Mapping the field: participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication and public self-expression as a way forward

ABSTRACT

Despite a vast array of HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiatives in South Africa, recent research pointed out that the general public's knowledge level about HIV/AIDS has decreased and that risky behaviour associated with the spread of the virus, is on the increase. This means that even though some successes with HIV/AIDS prevention communication have been achieved, new innovative ways of communicating about the epidemic urgently needs to be investigated. In search for a new direction, this article maps four forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication in the country. Instead of continuing on the trajectory of exploring project-based campaigns that are initiated 'from the outside' (such as projects formulated by donor institutions), this article suggests that community-initiated HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiatives might suggest a new direction to supplement existing communication on the epidemic.

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INTRODUCTION

Despite many communication efforts to curb the spread of the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) in South Africa, a recent comprehensive report by the Human Sciences Research Council (Shisana et al., 2014) indicates a decline in knowledge levels and an increase in risky sexual behaviour. Although communication alone cannot address the epidemic, it forms part of a large component of activities that seek to curb the spread of the virus. Conventionally, HIV/AIDS prevention communication is embedded in a behavior change framework that entails an institution outside the recipient community, initiating the prevention communication and strategically involving the recipient community in the campaign (Scalway, 2010; McKee, Becker-Benton & Bockh, 2014:278-297).

In order to search for new ways forward, this article does not follow this conventional tradition, but places behavioural change-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication within the framework of development communication, as this framework opens up new possibilities in HIV/AIDS prevention communication. As such, this article investigates a new line of thinking alluded to by a few research projects (Govender, Dyll-Myklebust, Delate & Sundar, 2013; Hungbo, 2011a; 2011b; Chiumbe & Ligaga, 2013; Bosch, 2014; Obregon & Tufte, 2013:54–57).

The aim of this article is to investigate new possibilities for future HIV/AIDS prevention communication, by interpreting them from the perspective of different development communication frameworks. Drawing on the rich tradition of development communication theory (Carlsson, 3005:195; Thomas, 2006:476; White, 2006:482), the article presents a comparison of the different forms of development communication in order to identify four different forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication. This comparison is facilitated by a discussion of the power relationship between the parties involved in the communication process, the locus of control of HIV/AIDS prevention communication ventures, the type of communication used, and how the notions of "communication", "participation" and "empowerment" are interpreted in the different forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication. It is clear that these key concepts are understood differently in each of the four development communication approaches.

1.   FOUR APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

In the field of development communication studies, four distinct types of communication have been described, based on different conceptions of communication, participation and empowerment. This section provides a brief overview of the four approaches, as these constitute the basis for identifying different forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication in the rest of the article.

The first approach to development communication is based on the modernisation paradigm, where it is assumed that all people around the world wish to become modern in the same way as the industrialised global north (Cambridge, 2007:189-190). For this reason, development agencies that are based outside the developing community diffuse or transmit information to a developing community with the intention of helping the developing community to "catch up" with the modern,

developed, industrial global north (Waisbord, 2001:1). In other words, external development agents create an appetite for change within the target community, and use communication to persuade the target community to adopt new ideas; community participation manifest in the adoption of new innovations, signals that the developing community has been empowered (Cambridge, 2007:189-190). This view has been criticized on account of the following aspects: firstly, that it equates communication with one-directional information transmission instead of dialogue; secondly, that it assumes an unequal power relationship between external agents (developing agents) and developing communities; and thirdly, that empowerment simply means the adoption of new innovations (Chabot & Duyvendak, 2011:311-315; Carlsson, 3005:195; Thomas, 2006:476; White, 2006:482). The specificities, context, knowledge and culture of the developing community are simply negated. This form of development communication is often orchestrated by a donor institution outside the developing community, and has subsequently been labelled as "project-based" or "institutional" development communication (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009).

The second approach to development communication follows the emancipatory trajectory of post-colonialism and dependency disassociation that was prominent in the second part of the previous century (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005:93; Mefalopulos, 2005:158-159; Waisbord, 2001:3-15). This approach draws on the Freirean (1996) idea of collaborative learning in a situation of equal power relations between development facilitator and developing community (White, 2006:482). It calls for members of a developing community to speak out about their individual and very personal experiences with regard to developmental problems, and emphasises that the community collectively seeks for solutions (Nikkah, Redzuan & Abu-Samah, 2012:41). Furthermore, it is assumed that the cause of underdevelopment is not within the developing community (as modernist development assumes), but that problems of underdevelopment are interwoven with unequal geopolitical power relations. Hence this form of development communication suggests that, if public self-expression and dialogue that scrutinize issues of public concern are not successful to address unequal power relations and disrespectful situations, social movements and revolution are options to consider in addressing oppressive power-relations that cause developmental problems (Habito-Cadiz, 2006:427). Even though the communication that undergirds this form of development communication may be dialogical and self-expressive within the developing community, the communication with the external world is strategic and persuasive in addressing hegemonic power relations (Jacobson, 2012). By implication, internal communication dynamics are thus strategically in the service of addressing unequal power relationships with external entities. This form of development communication has been termed the "social movement" perspective to development communication (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009).

The third approach to development communication, the participatory approach, rests on mass participation, dialogue, and power-sharing (Thomas, 2006:476-477; Servaes & Malikhao, 2005:93). This approach assumes that the problems of underdevelopment are caused by a combination of external factors (for example, geopolitical power relations resulting from colonisation and the subsequent exploitation of colonies' natural resources, causing a negative impact on local cultures and the colonised subject), as well as internal factors, such as illiteracy (Carlsson, 2005:211-212). It is realised that the key to addressing developmental issues is both internal and external to

the developing community. It is therefore proposed that there should be dialogue between the developing community (to verbalise, realise and collectively address developmental issues − based on Freirean ideas) and other role players (White, 2006:482; Habito-Cadiz, 2006:427). These dialogical discussions should be held in an equal status situation, otherwise it is not likely to enhance the self-strengthening and self-improvement of the developing community, or address social developmental problems to the full (Habito-Cadiz, 2006:427). However, this ideal might not be achieved in all communities, as unequal power relations remain part of the dynamics of most communities. Because of the uniqueness of each developing situation, the participatory approach to development communication does most certainly not deterministically pre-empt the process of development, unlike the project-based and social movement perspectives (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009). Each developing community is motivated to reach for the "power within", instead of being empowered by an outside developmental agent (Nikkhah, Redzuan & Abu-Samah, 2012:41), as is the case with project-based development communication. It is thus assumed that people cannot be developed, but that they can only develop themselves; this should be achieved through community participation (White, 2006:483) that enhances self-reliance and self-confidence and enables people to take control of and responsibility for their own lives (Riaño, 2006:446). Within this paradigm, empowerment is thus perceived as enhancing the spiritual, political, social, educational, economic and inner strength of individuals and communities in order to expand their capabilities and potential to engage in and monitor institutions that affect their lives (Al-Zoubi & Rahman, 2014:93). In other words, this form of social development is not only material (for example, politics, infrastructure, allocation of resources), but also non-material (for example respect, dignity, identity, validation and recognition of developing communities). The implication is that participatory communication is thought of as affirming identity and self-worth as this is seen as "real" empowerment, as it does not only play out on the physical level, but also on the non-material level. Interestingly, the aim of this form of participatory communication is based on the social movement's perspective of verbalising one's own and collective developmental problems. However, instead of using community participation strategically, a more authentic form of participation implies expressing the self and aspects around identity in a public forum. This approach is community-based, as it emanates "from inside" the community and is not initiated "from outside" the developing community, as is the case with project-based development communication. It is thus community-driven and the community empowers itself by producing the development communication initiative. It rests on the principle of physical participation, democracy, and the encouragement of all echelons of a developing community that wishes to be involved in a development initiative, to do so. As such it relies on public self-expression, dialogue, mutual respect and listening to fellow community members (Burger, 2014). In this sense public self-expression refers to both voicing concerns about issues of public interest, and to getting the opportunity to be listened to (Burger, 2015). However, this idealistic situation remains theoretical, as not all communities are democratic to an equal extent and may suffer from problematic power relations.

The fourth approach to development communication, the externally-initiated strategic participatory approach, combines elements of the first three approaches (Burger, 2015; White, 2006:483). This fourth approach is initiated outside a developing community (as is the case of project-based

development), but it assumes that dialogue is important (suggested by the second and third approaches). However, it differs from the community-based dependency disassociation and community-based development communication, as it strategically uses dialogue and participation to persuade the community to buy into a developmental project. This externally-initiated strategic participatory approach takes strategically engineered community participation to signify community empowerment (White, 2006:483). In other words, large scale community participation signals success, with the community assuming some form of ownership of the development project (Nikkah, Redzuan & Abu-Samah, 2012:41). In summary, from this perspective the development project is designed outside the developing community, with a pre-determined goal to satisfy external funders or donors. A prime example of this approach is the Development Support Communication (DSC) approach.

In the graphic representation of these four forms of development communication, the locus of control or who initiates the development communication initiative − notably either the community or an external agency, and the type of communication implied − are juxtaposed.

Table 1: Four approaches to development communication

Project-based (externally-initiated) development communication		
1 Externally-initiated modernist development communication projects	4 Externally-initiated strategic participatory development communication projects	
Instructional communication (one-directional transmission of information)	**Strategic (instrumental) participatory communication**	**Participatory communication (two-directional dialogue)**
	2 Community-based dependency disassociation development communication	3 Community-based participatory development communication
Community-based (internally initiated) development communication		

2. MAPPING FOUR FORMS OF HIV/AIDS PREVENTION COMMUNICATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Based on the four approaches to development communication summarised above, four forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication are distinguished. Two forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication are externally-initiated, *project-based* HIV/AIDS prevention communication, that seeks to persuade the target community to adopt new ideas, whilst two forms are *community-based* HIV/AIDS prevention communication activities.

2.1 Information transmission project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication

The early response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic was based on behavioural change oriented persuasive communication, conceived outside the target community, and was formulated as campaigns or projects conceptualised, initiated, controlled and directed by entities outside the recipient community (Tomaselli, 2011a:8-11). Information was generated by biomedical experts and was then packaged for the "target audience" with the aim of increasing knowledge and changing undesired perceptions and behaviour. This one-directional diffusion of information in an authoritarian fashion − similar to that of the modernisation theory of development communication – was formulated by someone outside the developing community, who exhibits "expert" knowledge and knows what is "best" for the developing community (Tomaselli, 2011a:8-11; 2011b:25-48; Obregon & Mosquera, 2005:234-237). This form of project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication with its paternalistic undertone sought to inform and educate the recipient community, motivating them to change "undesired" behaviour (Mefalopulos, 2005:150-152). This early response to the virus in the country, used fear and death appeals to try and convince the public to change behaviour. Even though using fear and death appeals does not necessarily stigmatise the virus, it often links other negative connotations, such as death caused by the virus (Maloney, Lapinski & Witte, 2011:206-219). Other examples include some of the early Department of Health interventions, some of the early phases of loveLife, The Yellow Hand campaign, and Komanani (Tomaselli, 2011a:11).

When behavioural change models are applied to health communication, especially HIV/AIDS prevention communication, they may stigmatise talking about or enjoying one's sexuality and sex, as some of these early responses to HIV/AIDS prevention communication in the country have been accused of. Furthermore, focusing solely on behavioural change-based educative transmission of information may also oversimplify the complexities surrounding the virus. To address these concerns, HIV/AIDS educators and planners went back to the drawing board and suggested inviting community participation in HIV/AIDS prevention communication projects, as illustrated in the next sections.

2.2 Strategic participatory project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication

More recently, HIV/AIDS educators and planners started incorporating three new ideas into project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication, namely: 1) including elements

of the participatory approach to development communication into HIV/AIDS prevention communication; 2) embedding educational HIV/AIDS messages in entertainment formats; and 3) refining the early behaviour change models as outlined below.

The first new idea was to encourage the recipient community to participate in the HIV/AIDS prevention communication project. The process of strategically motivating members of the recipient community to take part in the message formulation processes − first implemented by Erskine Childers while involved in development communication projects for the United Nations in India − has been termed "development support communication" (DSC) or "DevCom" (Colle, 2006:495; Cambridge, 2007:191). The basic idea was the strategic incorporation of the target audience into various processes related to the development/health communication processes (Gumucio-Dagron & Tufte, 2006:xxvi; Cambridge, 2007:191). This process was first mapped in the Arnsteinean "ladder of participation" in the 1970s, but more recently various contemporary scholars refined this description (see Table 2). In this vein, Biggs (in Narayanasamy, 2009:6) classifies different kinds of participation on a continuum ranging from contractual to consultative communication, collaboration, and finally collegiate actions, whilst the World Bank's Development Research Group describes the different forms of participation ranging from information-sharing to consultation, collaboration and empowerment (Mefalopulos, 2008:91). In this case empowerment is associated with transferring control of a developmental process to the developing community, signified by two-way communication between a developing agent and the community, and within the community (Mefalopulos, 2008:91). Similarly, Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009) describe participation on a continuum ranging from passive participation to participation by consultation, participation by collaboration and finally to empowerment as participation. These are mapped in Table 2, where the least participatory developmental efforts (on the left side of the table) are marked by strategic communication with the aim of persuading the developing community to adopt change, whilst the most participatory efforts (on the right side of the table) are marked by dialogical communication, with the hope that the developing community would feel that they own the developmental project, as this is believed to stand a better chance of leading to the adoption of new understandings and practices (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009).

Table 2: Externally based project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication

	Elementary project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication					Participatory project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication			
	< Least participatory					Most participatory >			
	Non-participation				Tokenism			Real participation	
	1. Manipulation	2. Therapy	3. Passive involvement	4. Informing	5. Consultation	6. Placation	7. Partnership	8. Delegated power	9. Citizen participation
Arnstein (1971:19)	1. Manipulation	2. Therapy	3. Passive involvement	4. Informing	5. Consultation	6. Placation	7. Partnership	8. Delegated power	9. Citizen participation
World Bank Development Research Group (in Mefalopulos 2008:91)	Information sharing		Sharing		Consultation	Collaboration		Empowerment	
Biggs (1989 in Narayanasamy 2009:6)	Contractual			Consultation	Consultation	Collaboration		Collegiate	
Mefalopulos (2008:91)	Information sharing			Consultation	Consultation	Collaboration		Empowerment	
Tufte and Mefalopulos (2009)	Passive participation			Participation by consultation		Participation by collaboration		Empowerment by participation	

Examples of inviting recipients to participate in message creation include: inviting school children to design educational posters, brochures or other communication formats after a lecture on HIV/AIDS; community workshops; message-writing competitions; scriptwriting; formative and evaluative research on communication intervention, and also taking part in the casting of actors in a drama. In this vein the television series *Soul City*, produced by The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, involve the target community (Tufte, 2006:691; Usdin, Singhal, Shongwe, Goldstein & Shabalala, 2004:156). Another example of strategically involving a recipient community is found in the community-level work of the loveLife initiative, where the youth is invited to participate in message creation. Likewise, *Tsha Tsha* and *Intersexions* invite members of the target audience to participate in the production of the television programmes (Govender, Dyll-Myklebust, Delate & Sundar, 2013). Whilst some of these programmes invite the recipient community to participate in message formulation to signify their interest,some use the messages that are created by communities to gather information and use that information to more effectively persuade the community.

Another aspect of the participatory approach to development communication adopted in contemporary forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication projects, is to consider the contextual factors of each recipient community. Examples of addressing contextual aspects include: making available condoms to help prevent HIV transmission during sexual intercourse in the areas where the HIV/AIDS prevention communication projects are held; training staff at police stations and public clinics where many female rape victims lay complaints; adopting public policies on making antiretroviral (ARV) medication available (see for instance the ways in which *Soul City* addresses contextual factors as outlined by Tufte, 2006:691; Usdin et al., 2004:156, and how *Intersexions* had similar objectives as explained by Durden, 2013:115-126).

The second modification of the older project-based (externally-initiated) HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiatives is to capitalise on the popularity of entertainment, with the subsequent embedding of educational HIV/AIDS messages in entertainment-based media programmes. Again, the work of The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication serves as an example (Usdin et al., 2004:156) of this entertainment education (EE) approach. Tufte (2006:691) commended *Soul City* as one of the best examples of newer EE, as it not only embeds an educational message into a popular entertaining television dramatic soap opera format, but involves the target audience in the message formulation process (Burger, 2012:6; Storey, 2006). Similarly, the television series *Tsha Tsha* expanded the participatory nature of its production to community workshops, and considered an ancillary participatory principle − contextual issues − by situating social issues, such as poverty and family structures, in its programmes (Govender, 2013:14). In addition, *Intersexions* emphasises voluntary participation at different levels, shared decision-making, and the well-being of participants in the production of the television series (Durden, 2013:115-126). A further innovation by *Intersexions* is that its multimedia platform uses new media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter (Govender, 2013:20). Many examples of inviting community participation that goes beyond the conventional mass media (radio and television) approach, prevail elsewhere on

the continent; *Femina HIP* in Tanzania and *The Know Zone* in Kenya are prime examples (Govender, 2013:19). These initiatives invite community participation through new media in project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication projects, with the hope that it is experienced as a power transfer to audiences, as ordinary members of public assume the power to create mass media messages (referred to as the promise of the digital revolution, Andrejevic, 2004:8-12, 81). A rather interesting case that illustrates the participatory principle well, is that of the UNAIDS's The Greater Involvement of People Living with HIV (GIPA). Although GIPA (UNAIDS, 2007) is not a campaign or programme, it underlines the principle of popular participation, seeking to involve those who are living with HIV/AIDS in a range of sectors. On the continuum of the table above, GIPA can be plotted on the right hand's side, because of its immense level of inclusion of the community living with HIV/AIDS. This will enable, as Storey and Wood (2013:10-30) indicate, those affected, who have first-hand experience of living with the virus, to share their authentic life stories with others.

The third distinction between older and newer forms of project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication, is that the new generation of project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication refines behavioural change models. The AIDS Risk Reduction Model (ARRM), for instance, draws on elements of the Health Belief Model (Hochbaum et al., 1952), Social Cognitive Model (Bandura, 1977) and the Diffusion of Innovations theory (Rogers, 1962), but adapted these, as well as foreground efficacy and emotional and interpersonal processes (Fisher, 2012:291-294). From the ARRM perspective it is argued that social change takes place in three stages: in the first stage the individual recognises and labels his/her own behaviour as risky; in the second stage, the individual makes a commitment to change risky behaviour; and in the third stage, the individual takes action (seeks information, finds solutions, and takes action to change behaviour). During this third stage the planners of the project should ensure that support structures (social networks) for self-help and information seeking are put into place (Fisher, 2012:291-294). This should be done together with the creation of opportunities to empower the individual to develop the ability to express himself/herself when with a sexual partner, for a negotiated view of beliefs and behaviour. A subsequent emphasis of the ARRM model is that the concern for one's health should be emphasised, by providing facts about how the virus is contracted, as well as statistics on the number of people living with the virus (UNAIDS, 1999:8). Another behavioural change model on which many HIV/AIDS projects are based, is the Social Ecology Model (SEM) that plots social change factors, such as intrapersonal, interpersonal, institutional, community and public policy-based factors. The newer social ecological model of communication and health behaviour (SEMCHB) (Kincaid et al., 2007), adapts the SEM model to emphasise how health issues play out at the individual level, the social network, and at community and societal levels; in doing so, it brings the interplay between the individual and society to the fore to a much greater extent than earlier models (Storey & Figueroa, 2012:75; Kincaid et al., 2007).

Both the older and the newer project-based forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication discussed so far are project-based initiatives, because the communication project is initiated, orchestrated and controlled outside the target community (Tufte & Mefalopulos,

2009:10). Project-based communication initiatives are goal-oriented in the sense that they seek behavioural change (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009:10), effected through the persuasive diffusion of information (Chabot & Duyvendak, 2011:311-315). Audience participation is seen as a strategic tool to engage the target community and to inspire the adoption of messages and the assumed subsequent behaviour change (Narayanasamy, 2009:5-6). Drawing on the work of Habermas, Jacobson (2012) views such participation as "concealed strategic action", as evident in the unequal power relations between the external HIV/AIDS prevention communication agent and the target audience in initiatives such as "Development Support Communication" (DSC), "Programme Support Communication" (PSC), "Communication for Development" (C4D) and "Communication for Social Change" (CFSC or C4SC) – especially when these approaches incorporate EE techniques so often used in health communication projects (Chabot & Duyvendak, 2011:311-315; Tomaselli, 2011a:8-17; 2011b:25-48). This means that participation in project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication is interpreted to mean "strategic" community participation that maximises the change of the target group to adopt externally generated messages. From this perspective, community participation (regardless of the level of participation) is a mechanism used to symbolise and gain community support (Narayanasamy, 2009:5-6); such ownership-taking is equated with empowerment (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009:10). Care is also taken to address the contextual issues, such as policy and delivery of services.

In contrast to the two project-based forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiated externally to the recipient community discussed so far, the rest of this section describes two forms of community-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication.

2.3 Activist community-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication

A third form of HIV/AIDS communication in South Africa is community-based activism. Through activism ordinary people seek equal access to resources and the distribution thereof (Habermas, 2011:337; Zirakzadeh, 2011:xxi; Huesca, 2006:754), often prompting governments to provide social care where it is needed (Cooper, 2007:10). Various social drives have been undertaken by ordinary citizens to steer the South African government towards offering greater social care to its citizens, especially those living with HIV/AIDS. One example is found in the activities of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) that mobilised social support, compelling the government to ensure that resources are used to provide anti-retroviral (ARV) treatment to the HIV-positive segment of the population. TAC leaders such as Zachie Achmat, Mark Heywood, Anele Yawa, Sindi Blose, Nkhensani Mavasa, Nelisiwe Malinga and Andrew Mosane should be mentioned in this regard. The work of the TAC is closely linked to various other social initiatives that influenced governmental policy, such as activities of the AIDS Law Project. Similarly, Constitutional Court Justice, Edwin Cameron, actively worked to ensure human rights on a legal level for people living with HIV. He co-drafted the Charter of Rights on HIV and AIDS, co-founded the AIDS Consortium and founded the AIDS Law Project. He furthermore captured his personal experiences punctuated with insights into the South African legal system in two books: in *Witness to AIDS* (2006) he

grapples with the meaning of HIV/AIDS and the threat of death, and in *Justice: A personal account* (2014) he traces the justice system in the country as embedded in his own personal life story.

In the development communication literature, these activities have been described as a social movement perspective (in contrast to the project-based perspective) as it is associated with the Freirean (1996) notion of conscientisation, where a community mobilises itself to realise its problems and its potentials through voicing individual and collective development concerns, reflecting on development problems and employing collective action to address unjust situations (Thomas, 2006:476-477; Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009:3). Through such actions marginalised voices are heard (Tufte & Mefalopulos, 2009:3) and those voices, such as those facilitated by the TAC for instance, aim to steer a government to extend its social care obligation – in this case, to provide antiretroviral treatment to citizens who could not afford it otherwise. This aligns the work of the TAC with the social movement perspective in development communication theory, as the TAC efforts were intended to mobilise public support in order to address social problems by influencing the government to allocate state resources differently (Huesca, 2006:750; Habermas, 2011:339).

This kind of community-driven communicative effort is primarily associated with grassroots social action and is referred to as "bottom-up" development communication (Riaño, 2006:447-450; Sreberny-Mohammadi & Mohammadi, 2006:466-468). This reverses the authoritarian "top-down" communication of some of the early project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiatives (Thomas, 2006:476-479; White, 2006:482). However, similar to the strategic use of participation as a technique of project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiatives, participation is used strategically in the activist kind of HIV/AIDS prevention communication, as it is deliberately goal-oriented (to make ARVs available and this strategically guides all expressions by the public towards this goal).

Another form of community-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication is regarded as participatory as it emerges spontaneously from society – namely, the people for whom HIV/AIDS prevention communication is intended.

2.4 *Participatory community-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication*

In contrast to the activist community-based form of HIV/AIDS prevention communication, the fourth form of HIV/AIDS prevention communication is not revolutionary and involves community activities that are regarded as "popular culture" (Storey, 2006). As was described in the community-based development communication in the first part of this article, development efforts that emerge spontaneously from a community are usually based on storytelling, where ordinary members of the public share their personal life stories with others in a public forum. On a theoretical level this has been associated with the Freirean (1996) "speaking out", but the purpose of doing that is not necessarily to seek social change on a political level.

In reality such public self-expressions (Burger, 2014) may be individual or collective, or may be facilitated by a community leader or by a celebrity through the media. Various such examples exist in the country, of which Criselda Kananda's talk radio show, Positive Talk, may serve as an example of how a media celebrity facilitates popular self-expression. Kananda uses her talk show to offer the public the opportunity to voice their personal views and experiences. Members of the public who phone in do not only talk about the virus, but they participate in ways that express their inner being, their identities, in public. In this way, knowing that a large number of people listen to this Metro FM talk show, validates them and affirms that they are worth listening to. Another example of a community-based internally initiated HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiative emanates from the work of Sister Abegail Ntleko in KwaZulu-Natal (for which she received the Dalai Lama's Unsung Heroes award, Dharmagiri, n.d.). She captured her life story – a life that overcame tremendous gender bias challenges and racial prejudices in the country to attain her dream of living a life of service as a nurse, spiritual leader and a community leader caring for AIDS orphans in a nurturing home. She facilitates discussions around matters of HIV/AIDS in combination with the lived reality of caring for children.

These examples place internally-initiated community-driven HIV/AIDS prevention communication in an identity paradigm − the hallmark of community participation. This is in contrast to the strategic incorporation of elements of participation of project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiatives. True community-driven participatory communication facilitates self-expression of members of the public, as they verbalise individual and collective ideas about HIV/AIDS − not only foregrounding factual information about the way in which the virus is contracted or spread, but validating the socio-economic circumstances of living with the disease. It brings to the foreground the very ordinary everyday lives of people as their lives intersect with the epidemic. By implication, this form of communication about the virus thus not only addresses the tangible effects of HIV/AIDS, but affirms identity and personhood in what Castells (2001:63) calls "identity as the locus of action". In fact, all the public self-expressions, no matter how trivial or superficial they may seem, are valued in participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication as they refer to the contextual factors around the virus. In this way, members of the public can verbalise how they make sense of and how they experience matters related to the virus. This situates communication about the virus within other aspects of their lives, and in the process normalises public talking about socially taboo topics such as sex and sexuality. Essentially this process of communication is empowering to people, because they are allowed to express themselves publicly, and get affirmation when they do so. This kind of self-expression takes place in private spaces, in public or in a mediated platform.

3.   CONCLUSION

This article drew on development communication theory to indicate four forms of HIV/AIDS communication in the country, of which two are project-based and initiated outside the recipient community, whilst two are community-based.

Table 3: Four forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication in South Africa

Project-based (externally-initiated) HIV/AIDS prevention communication		
Information transmission HIV/AIDS prevention communication Control = external Empowerment and participation = adoption of messages and behaviour/ social change	*Strategic participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication* Control = external Empowerment = participation Participation = strategic	
Instructional communication (one-directional transmission of information)	**Strategic (instrumental) participatory communication**	**Participatory communication (two-directional dialogue)**
	Activist HIV/AIDS prevention communication Control = internal Participation = voluntary, but strategic to mobilise support Empowerment = participation	*Participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication* Control = internal Participation = voluntary Empowerment = public self-expression, as it affirms identity
Community-based (internally-initiated) HIV/AIDS prevention communication		

Within the project-based category, the strategic participatory form differs from the early information transmission form in the sense that the former evolved in terms of usage of behaviour change models and by embedding persuasive messages into educational media programmes in such a way that contextual factors are considered. Most importantly, the recipient community is strategically steered to participate in the message formulation process. Essentially the power and control of the campaign remain outside the recipient community, and the members are regarded as being empowered if knowledge levels and behaviour are changed and if they participate in the campaign.

In contrast, the two community-based forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication are initiated and controlled by the community, and public participation is voluntary. The activist form uses actions strategically to persuade government to change, whilst the participatory form entails community members publicly talking about matters pertaining to the virus as they are embedded in everyday life. Much of the communication of the participatory form entails public identity work

through storytelling and sharing life stories. This is done on the local level, or via the media through a community leader or celebrity. In the two community-based forms participation is voluntary, empowerment is linked to public self-expression, and the locus of control rests with the community.

Below is a comparative summary of the characteristics of each of the four forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication discussed in this article.

Table 4: A comparison of four forms of HIV/AIDS prevention communication in South Africa

	Project-based externally-initiated HIV/AIDS prevention communication		Community-based internally-initiated HIV/AIDS prevention communication	
	Information transmission HIV/AIDS prevention communication	*Strategic participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication*	*Activist HIV/AIDS prevention communication*	*Participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication*
Locus of control	External	External	Internal	Internal
Directed	Outside-in	Outside-in	Inside-out	Internal
Purpose/nature	Knowledge transmission and behaviour change	Knowledge transmission and behaviour change	Change unjust allocation of resources	To understand how 'we' make sense of and experience the virus
Communication	Information transmission (persuasive orientation)	Information transmission (persuasive orientation)	Freirean speaking out persuading authorities	Community dialogue and public self-expressions
Participation	-	Persuade public to be involved the recipient community in message formulation processes	Bolstering public support	Voluntary public participation
Empowerment	Social change	Taking ownership of project by participating in message formulation	Change in policy	Public self-expression, affirmation and recognition (identity work) through participation

Entertainment	Only in a few cases educational messages embedded in entertaining formats	Educational messages embedded in entertaining formats (often based on South American idea of telenovelas, and using new media).	-	Acknowledge that society is entertainment and media-oriented
Contextual factors	Lack of knowledge and unhealthy behaviour is contextual	Lack of knowledge and unhealthy behaviour is contextual Infrastructural context addressed (provide condoms, primary health care, etc.)	Oppressive context addressed	All contextual factors are important especially matters around the virus is situated in everyday lives
Mass and digital media	Diffusion of persuasive information	Diffusion of persuasive information; involve target audience in message formulation processes	Use mass and new digital media to gain publicity for the cause	Engage through public self-expression with a range of issues around the virus
Development communication	Modernisation paradigm	Strategic participation (e.g. CFSC, C4D, DSC)	Dependency disassociation	Participatory paradigm
Other theoretical bases	Early behaviour change models, and media effects tradition	More recent behavioural change models	Critical theory	Meaning making, popular culture
Examples	Early interventions and campaigns, such as Komanani and loveLife's early efforts	*Soul City, Tsha Tsha*, loveLife's newer efforts	Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)	Criselda Kananda's talk radio show *Positive Talk*

Against this background the argument can be made that new options for HIV/AIDS prevention communication in the country can only take place on two fronts: 1) by further refining the strategic community participation of externally-initiated project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication, and 2) at the level of community-based participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication. However, since South African strategic participation of externally-initiated project-based HIV/AIDS prevention communication has been commended for being on the forefront of health communication in the world (Tufte, 2006:691), this article suggests that a new direction may be community-based participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication initiatives to supplement behaviour change HIV/Aids prevention communication. In line with the arguments of Storey

(2006), this article contends that an important focus for communication about the epidemic should be on the impact of the epidemic on the everyday lives of ordinary people. Recently some scholars (Govender, Dyll-Myklebust, Delate & Sundar, 2013; Hungbo, 2011a; 2011b; Chiumbe & Ligaga, 2013; Bosch, 2014; Obregon & Tufte, 2013: 54-57) have argued that HIV/AIDS prevention should consider popular culture. This article suggests to promote this line of thinking and focus on the stories that emanate spontaneously from society, as this is the locus of identity work, participation and empowerment.

The argument presented in this article remains conceptual and further research needs to be undertaken to identify more cases of community-based public HIV/AIDS prevention communication and to elaborate and nuance this conceptual understanding. Nevertheless, the main argument of this article is that a way forward for HIV/AIDS prevention communication in the country is to focus on authentic community-based participatory HIV/AIDS prevention communication. The conceptual framework presented in this article may furthermore be read to indicate a future direction of HIV/AIDS prevention communication that considers the role of the entertainment industry, conventional participatory mass media (talk shows, reality television shows) and new digital interactive communication opportunities, as these may facilitate public self-expressions.

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