AIDS. 11.8 million young people at age 15-24 are living with HIV/AIDS. Of these 7.3 million are young girls, who are the most vulnerable.⁶⁵ Ignorance about the virus is widespread among young people many of whom do not know how to protect themselves from HIV. Each day, more than 8 000 people under the age of 25 are infected with HIV – that’s five young people a minute, every single day.

⁶⁴ Interviewed in Johannesburg, on November 12th 2002.

⁶⁵ www.unaids.org/youngpeople/Yposter1_en.jpg (19.03.02)

Studies have shown that young people in the age category of 10-24 are most at risk of being infected with the AIDS-virus. In fact, their prevalence rate in Nigeria is almost double that of the rest of the population.⁶⁶

By the end of next year, 13 million children will be orphaned, as they lose their mother or both parents to AIDS.⁶⁷ While the numbers look bleak, there is also hope. Reaching out to children and young people is the most promising strategy for reducing the spread of HIV⁶⁸

The Director General of WHO says: "Young people are at the frontline of the epidemic. They are the most vulnerable to becoming infected...They are also vulnerable in the sense that if parents die, young people become responsible for the care-taking of their families."⁶⁹ Ptere Piot, Executive director of UNAIDS, says their new World AIDS Campaign focuses on young people not only because they are at greater risk but also because they are more open to messages about HIV.⁷⁰ Unlike older people, young people don't have to change their behaviors if they learn healthy and safe habits from the start.

There is a great need to draw attention and mobilize commitment and effort on young people and children, because they are the key to slow down, and control the epidemic, but also because they are the most infected and affected. Young people have the right to knowledge and skills that reduce their vulnerability.⁷¹

Since children hold an important place in society, and are the future generation, there is a need to put a lot of hope and expectations on young people – teenagers and children. In order to fulfill these hopes and expectations a few considerations need to be made as to children and teenagers and their rights and access to media. Stated in International laws on Children and their Rights to media⁷² recommended by among others UNICEF is listed not only the right to free expression for all children and the need for a child to be heard. These directions also call for:

- The need for children to have access to written and electronic material which will promote the facets of a child;⁷³
- The need to shield children from electronic and written material, which interferes with the child in anyway.⁷⁴

⁶⁶ www.comminit.com/pdskdv/22002/sid-4207.htm (18.03.02)

⁶⁷ www.who.int/multimedia/wac/index1.html (19.03.02)

⁶⁸ idem.

⁶⁹ idem.

⁷⁰ idem.

⁷¹ www.unaids.org/youngpeople/Yposter1_en.jpg (19.03.02)

⁷² Shareen Singh, Nisha Naidoo, Sheredeen Usdin; "Childrens Rights and the Media, a resource for journalists", a booklet published by Soul City under the Soul Buddyz projects, 2002.

⁷³ This includes the rights to understand how to, and the ability to protect oneself from infectious diseases such as HIV

Of course, access to all kinds of media, and in particular Internet and access to newspapers and such is made difficult in some regions because of differences in infrastructure, as well as a high level of illiteracy. However, any alternative possibilities should be used fully, taken advantage of and made available, especially popular media such as video and soap operas and other TV shows, as well as radio. There lies a huge possibility in reaching young people using popular media, while addressing different social issues and problems.

2.2.1 Communicating with young people

There really isn't enough communication happening with young people about AIDS. The silence has to be broken and we have to start talking about why young people are in the line of fire of the virus.

Manisha Bharti, Coordinator of UNAIDS World AIDS Campaign says she believes this has a lot to do with the fact that children and young people for a long time have been left out of the discussions and also are not involved in the decisions that affect them.⁷⁵ You can not do behaviour change from the top down. You have to talk to young people, talk to children, and learn from them in order for them to bring out a message that really makes sense.

Presse Jeune in Cameroon is an apolitical, nonpartisan network of youth organizations designed to foster the development of communication among youth. They aim to increase awareness of the role of communication in youth development and improve international cooperation in the area of youth and media. They particularly put their focus on girls and try to stimulate them and their interest in the communication profession and to promote women's image in the media. Their publications include *Rebondir Magazine*, which encourages youth participation in human development and *Agir Magazine*, which focuses on youth health.

There is also a training component to Presse Jeune. In addition to a computer and language training centre, an information centre, a documentation centre (Centre Info Jeune) and an Internet centre, they run workshops as well as a multimedia information centre on HIV/AIDS for young journalists, and a programme for primary and secondary press animators, and a documentation centre on youth in the press.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ generally it is conceived that a child is anyone below the age of 18 years old, but this may vary according to country or region. However, since these are recommendations that are also part of basic human rights as such and thus imply to adults as well as children, there is no need to stress the age limit.

⁷⁵ www.who.int/multimedia/wac/index1.html (19.03.02)

⁷⁶ www.comminit.com/pdskdv22002/sld-4150.html (01.04.02)

There is increasing evidence that targeting young people is becoming a necessary part of any development strategy, as well as paying close attention to gender questions and women's role in society.

Sue Goldstein, director and one of the pioneers at the Soul City Programming, pointed out a few main details that will facilitate the access to young people and facilitate the outreach to a young target audience.⁷⁷

Music is a very important factor, the use of popular music among children and teenagers helps tremendously in catching their attention. According to Goldstein, popular music among young people does not only include hip hop, but also national, traditional music as well as gospel. Of course, a properly done pre research allowing to determine what kind of music the younger generation actually likes, will aid in picking attractive musical formats.

Secondly, using young characters that the (young) audience can relate to is also an important factor. Goldstein underlines the importance of young people having the ability to recognize and being able to identify with the characters. She also states that it is far more useful to show ordinary people than to try to present a non realistic too beautiful and too perfect world with unrealistic characters.

A third factor that plays an important role is the use of local languages. She insists that having a multilingual product is decisive in order to actually reach and touch a lot of children. From the moment they can actually understand everything and see characters speaking their own language, the way they relate is increased majorly. The children in Goldstein's research all vow to love to "see a child like me, and a child who speaks my language..." This relates immediately to questions I asked in Mozambique on language, where many children would demand "can't you make something in my language?"

Finally, Goldstein brings up the issue of addressing emotions and the importance of accessing the inner world of the child. Using fantasy and imagination becomes major tools in helping children to live and express their own emotions. Also, dealing with such things as hopes and dreams are important. Goldstein said the issue has been underlined by various child abuse organizations that have reported that children do not know how to express emotions and that a child's inner world and feelings are significant topics when trying to reach a young audience with questions dealing with relations, sexual health and HIV.

⁷⁷ interviewed in Johannesburg on november 12th 2002

Goldstein also refers to the idea that encouraging children to express or not to express is a very cultural phenomenon, directly linked to whether or not the society has a strong children's rights movement.

2.2.2 Edutainment for youth

According to a recent report done by Inter Media for UNICEF, a study focusing on children's media habits in Eastern Europe and Russia, young people are always seeking an entertainment factor when choosing a media program⁷⁸. Of course the situation in Mozambique, where the actual luxury of choosing is not available to everyone, is different. However it still underlines the idea that this particular age group is looking for entertainment.

Various examples can be found where edutainment is used to inform young people. A couple of projects that are successfully using the edutainment genre to educate and inform young people about HIV/AIDS are South Africa's already mentioned television series Soul City as well as the youth program Love Life.

Soul City is the largest and most experienced project, that has now been running close to ten years and is estimated to put around 70% of its total budget on HIV/AIDS work. In 2000 Soul City launched the series Soul Buddyz aimed directly at a target group of children between 8 and 12 years old.⁷⁹

Love Life was launched in 1999 and describes itself as being a deliberate departure from traditional HIV/AIDS prevention and is targeting an audience between 12 and 17 years old. In a report written by Nancy Coulson, statistics show that this kind of programming reach a large number of young people and the numbers given estimate that 69% of young people watch TV five or more days a week in South Africa,⁸⁰ and an estimated 60% of the rural youth has access to these programs and are regularly watching them.⁸¹

2.2.3 Soul Buddyz

Soul Buddyz, is a program geared directly at young teenagers and children and produced by the makers of Soul City, consists of a television drama, broadcasted weekly on South Africa's most popular channel, as well as a radio-cum-drama series broadcasted weekly in four of the eleven South African official languages., including the BBC International broadcast. Finally it

⁷⁸ http://www.comminit.com/pdf/intermedia_YPMN.pdf, (2002.12.04)

⁷⁹ http://www.comminit.com/pdf/HIV-AIDS_south_africa_campaigns_report.pdf (Development in the use of mass media at the national level for HIV/AIDS prevention in South Africa, a report written by Coulson, Nancy)

⁸⁰ idem

⁸¹ idem

comprehends a print support in the form of Life Skills materials for children at grade 7 level of schooling. There is also a parenting booklet raising the issues related to the topics, in the series. The parenting booklet is mainly distributed through the newspapers. The series made its debut in august 2000.⁸²

Soul Buddyz seems to have had remarkably positive outcomes over the short term, both in terms of scope and depth of outcome. The popularity of the programme and nature of the impact are in many respects comparable to that of Soul City. The results that have been documented on research made on the impact of Soul Buddyz further reinforce the growing body of evidence of the power of mass media edutainment in the field of health and development. In the long term, impact of this type of programming seems to have the potential to effect powerful change in a future generation of youths., and adults. Among boys and girls aged 11-13 years old exposed to Soul Buddyz were more likely to agree with a statement such as « boys and girls are equal » than children without exposure to Soul Buddyz.⁸³

To the statement “a person has to have sex with their boyfriend/girlfriend to show they love them”, a majority of he children exposed to Soul Buddyz disagreed compared to more than half of the children without exposure agreed with this statement.

More than three quarters of he children exposed to Soul Buddyz knew what HIV/AIDS was while among those without exposure only a little over half knew what it was. Also, among those exposed to Soul Buddyz, the parents and the children were more likely to discuss HIV/AIDS than those without access to Soul Buddyz.

Finally, among children having discussed HIV/AIDS with a teacher, the mention of use of condom as a way of preventing HIV/AIDS is far more prevalent than among those not having discussed the topic with their teacher.⁸⁴

Sue Goldstein⁸⁵ comments that the media literacy among children is far higher than among adults, especially compared to the older generation. While older people tend to believe everything they see, children read media much better, and know how to interpret and adapt the messages seen or heard. This underlines the theory that in order to reach children with social messages the power of media cannot be underestimated, and the attractiveness of edutainment in order to reach this particular group is evident.

⁸² Shaping the Future. The Soul Buddys experience. Evaluation report., page 18, published by Soul City, Institute for Health and Development Communication, 2002.

⁸³ Idem. Page 11.

⁸⁴ Idem. Page12-13

⁸⁵ Interviewed in Johannesburg on november 12th 2002

2.3 Video as edutainment

The discussion of a "third way" in development, growing in the 1970s and 1980s and especially in the 1990s coincides within audience research in Media Studies and the development of reception theory. Reception theory in Media Studies appears parallel with a lot of the thinking in sociology, notably in Anthony Giddens's structuration theory.⁸⁶ The main point made by reception theory is that it balances active audience reception within the structural condition of society and the media.

In reception studies of the 1980s and the 1990s an increased recognition of melodrama, of TV fiction, especially soap-operas has grown in the academia, leading to numerous studies of how soap-operas are used and understood by their audiences.⁸⁷

The Canadian Filmboard was active during the 1970s and published the magazine "Access" (now defunct), which promoted the use of audiovisual media by community groups. One issue, for example, was devoted to a video and film project with Eskimos in Alaska. The main article (Kennedy, 1973) describes in detail how villagers in the Yukon region were involved in the shooting, editing and distribution of the film, suggesting the emancipatory potential of the medium.⁸⁸

While it is important to weigh the pros and cons of any medium, in many situations the choice is a given, due to specific field circumstances. Video as a medium is not at the time a very widely used tool for spreading information, and has until now been used mostly in situations where people film their own lives and debate on the issues which they are confronted with. In this sense, the idea of using video to diffuse social messages is not only a fairly new technique, but also an interesting approach as the content can be adapted to particular problems depending on region or area, and considering the popularity of the medium.

One example of how video can be used for development goals is Maxambomba in Brazil, a development project using video as main tool for influence. Maxambomba was created 1986 as the Popular Video Project, but changed its name to TV Maxambomba by 1990. Maxambomba was the name given to slaves who once carried farm products to boats heading for the capital. Not only has the name changed, the project has also developed a large presence in the region, a better understanding of social events, and an opening towards community participation in the communication process. TV Maxambomba spends more time in the streets, in public squares, schools and open markets, in every place where 200 to 300 people gather to watch the public

⁸⁶ Giddens, Anthony (1984) *The Constitution of Society*. Polity press.

⁸⁷ Tufte, Thomas.(2001)*Entertainment -Education and Participation*. Assessing the Communication Strategy of Soul City./*Journal of International Communication*. Sydney.

⁸⁸ Jensen, Klaus Bruhn and Jankowski, Nicholas W (1991) *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research.*, London and New York, Routledge.

screenings. Aided by a video projector and an old Volkswagen mini-bus bought with support from NOVIB, the main funding agency, TV Maxambomba increasingly became a people-driven project. "TV Maxambomba uses video to record the experiences of local people, appraise what is done by grassroots or community organisations, and brings information necessary to the understanding of people's rights. It also produces videos on local culture and programmes for children."⁸⁹

Another example is Marupakkam, an organisation working in Madurai, India. They are attempting to arrange video tours on development issues with short and feature films and documentaries in Tamilnadu. Voluntary organisations, action groups, people's movements, trade unions, political parties, educational institutions, interested groups and individuals either by going alone or combining with other local agencies can organise such tours in their field areas. Marupakkam will coordinate the tour with a video projector, the films, reading materials and a team of facilitators.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ www.comminit.com/11-342-case_studies/sid596.html (2002-02-18))

⁹⁰ www.comminit.com

3. Video projection in Mozambique

3.1 Mozambique

Mozambique was listed 6th from the bottom on the UN human development index in 2001⁹¹. The country has been ravaged by independence war (only in 1974 Mozambique became independent, late compared to other ex-colonies.) and then civil war. Heavily mined, although much of them have now been cleared, and lacking in infrastructure, this large country is full of contrasts. The north does not resemble the south and its capital Maputo, which is a bustling and economically happening Big City, geographically close to neighboring South Africa, and Johannesburg. Due to problematic roads and infrastructure, transport of goods from the capital to the northern provinces prove to be time consuming and expensive, and the rural north and central parts of the country do not enjoy the same level of development or access to information and health institutions as the southern parts of the country that have benefited more from economic investment and renovation. However the main problem with the same kind of strategy in a country like Mozambique is that infrastructure is completely different and the majority of people, young and old, do not have access to regular TV programs. Therefore the idea of using video that can be kept running even without access to electricity with the help of generators is revolutionary. Of course the idea of video is not in any way new, it has been widely used in participatory projects around the globe, but the idea to actually on purpose distribute videos with recorded edutainment programs containing HIV/AIDS messages is rather new.

Other recent media projects in Mozambique include Media Action International's radio project in an urgency situation and UNESCO'S creation of a community radio.

After the devastating floods of february 2000 in Mozambique, Media Action International designed a project to improve information services to affected people. Illiteracy and lack of infrastructure alone rendered radio the only viable choice for an emergency project.⁹² The main activities included the distribution of over 7000 Freeplay clockwork/solar powered radios, and a daily half hour broadcast by en emergency broadcasting unit set up within Radio Mozambique. Initially the programme focused on the immediate information needs of the affected population and the response of government and aid agencies to their plight.

UNESCO is one of several development partners working to support the establishment of community radio in Mozambique. They are supporting four on-air stations, the creation of a

⁹¹ http://www.undp.org/hdr2001/indicator/indic_10_1_1.html, (07.01.03)

⁹² Hieber, Loretta (2001) Lifeline Media: Reaching Populations in crisis. A guide to developing media projects in conflict situations, Media Action International.

women's community radio network and a national coordination forum for community radio, as well as working to establish eight new community radio stations. This is part of UNESCO's "Strengthening Democracy & Governance through Development of the Media in Mozambique" project.⁹³ The community radio stations are being set up with the purpose of serving the communities in which they reside with information, training, education and entertainment. Through public surveys undertaken by radio volunteers, the communities have been asked what programmes they would most like to hear, and the times and languages of broadcast. According to the research, listeners overall would prefer to hear news broadcasts, educational themes, recreational programmes, radio drama, comedies, programmes on women, children and young people, agriculture, livestock sport and radio debates.

Part of the communication strategy of local stations is to include a significant presence in the broadcast of the communities themselves, through letters, live debates, taped interviews, phone-ins or other methods which allow listeners to have their names or voices heard through the radio.⁹⁴ Since there is a high rate of illiteracy in Mozambique, and only a quarter of the population speaks the common language, Portuguese, at a level sufficient to follow and fully understand a radio broadcast news bulletin in that language, a lot of effort was put into minimizing the vulnerability and ensure sustainable functioning of the community radio stations.

3.1.1 HIV/AIDS in Mozambique

Mozambique is a poor, mainly rural country, with few or not very developed infrastructures. Although the isolating effects of ten years of civil war kept HIV rates lower than in the neighboring countries for some time, Mozambique is still one of the hardest hit countries in Africa. 1999 statistics indicate that 1,2 million people are carriers of the HIV virus, that is 10-14 % of the adult population. This will reduce the life expectancy to 37 years and there are 50 newborns infected with the HIV virus every day.⁹⁵ Most at risk are young people between the ages of 18 and 29⁹⁶, and the most vulnerable are females, due to the existence of violence and women's perilous situation.⁹⁷ The literacy rate is very low, and this becomes a problem when it comes to spreading information through media, as well as trying to address social problems.

⁹³ www.unesco.org/webworld/projects/africa/mozambique.htm (25.03.02)

⁹⁴ www.comminit.com/pds11-2001/sid3571.html (19.03.02)

⁹⁵ www.synergyaids.org/files.fcgi/546_Mozambique.PDF (2002-02-24)

⁹⁶ www.caa.org.au/parliament/forums/fight_aids/reports.html (2002-02-24)

⁹⁷ www.caa.org.au/world/health/hiv/study/#cultural (2002-02-25)

3.2 Video with social messages

In the old days, people in the villages in Mozambique used to see films through mobile cinema. But mobile cinema is expensive and time consuming. One fully equipped car can only project in one village on one night. Meanwhile thousands of small businessmen and women have invested in a video and television set and a solar power unit or generator and are making their living by projecting films. There is an enormous possibility here. Through these small "video canteens" thousands of communities can be reached in a single night. Until now what has been most widely available for these small entrepreneurs has been porno films and Rambo...

However there is a large attraction in watching films. A large part of the population has seen nothing of Mozambique, not only in rural places but also in the cities. The audiences are hungry to travel their own society on the screen and here lies a huge potential for using video as a method to diffuse messages. According to Bert Sonnenschein, project director for FilmAfrik, these audiences have no access to any other form of media except radio. The audience would also be hard to reach with other forms of (print-) media since the majority is poorly educated and for most of the part illiterate. In Mozambique only 40% of the population is literate.⁹⁸

3.2.1 Iris Imaginações project FilmAfrik

A new idea comes from the organisation Iris Imaginações. They have launched FilmAfrik, an ambitious project to distribute African films made by African filmmakers and at the same time addressing problems that are real and existing to these people. This product not only helps to spread a social message, educate and at the same time entertain, but also opens up for debate and promotes problem solving by the communities themselves.

FilmAfrik use the already existing "video cantinas" run by local business owners or stores to diffuse films made by African filmmakers addressing reality in Africa of today. These films are made by Mozambiquans as well as other Africans and in this way introduce a great opportunity for these films to reach African audiences as well as an occasion for the filmmakers to be seen by their own people. FilmAfrik also offers an opportunity to promote their products among the large majority of the population not reached by other media. To the government and non-profit sector it offers the possibility to spread social messages through a popular medium, since the project also involves a documentary part at each screening.

Finally it upgrades the (film-) businesses of the African cinemas, thus drawing new audiences into the cinema by offering quality films.

⁹⁸ www.ui.se/ (2002-02-25)

Iris Imaginações project FilmAfrik's main mission is to "inform the uninformed while entertaining development"⁹⁹. FilmAfrik is also teaming up Soul City, based in nearby Johannesburg, in order to regionalize its popular edutainment products and bring it across the Mozambiquan border. This project is particularly interesting due to its use of video since this not only is a relatively cheap method, but also a popular form of entertainment and a great way to reach out to all levels of the population. The slogan of the FilmAfrik project is "African films, for African people in African cinemas".

At the time of research, only two of the films part of the project FilmAfrik had been distributed. One of these two, *A Guerra de Agua*, has been omitted from the research for two reasons, the first being that the subject theme/topic deals with water access questions, thus it is not compatible with this study that looks at how video can be used to inform youth about HIV/AIDS and create debate among these. The second reason is because the film has been shot in a local language spoken in the northern parts of the Inhambane Province, making it very hard for anyone not originating from these parts of Mozambique to understand, as they are limited to understand the story only through images.

The other film *Cartão Amarelo* (also referred to as *Cartão*) is a Zimbabwean film, which has been dubbed into Portuguese and distributed by FilmAfrik.

The main movie of the project FilmAfrik has to be seen as *Cartão Amarelo*. The project is set to distribute its third movie, *As Pitas*, during the month of December 2002. *Cartão Amarelo* was also without a doubt the most popular film among the ones that were included in my research and that I projected where I was given the possibility to do so. In all, it turned out to be the overall most popular, most successful and most viewed film among the ones distributed. The movie, which was an originally English speaking Zimbabwean film, earlier a box office hit not only in its country of origin, but also in other African English speaking countries where it has been distributed, has been dubbed into Portuguese and then distributed across most of the country, although sales numbers show that it does not sell as well in the two southernmost provinces Maputo and Gaza, and that sales are at their highest in the Manica and Sofala Provinces. A possible explanation for this may be that that these two regions are more urban, more centralized, close to Maputo and probably have a much larger selection, and distribution of other films, offering a wider choice to the audience.

⁹⁹ Sonnenschein Bert, (2001)Projectreport, Filmafrik..Iris Imaginações, page.4.

3.2.2 Steps For the Future

The South African Project Steps for the Future¹⁰⁰ includes a unique collection of films from seven different countries in Southern Africa. It is a collection of positive, provocative, humorous and brave – unusual stories about how individuals are coping with their lives and how societies have to change under the impact of HIV/AIDS. Some of these stories are narrative documentaries, short films, investigative stories and public service announcements. During my study I picked three of the films that were made in Mozambique and projected them at various different cantinas, where people had either already seen *Cartão Amarelo* from FilmAfrik, or co-projected one of the Steps films as well as *Cartao*. None of the Steps films had been previously projected in any official setting in Mozambique at the time of research.

3.2.3 Summary of the four films

Cartão Amarelo (FilmAfrik)

By John Riber , Media for Development International, 97 minutes.

Tiyane, 17 years old is about to turn into a hero. Rising star of the local football team the “Hyenas”, the oldest son and an exemplary student in secondary school, he is on the border of success. But the game of life is difficult to play. Hormones are boiling and all of the girls want a piece of Tiyane – especially his neighbor Linda since she is pregnant...

Tiyane enters the game, but there are things he did not count on: how to explain himself to Julieta, and that he is going to become a father. When he tries to escape from the chaos of love, passionate and disillusioned, he finally has to accept that he is a father.

Cartão Amarelo is a story about love, and the passion for life and football. It brings up questions like teenage pregnancy, HIV/AIDS and sexual responsibility.

Night Stop (Steps)

By Licinio Azevida, Ebano Multimedia, Mozambique, 52 minutes.

In central Mozambique lies the Night Stop, Tete Province, a major long distance trucking route, where more than 30% of the population are HIV positive. This film tackles the problem of sex workers, such as migration and the power men have over women. Shot mostly at night, it contains a series of interwoven stories about the lives of women who wait for the arrivals of truck drivers at an overnight trucking station. Three groups of sex workers, the “Calamites”, the “Students” and the “Founding Members”, vie for business, disappearing into the drivers’ trucks, which are cheaper

¹⁰⁰ see: <http://www.steps.co.za>

than renting rooms. In this world, even though activists distribute condoms free, you can earn more by having unprotected sex.

Dancing on the Edge (Steps)

By Karen Boswall, Catembe Productions, Mozambique, 40 minutes.

Dancing on the Edge is set in rural Mozambique, where gender roles and poverty influence the fight to contain the spread of AIDS. A young HIV positive mother, Antonietta, despite working as an AIDS councillor, takes her healthy daughter to a remote village for initiation to sexuality through a traditional ritual. Antonietta struggles with the contradictions of maintaining traditional customs while adapting to the reality of the modern world. All of her three other children are HIV positive as well.

A Miner's Tale – O Mineiro (Steps)

By Nic Hofmeyer and Gabriel Mondlane, Cool Production Company/Uhuru Productions, Mozambique /SouthAfrica, 40 minutes.

Joachim is a migrant laborer who is torn between his responsibilities for his junior wife in South Africa and his senior wife and family in Mozambique. When visiting his home village after a long absence, he is also torn between his understanding of the responsibilities of his HIV positive status, whether to reveal this or not, and what traditional society expects of him as a man. He also has to make a choice: he cannot please and protect everybody at the same time. What will he choose to do?

3.3 Distribution

The way FilmAfrik functions is that distribution of videos is done by the organization PSI (Population Services International) also responsible for distributing and selling condoms. PSI is responsible for the national campaign for Jeito, Mozambique's national contraceptive brand.

Each province has a representative and many regional collaborators. Usually a regional representative coming from a specific region would be familiar with not only its particular local language(s), but also with the region itself as well as the local cantinas.

While offering to sell Jeito in whatever region, this person has the possibility of buying a video from FilmAfrik (available at the provincial PSI office) at a price fixed below market value, 20 000 Mts. or the equivalent of about 1 US\$. He or she can then sell the video to a local cantina

owner at four times the price, which is equivalent to market value, 80 000 Mtc. or 4 US\$, which will enable him or her to invest in another four videos.

This system seemed to work over all well, apart from a few mishappenings. One fact is that with the distribution is depending on private individuals, with different economic and social situations and backgrounds, one person may find it difficult to cover geographically, but also in time a specific region, while someone else with a different situation has no problem in connecting with each and every cantina in the region where he or she is working. This will of course affect the distribution as a whole since it makes it uneven. On another hand, the opportunity to participate and the business opportunity that it presents to each individual taking part is equal. There is no discrimination as to sex, age or education, nor to economic or social background in order to participate.

I also frequently ran into the problem of cantinas not having received any offer whatsoever of buying the film(s), even though they reportedly had received one. Whether this was a misunderstanding or miscommunication is hard to judge. To get to the bottom of this problem would involve actually contacting local representatives and have them physically accompany you to each sight (cantina) where they reported having sold the video.

Most of the cantinas that I visited were in semi urban to rural areas, with semi-urban being suburbs, or "bairros" situated in the outskirts of a main provincial capital and the rural ones being represented by more or less off the road desolate villages...

These cantinas all had different infrastructure available depending on economic situations. Some of the films were shown under a tree or in other types of "open air cinemas", while others seemed to be fully equipped cinemas in an urban setting, with large screens and seating on regular chairs. However the majority turned out to be small huts, often made out of mud, but sometimes of brick, equipped with a video and a TV and seating on wooden boards and on the ground. These huts would normally be the size of a western size bedroom, say 8-24 square meters. The number of people attending a screening could range from a dozen to more than a hundred, with an average around 50-80 people. The size of the actual cinema did not seem to have any implications whatsoever as to how many could actually fit into the cinema. In a large hangar like cinema in Gondola, Manica province, a building initially being the meeting place for the "clube ferroviario" had about 12 people watching an American war movie when I visited on a Wednesday at 10.30 in the morning. In the same village, "Projecção Wutang" held by two brothers José and Antonio João, a place not bigger than 10 square meters and made out of mud with no other seating than a few wooden boards attracted more than 80 people on an un-announced screening of *Dancing on the Edge*, the same day, at noon. This shows the popularity of the medium and also the general

accessibility. The audience ranged between 0 and 25, with the majority being 8-16 years old. The reason babies were present during projections is that the girls that did come to watch the films usually carried a least one child with them, the youngest most often being a baby of less than a year old.

A cantina would normally screen a film at least once a day, but most of them had several screenings, usually three: one at noon, one in the late afternoon and one at night. However some of the cantinas visited reported projecting up to six or seven films a day, starting at 8.00 a.m.

When it comes to types of films normally viewed there was a predominance of Asian fight-movies and American war movies. Other types of films included porn, music videos and other types of action movies. Most of these films would not be dubbed into Portuguese, but rather subtitled, and the fact that most people are not able to read, either because they are illiterate, or because they can not read the subtitles fast enough, seem to be one of the reasons why the preferred films containing some kind of physical action, making it easier to understand than a drama.

In Mancia, (the village) in the Manica province, close to the Zimbabwean border, the children that I spoke to had seen *Cartão Amarelo* a few months earlier (June). However at the time of research there had been no projections the last few weeks, and i could not project any of the other movies since the cantinas were all closed after an order from the mayor. Asking the children what the reason for this was they said that he had closed it in order to keep them from going o the cinema inn order to concentrate on their studies instead. In Mozambique, the end of the school year, including the final exams is generally in November/December. According to the children, the cantinas would be opened again as soon as the final exams were over.

Even if the intentions of the mayor were good, it is a pity that a popular medium and possibly the only way of receiving information apart from news, and outside of the school curriculum, would be closed since it apparently turned out to be a very important activity among these children. Secondly it shows that the use of video in rural villages to inform, educate and create debate among young people about social issues is a very successful initiative.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Interviews

According to the provincial representatives of PSI (Public Service Information), the organisation responsible for distributing Jeito condoms as well as the films produced by FilmAfrik, the number of people coming to one promotional show of the films can sometimes exceed 500. However, when using the film for educational purposes, there is usually a limit of 25 people in mixed groups of boys and girls. These boys and girls are usually between 13 and 20 years old. The screenings are always followed by discussions with a monitor and introduced by a general round talk, introducing the topics and themes. The impact of the films has been very positive so far, with the audience showing a great interest in the films as well as discussion and participating in the discussions afterwards. Generally the feeling was that the teenagers were seemingly more comfortable to discuss issues like sex, HIV/AIDS and pregnancy after having watched the film *Cartao Amarelo*.

PSI also uses educational films produced by the Institute for Social Communication¹⁰¹ in Beira. However comments from several distributors suggest that these type of films are less popular, draw less of an audience and that it is directly linked to the quality of the film in terms of technical presentation and dramatic content.

This would imply that an important point in order to reach the audience is for the film to have an entertainment value, to be high quality drama and to be varied when it comes to cinematographic work, with a technically sufficient and attractive format.

Sr. Arnao, Provincial AIDS coordinator, of the governmental Provincial AIDS Office in Chimoio, Manica¹⁰² also confirmed the popularity of the film *Cartao Amarelo*, and informed that his office often used it for promotional purposes and as part of the national campaign to sensibilise people about HIV/AIDS. The Provincial AIDS Office works primarily with the prevention of the spread of HIV/AIDS by the distribution of condoms, information and education, but also try to spread the message how to live positively with HIV/AIDS. Lisa Naegele, director of the HIV/AIDS section of GTZ regional office in Chimoio, another organisation working to educate people how to live positively with HIV/AIDS, also confirmed having used *Cartao Amarelo* as well as films coming from the Institute for Social Communication. She too, notices a preference among the audience towards a film like *Cartao Amarelo* and credits the entertainment value of the film for attracting a larger audience.

¹⁰¹ Instituto de Comunicacao Social,

¹⁰² Interviewed on october 1st 2002, in Chimoio, Manica.

The PSI regional representative in Nampula, would like to see more regular people portrayed in the films. He says that if people can relate to the characters in the films it will have more of an impact and they will take things more at heart.

Tufte¹⁰³ mentions the use of anti heroes and the role they can play in order for people to identify with characters in telenovelas. He refers to Ismael Fernandes who writes: "...the anti hero takes over the role so far filled by characters who were sensible honest and upright, able to handle any situation to save the heroine from misfortunes of all kinds. The character and the virtue of the main role approximates to that of ordinary people."¹⁰⁴

All children asked about *Cartao Amarelo* liked it. Not one single respondent was negative towards this film. The reasons they liked it were primarily because they found it funny, they liked learning about relationships and they liked seeing people like themselves. Also they mentioned liking to see social issues presented in an attractive manner and learning about "girls, boys and sex". However this film would have a few question marks when it comes to message as well as not corresponding exactly to what the female part of the audience is requesting.

The message of the film regarding teenage pregnancy and responsibility in relation to gender questions could be questioned since it shows the main character leaving his baby to be cared for by his mother while he goes back to play football. However since this topic does not fall completely within my research, I have omitted to discuss the possible reactions and impact that this detail might have.

The second issue would be that many of the girls participating in the research mentioned that they were missing stories talking about girls, requesting films where the main characters would be female, where girls would be heroes, and films showing female role models. The third film that will be distributed by FilmAfrik during at the end of the year 2002, might be able to fill this gap to some extent. It is called *As Pitas* (the Girls) and is the story of four girlfriends and their lives.

Reactions to the film *Dancing on the Edge* included positive views as to *learning about cultures and traditions that are part of their own society, as well as to learn how to prevent disease and to prevent young people from having sex too early...*

¹⁰³ Tufte, Thomas, *Living with the Rubbish Queen, Telenovelas, Culture and Modernity in Brazil*, page 102, Luton Press, 2000.

¹⁰⁴ Fernandes Ismael, *Memoria da Telenovela Brasileira, 1982, Proposta, Sao Paulo* in Tufte, Thomas, *Living with the Rubbish Queen; Telenovelas, Culture and Modernity in Brazil*, page 102, Luto Press, 2000.

The film also seemed to provoke ideas about HIV/AIDS, one respondent commented: *This film shows us how having unprotected sex can change the course of your life in a devastating way...*

All respondents always commented on liking a film that is funny or humorous. The smaller children, 4-9 years old, actually said they preferred to have seen *Cartao Amarelo* when I screened *Dancing on the edge*. There seems to be a huge potential in laughter and the idea of using comic relief in order not only to attract an audience but also to introduce sensitive topics such as HIV/AIDS, sex and teenage pregnancy.

The owner of the cantina Clube Ferroviario in Gondola, Manica province said that the cultural understanding of *Cartao Amarelo* is greater than of other films regularly projected in the cantina. The other films referred to were mostly kung fu movies and war movies. He referred to the fact that other movies showed a western, or non-African society and Caucasian (white) or Asian people while *Cartao Amarelo* was attractive because of its close cultural content, and enabled the audience to identify to a larger extent with the characters.

Another cantina owner in Gondola, at the Mosesa market, also said that his audience largely preferred the “Tiyane movie” (*Cartao Amarelo*). Apart from *Cartao Amarelo*, the most popular movies here too were war, karate, and other types of action movies as well as music. He also stated that the reason why so many young people preferred watching action movies to dramas was because of it being easier to relate to than dialogues in a cultural setting they could not identify with.

The children at this cantina, stated that they “... like to be informed, and like to be educated while watching a film...”. They also asked for more films in the genre of *Cartao Amarelo*, and stated “...it is easier to relate to the people in *Cartao Amarelo* than in other films...” One girl said, “...The Tiyane film educates a lot because it describes a real situation...”

When asked what types of films they would like to see, they responded that they would like to see “dream films”, or films that enable you to dream and experience something else.

Many people said that they understood the language OK, if it was spoken Portuguese, but that they would prefer to have films that were dubbed into their local language. The younger children admitted to not reading subtitles and only looking at images if the film was not in either Portuguese or their local language.

One 19-year-old boy in Pemba said that “...this type of films helps a lot to slowly change the way people think about HIV and sex...”

The PSI representative in Nampula, Salis Pedro, also confirmed that *Cartao Amarelo* is a very popular film, especially among the younger audience, as well as it being used frequently in screenings in conjunction with another educational film on HIV/AIDS called “Epidimia silenciosa”.

He says they project the films in schools as well as in clinics and hospitals. The screenings are always followed by a discussion or debate on HIV. According to Saliis, women that come to the screenings, participate less in the discussions and answer less questions than the men. He says the reason for this is not that the women know less about the subject but rather that they are not comfortable to speak in front of men.

Salis thinks that there should be more films about regular people living with HIV/AIDS and criticizes the film *Night Stop* for showing a picture of HIV that is too marginalized. He says that this film portrays prostitutes and “camionistas” (truck drivers) as being the most vulnerable group and thinks that it may be sending the wrong message to “regular” people. “...Maybe they will think that only promiscuous persons can get HIV...” He says it would be good to show films with ordinary people living with HIV, or getting infected with HIV, and especially people that have a higher status in society, like a government employee with many women, to show that nobody is untouchable. He also brings up the subject of drugs and underlines that those who are drug users are twice as vulnerable to being infected with HIV, and that this too should be brought up.

In “Cantina Barraca Kakhoussane, in bairro Muhaivire, in the outskirts of Nampula, the audience is very young, starting at four, five years old going up to around twenty, but with a majority of the children being around 10-12 years old. The audience is made up of predominately boys, but a dozen girls also come to the screenings. These children say that the films they prefer are Chinese karate movies, or music videos. Prior to my screening of *Cartao Amarelo*, none in the audience had seen it before with the exception of Molnar, the owner Sra. Amina, Muinica’s 9-year old son. He confirmed to having seen the film once in a friends house, several months earlier, and could retell the story as if he was reading the script!

Across the street from Barraca Kakhoussane is another cantina, owned by a young couple. It is called “Cine o orelhao”. The owners, Ibilo 20, and Angela 24, said that they show mostly fight movies and refer to the fact that even if you do not have to understand the context if there is physical (action) movies everyone can understand. They also said that before buying a film they look mainly at the cover, and point out that this is the way the audience too select films. During my screenings the cantina was packed with men of all ages, but mostly around 14 – 20, and only six or seven women and young girls came in to watch. However, they tended to run in and out, stay for five minutes, and then leave for half an hour and come back. They always carried at least one baby, and usually had another two or three children trotting behind. Even the very young girls (there were only two, Mariama, 5 years old and Ana, 6) that stayed for the entire projection, both had a younger sibling to look after that they either kept on their lap or in front on the floor.

The screening of *Cartao Amarelo* brought out bursts of laughter in this audience. The cantina was packed and I counted to over 120 people in the small brick house. They were so involved they even stood up on some places, and cried out loud their views and reactions.

4.2 Views on the films

When it comes to types of films normally viewed there was a predominance of Asian fight-movies and American war- movies. Other types of films included porn, music videos and other types of action movies. Most of these films would not be dubbed into Portuguese, but rather subtitled, and the fact that most people are not able to read Portuguese, either because they are illiterate, or because they can not read the subtitles fast enough, seem to be one of the reasons why the preferred films containing some kind of physical action, making it easier to understand than a drama.

4.2.1 Preferences

When asking males and females about their preferences, the tendency was for males to prefer the types of films generally projected (see above), while females expressed an interest in movies that bring up more social situations, relations, and drama, "real life" as they know it and films with an educational message. However, when projecting the films from either FilmAfrik or Steps for the Future, teenage boys were actually very positive towards films with a social message, and only the very young ones (4-9) preferred seeing "action movies". The movie *Cartão Amarelo* being an exception and proving to be the overall most popular film. When asked about the reasons for it being so popular most respondents referred to its attractive format, storyline, the topics (football, teenage pregnancy, relations, dating, HIV etc) as well as it being a film with a lot of humorous moments. The audience, whether female or male, young or old, always enjoy a good laugh, it brings people together and opens up for discussion.

According to McGee, humor can provide an emotional "slap in the face", drawing attention and interest back to the program¹⁰⁵ It can also be used as a tension reduction to tackle an uncomfortable issue, and to break the viewers resistance to deal with an educational issue.¹⁰⁶

During the individual interviews I asked what kind of film the respondents would like to see if they could choose freely and pick topics and characters as they wished, and what kind of film they would make if they were the director. The boys' answers corresponded more to the type of films already available, including the films that I projected, with a preference for films that showed

¹⁰⁵ McGee, P.E. Toward the integration of Entertainment and Educational Functions of Television: The roel of humour, 1980, in Bouman, Martine, *The Turtle and the Peacock*, 1999, page 85.

heroes to "look up to " and subjects like football or other sports, films that make you laugh as well as films containing information, and culturally specific educational details. As an example can be mentioned that many boys after the screening of *Dancing on the Edge* expressed interest in learning about customs that were part of their own culture that they were not very familiar with.

The girls expressed a larger interest in seeing movies with a social context, stories of relationships, and stories reflecting their own daily lives, as well as personalities and characters that they could identify with. But the main difference was that the girls demand films showing powerful females in the leading roles, films having influential and successful women as positive role models. One girl said she would like to see stories of "women doing good things, like a teacher or a lawyer", and another said "there is not enough female role models as main characters in the movies, they are always secondary to the main, hero who is always a man". The same girl also said she would like to see films "featuring women, to show the men that women are capable too". One woman, 22 years old, said she would like to see a film where a woman would prove to be stronger than the man/men.

Out of the films that are part of the "Steps for the future" project, the one that received the most positive reactions was "O mineiro" (A miner's tale). One girl said that this was the movie that seemed most real, and that it "...showed regular people, with common problems..."

One boy in Pemba said about *Cartao Amarelo* that "...this film is good because it explains to us in an attractive way how to take care and protect yourself in life and relations..."

The children in Pemba said that some of the movie theatres were too expensive. According to them some of the other cantinas in the region charged 25000 Meticaís (= \$1) compared to the usual 500-1000 Metcaís.

Some of them said that they thought that the films should be free; otherwise it does not reach everyone. "...If you are really poor you cannot afford to spend even 500 Meticaís for a film..."

All children and teenagers interviewed said that they preferred films that made them laugh.

"...I like to see funny movies so I forget reality for a while..."

"...I prefer a film where I can laugh, I feel better afterwards..."

"...I think people relax and listen more when there is humour in the film..."

4.2.2 Provoking discussion

When asked whether the type of films that bring social messages in an entertainment package like *Cartão Amarelo* or the other films that are part of the Steps for the Future project, initiate and stimulate discussion afterwards answers were mixed. Some of the actual cantina owners said that

¹⁰⁶ Singhal, A, Entertainment, Education and Social change, unpublished draft of book manuscript, Athens, Ohio, in Bouman Martine, *The Turtle and the Peacock*, 1999, page 85.

there was no additional discussion of the subjects brought up in the films afterwards and that the audience left and went home after the screenings. However when asking the audience itself it turned out that a majority of them did discuss the topics of the films, but in more private settings. That is to say that there would be no general discussion after the screening including the whole audience unless it had been organized by a particular organization or in some other educational setting, but rather within peer groups and even family units people do discuss the content of the film. Generally though, the children asked said that they in no way would discuss these topics (sex, HIV, teenage pregnancy) with their parents, but that they often did so with their friends, sisters and brothers, and with girl-friends and boy-friends.

Some of the boys in Pemba said that they talked to their sisters and brothers about the themes in *Cartao Amarelo*, but that it would be impossible to speak to their parents about those things.

Sergio Silva¹⁰⁷, Filmmaker and photographer as well as coordinator of GESOM¹⁰⁸, Grupo de Educação Social de Manica, a NGO based in Chimoio, Manica Province, confirms having used *Cartão Amarelo* in many screenings across the province and says that it is always well received and that people like it a lot. He said that usually GESOM will screen their films and propose a group discussion directly afterwards, but even in the cases that the film was just screened as part of a cinematic program, there tended to be a lot of debate and reactions to the film between people. The films are seen not only by young people but also by community leaders and elders. Silva said the film *Cartão Amarelo* was a perfect instigator to discussion, especially since it brings up many of the most important questions that young people are facing today (teenage pregnancy, parenthood, HIV/AIDS, relationships and dating) but doing so in a very attractive package (football and the story of a few friends still in school coupled with a rapid tempo and popular music). He also informed that many people had asked to copy or buy the film showing a large interest as well as it filling a gap.

Silva's only critique to the film was the Portuguese accent that the characters had received when dubbed from English. He thought that since these were black people they should have a black Portuguese accent, and not a white one. However, Silva was the only person in the study that commented on this or that responded negatively to questions of language problems with the film. All other people claimed not to have a problem with the language, nor with the accent and said that as long as they understood the language, the accent did not matter.

¹⁰⁷ Sergio Silva was interviewed in Chimoio on October 3rd 2002.

¹⁰⁸ GESOM is a local NGO conducting mobile cinema shows in the whole region as well as screenings of films, theatre shows and work shops in their head quarters in Chimoio.

The following comments all refer to *Cartao Amarelo*;

...”It shows the situation of everyone....”

“...It teaches us about our daily lives, when to play and when to be serious...”

“...It was not fair that Linda was kicked out of school...”(because she was pregnant)

In one group of boys, in Nampula, the attitude seemed a little more “rowdy” or “rough”, and some of the boys said that they admired Tiyane for getting Linda pregnant while still in school, (compared to the views of some of the children in Gondola who said you must not get pregnant or make a girl pregnant while still in school...) However, another boy argued that he did not agree and said that Tiyane should have been more responsible for his acts. When asked what they thought was Tiyane’s and Linda’s reason(s) for not using a contraceptive, they all said that it was because Tiyane was not serious about the relationship, “.... he only wanted to play around...”

While these boys seemed to have a rather rough attitude compared to many of the other groups, most of them said that they would “...prefer to have one woman and feel like a man...” However one of them said, “...one woman is not enough to satisfy the (sexual) needs of a man...” On the issue of condoms, the majority of these respondents agreed that “...in order to play safe you must use Jeito....” But one of them said “.... you know we African men don’t like taking a bath with a raincoat on...”

Also, several comments indicated that having a very young sexual partner would be risk-free:

“.... You know you only have to use Jeito if the girl is above 20 years old..”

”...With a young girl there is no risk of getting infected, young girls are always clean...”

4.2.3 Messages

Many times a person would come and see the same film several times, and in a few cases a person would return to see the same film more than once in a day. Most children and teenagers would be able to recall the storyline of a particular film, some of them could tell it more or less perfectly as if they were reading from the script, while others seemed to mix up different moments and order of action. The main message seemed however always to have passed, and all of the respondents would have personal comments on the storyline as well as the characters and their actions. When asked the simple question "How could Tiyane and Linda have avoided the pregnancy?" (in the film *Cartão Amarelo*) all of the children and teenagers regardless of age seemed to already be familiar with the concept of contraception. In other words the dilemma was in no way something they had never heard of before. They all responded, "...using Jeito..." (Jeito is Mozambique's national condom

brand) without hesitation, but when it came to reasons why the characters in the movie had not done so, everything from the price and the availability of the condom, to it being too embarrassing to bring up as well as "the heat of the moment" were referred to, as well as many of them not thinking about the risks (HIV, pregnancy) because they felt they were not concerned or too young.

4.2.4 Gender aspects

Girls were never comfortable enough to speak in front of boys and they were also to a much larger extent absent during the screenings of the film. There was probably an average ratio of 1 to 10 in girls versus boys watching the films.

Since girls are less frequent visitors of the cantinas, one can wonder whether this is due to inability or lack of time to sit down to watch an entire movie out of the household. Tufte writes that the women in his study are usually busy with social activities while gathered around the television set inside the home.¹⁰⁹

Maybe women's workload and the fact that women across the world are at large responsible for the family and the running of the household keeps them from staying for too long in a public sphere where they can not at the same time accomplish household chores?

According to most girls in my study they seemed to be too busy to sit down and watch an entire film. They said that they liked watching films and would like to be able to do so more often, but that they could only do so once in a while. Also they claimed not being able to stay for the whole movie.

Sue Goldstein pointed out a similar phenomenon in a particular place in South Africa, rural and without a lot of activities available to the young people. A local nurse was asked what the children usually did for fun and responded that "boys play football and girls fetch water..." Girls liked the type of movies that show relations and social situations, reality and regular people more than the boys, who said they preferred either films like « Tiyane » (Cartao Amarelo) or action movies. Also, girls demand or ask for more female role models, female heroes and female main characters, as well as films showing women doing good things or being successful. When asked whether this type of film empowers girls, or whether it contributes to them feeling strengthened, the girls answered that any film bringing up a problem that they may be faced with helps them to feel better. It is easier to relate to and their problems feel more relevant. They also stated that it made them feel that they "were not alone" and they felt more comfortable to speak about sex with their peers. However, they said that even if they knew that they should use a condom, they would not

¹⁰⁹ Tufte, Thomas, *Living with the Rubbish Queen; Telenovelas, Culture and Modernity in Brazil*, page 194, Luton Press, 2000.

dare to ask that of a boyfriend, either because they were afraid that he would leave them, or because they were afraid that he would be angry.

4.3 Attitudes to sex and HIV

One boy also said that the relationship between Tiyane and Linda was not correct because Tiyane was not properly introduced to Linda's parents, referring to his official meeting with the parents of Julieta, whom he later dated. He thought that having a "love-relation" privately was wrong, and that in order to have a respectable relationship you must first introduce or get introduced to the parents of your partner. This may suggest that in a case where two young people dating first meet with each other's parents, the transparency of the relationship and the sincerity will contribute to them having a sexually "safe" relation. Maybe the parents, once introduced to a partner of their own daughter or son give a "talk", maybe there is more of a mutual respect between the two partners this way.

Of course far from every sexual interaction takes place under such orderly circumstances. Most of the young people I spoke to would not speak to their parents about sex at all, and much less take the initiative to introduce their partner in order to get the parents blessing. There seemed to be a fair amount of pressure between young girls and older boys as well. Many girls that I spoke to in individual interviews said that in order to prove your love to your boyfriend you must have sex with him. In other words, having sex becomes the single possibility for a young girl to get acceptance as somebody's girlfriend. This coupled with the fact that many of them thought they were too young to get infected with HIV, indicates a high-risk behavior, from young people. Many young men also thought it being risk free to sleep with a younger girl, actually the younger the better. Since the girls are not able to negotiate their sexual relations, and since they are often subdued to a lot of pressure to have sex, this puts them in a very precarious situation, putting them at full risk of attracting HIV.

A group of girls in Cuamba, Niassa province, referred to boys being too pushy when it came to sex, they said that even if they said no at first they ended up saying yes after a while because boys are always pushy: "...boys always get what they want, they insist until they get it..."

"...and you must do it, otherwise you risk loosing your boyfriend..."

Out of the female group interviews as well many of the individual interviews focusing on girls 10-14 years old the main reasons they listed for not using a contraceptive was that they felt they were "too young to be infected with AIDS", that "HIV only happens to promiscuous people" or that it is a disease that only touches older people. Unlike some of the older males that referred to teenage pregnancy as something culturally accepted, and not even being a socioeconomic problem as the young mother would often gain access to the adult world, be accepted among the adults and

be able to go to work while the child would be cared for by the older generation anyway, the young girls did not agree. When I asked whether it would be a problem for them to have a baby at 14 years old, they said that even if it was a very common phenomena, it was in no way something that their parents or the community were positive to, that it would bring a lot of shame on them and on their family and that it also meant increased problems for them to be able to attend school (it already being hard enough for a girl to finish secondary education). They said that if many girls are getting pregnant at young ages it is because they are either convinced not to use contraceptive by older boyfriends, or they simply think they are too young to get pregnant, and in no way concerned by the AIDS virus.

Other comments about Tiyane's behaviour in *Cartão Amarelo* included strong reactions against him getting a girl pregnant while still in school, as well as not accepting the fact that he was going to be a father and making the necessary arrangements, preparing to participate to take care of the baby. People also reacted against Tiyane not telling the second girl (Julieta) about the first girl (Linda) or about her pregnancy. (When Tiyane leaves the baby with his mother, Julieta comes by to say hello and is faced with what he has been hiding all along). Some of the young men also commented on how Tiyane learned to care for the baby by copying other women in the village (to make the baby stop crying, he ties it on his back as do many women across the world in order to be able to work and at the same time carry their infants). These kinds of comments relate directly to how people received the message, and indicate that the contents of the film provoke thoughts and discussions.

Most of the girls agreed to a having felt strengthened by the films. They said that since most of the films that are projected in the cantinas are either war films or porno or fighting (kung fu etc) they would usually not take a great interest in watching them. However they said that by bringing up other topics and seeing things they could relate to made them feel "like issues that we are concerned by are important".

Other comments about the films included that the children found them interesting, educational and informative on sexuality, and that it would indirectly stimulate debate on what can happen when having unprotected sex.

When asked about what could happen if one had unprotected sex, the children mentioned getting a STD, getting HIV/AIDS, getting pregnant (for girls) or "to get a girl pregnant" (for boys). However some of the children believed that you could get pregnant from oral sex, that if somebody caught a STD, he or she could take a bath in order to get rid of it or that children under a certain age

could not get HIV/AIDS. This seemed to be rather widespread idea since many of the young men would prefer to have sex with a young girl in order not to get HIV/AIDS, thinking that this would allow them to have unprotected sex without taking the risks of getting infected.

This attitude links directly to the vulnerable position of girls, exposing them to a high-risk behavior and the incapability to negotiate sexual relations.

Most of the children said that they would not speak to their parents about sex. Many of them confessed to talking frequently to either friends or sisters and brothers. Some of them said that they would feel comfortable enough to speak to their boy friend or girlfriend but the majority said that this would not be possible because of expectations and ideas that you might give to the other... One girl said that when you are with somebody there is “a lot of pressure about sex, with your boyfriend you must show that you love him, so you can not disagree...” Another person said talking about sex with your partner is very difficult because you do not know their past or the sexual experiences that he or she might have had, “ maybe you don’t agree with their behavior or sexual past”.

In Alto Molucué, some girls sad that in their village, the older people said that HIV was a myth and wanted to know whether this was true.

Children in Namiola, commented that you can not speak about sex with your parents because it is taboo. If you do you will be punished.

In Mandimba, Niassa, the teenaged girls said that “...even if you have a child, it doesn’t change....you take care of children anyway....and you can’t go to school ...because your mother needs you at home...”

“...girls have to work at home, someone has to take care of the children....the sisters, and the brothers.....”

One girl said, “...I would like to be a teacher, but I can’t, I have to stay at home and help my mother...”

5. CONCLUSIONS

Generally, all the films projected were well received and well liked. The most popular film by far was *Cartao Amarelo*. People appreciated the story of *Cartao Amarelo* and *A miner's tale* the most, because they were the two stories that they could relate to the most. Everybody liked films that made them laugh, and this was one of the factors that made *Cartao Amarelo* popular. Also the music in the latter contributed to making it attractive.

These views are directly linked to Sue Goldstein's advice on using high quality drama in order to reach people. Among the four films that were part of the study, it is also hard to say which ones would qualify as "high quality drama", but at least the two above mentioned most popular ones seems to fit within this criteria.

Overall, the message seemed to have been understood, when it comes to HIV/AIDS, teenage sex and pregnancy, even if a few people still had false ideas about safe sex and HIV.

The idea that younger girls could not get or carry the HIV virus was for example rather widespread. Also the fact that young girls feel pressured to have sex in order to "prove their love" to their often older boyfriends.

The only negative aspects of the films that were brought up, was the built in messages that they may be sending out about gender roles. For example, in *Cartao*, when Tiyane leaves the baby with his mother, this may give an idea that it is OK to have a baby and then leave it to be cared for by your mother (or a woman). Also the film *Night Stop* got criticized because of the false message it may be sending out that only promiscuous people are touched by HIV.

Some of the people reacted strongly to the main character in *A miner's tale* returning to his second wife without telling her that he was HIV positive. It was hard to say however whether they thought this created debate and had a reverse effect or whether it justified such a behavior.

In other words, the films largely contributed to educate, inform and entertain the audience. They claimed to have enjoyed watching the films for reasons like relaxation and pleasure but also because they liked being informed, learning new things, seeing things from their own culture and seeing reality on film. The audience liked seeing situations and people they could relate to as well as seeing films bringing up subjects they were concerned by.

Overall, the audience said that they felt more comfortable to discuss sex and other related subjects (HIV/AIDS, pregnancy, relations...) after the film than before. This proves that as a medium, video seems to be not only a popular but also a successful way of reaching young people in Mozambique. It allows for them to access information that otherwise is taboo, or problems that are not addressed in daily life. It also contributes to creating a comfortable and safe atmosphere to

discuss sex and HIV, and brings the subjects up to discussion among friends afterwards. However, none of the children felt comfortable enough to speak about these topics with their parents.

Some of the younger girls admitted believing the myth that young girls could not get HIV, as did some of the older boys! There are definitely a few misconceptions about safe sex, and HIV, even if the majority of the people that participated in my study seemed to be informed about the existence of HIV and how it spreads. A few people thought that you get rid of HIV if you take a bath. Some of them claimed that you can tell if somebody has AIDS by looking at them, “because they are very skinny”. Generally though, I feel that the younger generation is more aware than the older people, and that they have modern views on life and are more open to change. They are willing to question traditional values and eager to learn. They like being confronted with issues that they are concerned by and not afraid to discuss topics that are usually not discussed within the family. It is true that the girls were not willing to express themselves in the presence of the boys, nor in groups that were too large, but once they felt comfortable enough, they were very outspoken and interested in giving their point of view.

My main criticism is that while video is a useful medium to reach young people about social issues, especially in rural areas where there is no other visual alternative, females do not seem to enjoy the same amount of freedom to access this type of projections. Boys and girls are far from being equally represented during the screenings.

The future

"Children and young people are the future. If they don't get educated, there will be a whole generation that will not be able to function as full members of society. It is necessary to ensure that the next generation has less HIV infection and is capable of building and working in the nations"

Dr. Gro Harlem-Brundtland
Director General, WHO

There is evidence that there is a great need to spread information about HIV/AIDS and make information more accessible to young people and children.

Since there is a great level of illiteracy in many countries where the AIDS virus is taking out most of its toll, the conviction that the need for information to be brought out through other types of media than print is growing. Also, the key to controlling HIV/AIDS and stopping the spreading of

the virus goes through young people, they have the right to be able to protect themselves and to make healthy choices.

Using Edutainment to gain access to youth to attempt to have an impact on the future developments regarding HIV/AIDS, especially in developing countries seems to be the most obvious choice.

My advice for future projects trying to reach a particular part of the population (as in this case, young females) would be to find out what particular characteristics from the project would be needed in order to reach the target population. In this particular case, this would mean previously done research in order to find out preferences, needs and availability of the young females, as to maximise the effects, and the reach of such a project. I would think that since females in Mozambique seem to have less time to visit, or less access to the “cantinas de video”, there is a need for facilitated screenings, targeted directly at these young women and girls. These screenings could be followed by informative debates or discussions. This would allow for the young female audience to speak freely, about sex, HIV and teenage pregnancy and to gain access to a source of information otherwise not as accessible to them, as well as thereby gaining confidence and support in their sexual relations and attitudes.

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