



Post-broadcast evaluation of the Brothers for Life medical male circumcision “Salon” campaign

Stakeholders

**United States Agency for International Development,
Centre for Communication Impact**

Date:

December 2016



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Research conducted by:

Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE)

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Recommended citation:

Orr, N, Hajiyiannis H, Matekane T, and Ntlabati, P, *Post-broadcast evaluation of the Brothers for Life medical male circumcision “Salon” campaign*, Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE), Johannesburg: December 2016.

Acknowledgements:

This formative research was made possible with the financial support of the US President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)¹ and with the support of the Centre for Communication Impact (CCI).

We acknowledge the contributions of Lusanda Mahlasela and Brenda Goldblatt (Centre for Communication Impact) towards the development of the concept, protocol, and evaluation instruments for this evaluation project as well as providing overall technical oversight.

We gratefully acknowledge the generous contributions of the focus group participants.

Focus groups and individual interviews were conducted by Helen Hajiyiannis, Neil Orr, Tselisehang Matekane (CADRE) and Pumla Ntlabati.

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¹ The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development

Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired immune-deficiency syndrome
ART	Antiretroviral treatment / therapy
ARV	Antiretroviral
B4L	Brothers for Life
CADRE	Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation
CCI	Centre for Communication Impact
FGD	Focus group discussion
HCT	HIV Counselling and Testing
HIV	Human immune-deficiency virus
MMC	Medical male circumcision
NCS	National Communication Survey
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PLHIV	People living with HIV
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
TB	Tuberculosis
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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Executive summary

Background

Brothers for Life is a national campaign that promotes the health and wellbeing of South African men, targeting men between the ages 18 – 34, with a specific focus on HIV prevention and treatment, Medical Male Circumcision (MMC) and Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV). Launched in August 2009, the campaign is a partnership between the Centre for Communication Impact (CCI, previously JHHESA), the SANAC Men’s sector, the Department of Health, and USAID/PEPFAR. The campaign is supported financially by the US President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

The B4L campaign’s direct HIV-related objectives include: increasing correct and consistent condom use in men; increasing HIV testing in men; increasing the number of men who understand the benefits of MMC in preventing HIV infection; increasing the number of men who undergo MMC, and reducing the number of men’s sexual partners.

Brothers for Life has promoted the uptake of MMC since February 2012 in support of the National VMMC programme. The overall objective of the National VMMC Strategy is to ensure that 80% of men aged 15 – 49 (the primary audience) are medically circumcised by 2016. Secondary audiences include women and girls, policy and decision makers, health care workers, and traditional leaders.

The B4L “Salon” MMC campaign

The “*Salon*” campaign (launched in February 2015, ended in July 2016) utilises females as key communicators of MMC and its benefits. The primary slogan was “*Get the upgrade that counts*”, referring to the benefits of MMC.

Four primary media were utilised in this campaign:

- **TV advert:** Women in a hair salon talking about MMC and its benefits. Key phrases were “*Upgrade*” (the man was circumcised), and “*Zing*” (a euphemistic term used to express sexual pleasure), and “*circumcise and condomise*”. The TV advert was broadcast from March 2015 to 31 May 2016.
- **Radio adverts:** The radio adverts were broadcast in English, Ndebele, Sepedi, Swati, Tsonga, Venda and Zulu. For each of these languages, there were 2 adverts, one male-voiced, the other female-voiced. The information was the same in both versions, and made use of the same campaign concepts as the television advertisement.
- **Out of home billboards:** The billboard images featured the two main characters from the TV adverts and featured the slogan “*Get the upgrade that counts*” and “*circumcise and condomise*”.
- **Posters:** Posters were the same as the billboards. These were made available in clinics, communities and taverns. Two versions of the poster were released: Version 1 had the male

character without a shirt and wearing a cowboy hat; Version 2 had the male character wearing a shirt.

In all mediums, an SMS number (*120*662#) was provided for obtaining information about the nearest clinic as well as links to Facebook and Twitter (#MMCZING), and the B4L website.

The key messages of the television and radio “*Salon*” adverts included: MMC reduces the risk of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections in men, and women’s risk of cervical cancer; The MMC procedure takes 30 minutes to perform; Men who have undergone MMC must abstain from sex for 6 weeks for the wound to heal fully; Circumcised men must use condoms every time; Sexual pleasure is enhanced if a man is circumcised; Women prefer sex with medically circumcised men; Women believe that sex lasts longer and is more pleasurable with circumcised men; Encourage women to talk to their male partners about the benefits of MMC; Men should go for MMC.

Evaluation of the B4L “Salon” campaign

The objective of the evaluation was to explore the reception impact of the “*Salon*” television, radio, billboard and poster campaign, with the intention that the findings will be used to develop a set of recommendations for the MMC campaign way forward.

The primary target audience of the overall “*Salon*” MMC campaign was young men aged 18 to 34 years, in the LSM 3-7, single or in a relationship, unemployed, uncircumcised, and/or engaging in high risk sexual activities. A secondary audience of the “*Salon*” MMC campaign was young, unemployed, out-of-school women aged 18 to 34, single or in relationship.

Methodology

The post-broadcast evaluation of “*Salon*” advertisements was conducted in three provinces (Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and KwaZulu-Natal in July 2016). The study design involved conducting nine focus group discussions in 9 sites in Gauteng, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal provinces (refer Table 1). The 9 sites incorporated urban, peri-urban and rural localities.

Participants were selected on the basis of being within the age and gender criteria of the evaluation, exposure to the “*Salon*” television or radio advertisements, willingness to speak openly and share their opinions of the “*Salon*” advertisements, and provide informed consent for participant and audio recordings of proceedings. Focus groups consisted of males and females aged 18-24 years and 25-34 years (refer Table 1), in groups of 6 to 9 participants.

CADRE recruiter briefed recruiters with the selection criteria, who obtained names and contact telephone numbers of eligible participants. Researchers then contacted potential participants, and briefed them regarding the nature of the focus groups, and then invited them to participate. Focus group discussions occurred in the preferred language of participants, through the assistance of a translator. The opportunity to withdraw was provided, before and during the focus group sessions. Informed consent regarding the use of audio recording and confidentiality was obtained. A basic

demographic survey was conducted prior to the discussion. Participants were reimbursed for travel and time. Measures were taken to make participation as comfortable as possible for participants. Participants were not required to answer questions they were not comfortable with. There was no expected risk of harm to participants as a product of the general nature of the questions to be explored. Participants who required support or additional information about HIV/AIDS and or MMC were referred to the national AIDS Helpline, to a local MMC clinic, or to a local MMC and/or HIV/AIDS counselling service provider. The research was conducted by trained researchers with formal training and extensive experience in qualitative research techniques.

Table 1: Focus groups according to province, locality, age group, and gender

Province	District, sub-district: Site	Site Type	Age group	Gender	
				Males	Females
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg; Region D: Protea North (Soweto)	Urban	18-24yrs	9	-
	Sedibeng; Emfuleni: Evaton (Sebokeng)	Peri-urban	25-34yrs	7	-
	City of Johannesburg, Region G: Drieziek (Orange Farm)	Peri-urban	25-34yrs	-	8
Mpumalanga	Nkangala, Emalahleni: KwaGuqa Extension 2	Rural	25-34yrs	8	-
	Nkangala, Govan Mbeki: Emzinoni (Bethal)	Peri-urban	18-24yrs	6	-
	Nkangala, Emalahleni: Witbank	Urban	25-34yrs	-	8
KwaZulu-Natal	eThekweni, Umlazi: Umlazi	Urban	25-34yrs	8	-
	Ugu, Hibiscus Coast: Betania	Rural	18-24yrs	8	-
	Ugu, Hibiscus Coast: Gamalakhe	Peri-urban	25-34yrs	-	6
Total:				46	22

All focus groups were audio-recorded and transcribed. When the language used in the focus group was not English, transcribers translated the audio from vernacular to English, verbatim, during the transcription. HyperRESEARCH 3.7 was used for both coding and analysis of focus group material.

Results

Demographic description of participants

A total of 68 people participated in this evaluation (22 women, and 46 men). The great majority of participants (n=59) were unemployed. Approximately two-thirds (n=44) of all participants had completed Grade 12 education, and 11 had completed Grade 11. Two-thirds of participants were single (n=46). Most other participants were in either in a casual relationship (n=9) or in a long-term relationship (n=7). A few were in multiple relationships (n=4) or married (n=1). A third of participants (n=22) said they had children.

The majority of participants said they spoke isiZulu (n=53), and 41 said they spoke English. Sesotho was spoken by 15 participants, followed by isiXhosa (n=9). Languages spoken by fewer participants included Setswana, isiSwati, Xhitsonga, and Sepedi (n=2 each).

Almost all participants (n=66) said they owned a cellular phone. Most participants (n=57) stated that their cellular phone had internet access.

More than half (27) of the 45 men who answered the evaluation survey said that they were circumcised (all MMC, none with traditional circumcision), and 18 said they were uncircumcised. Most uncircumcised men said they planned to get circumcised medically (n=15). No uncircumcised man said that he planned to undergo traditional circumcision. Only 2 men said that they did not plan on any form of circumcision.

Of the participants who answered the survey questions regarding both television and radio exposure, 46 had both seen the television and radio “Salon” adverts.

Awareness of B4L campaigns and messaging

Exposure to B4L campaigns was high - most participants in all groups had heard of *Brothers for Life* (B4L). The most commonly-reported means of exposure to B4L campaigns was television, followed by radio, newspapers, billboards, community events, and pamphlets.

Participants identified several B4L campaigns, some current, recent, and from the past. There were also participants who confused B4L campaigns with other campaigns. The most commonly-identified B4L campaign by both men and women was the advertisement aimed at reducing violence against women by men (Patrick Shai advert).

Most participants viewed B4L positively. B4L was viewed largely as being focused on the mind-set of men, but with impact upon women via improved male behaviours towards women, and more responsible sexual health behaviours. Specific actions mentioned included teaching men not to abuse women, encouraging men to support each other, providing a venue for men to speak to each other, reducing HIV and STIs through medical circumcision, and helping men discuss and deal with their sexual problems.

The most frequently-mentioned B4L message received concerned the prevention of abuse against women and children by men. Other B4L messages mentioned by participants included: Encouraging men to support each other in positive behaviours; Promoting male circumcision; Using condoms when circumcised; Preventing HIV and STIs through MMC; Encouraging people to get tested for HIV, and to seek treatment; Giving health advice. One unintended message reported was that HIV testing was required prior to MMC.

When asked whether they remembered the B4L logo and slogan (*‘Yenza kahle’* - Do the right thing), the clasped hands logo was widely recognised as representing B4L, and was viewed positively by participants, who associated the logo with men helping, loving, and supporting each other. Most participants did not recognise the slogan.

Favourite advertisements

Almost all favourite advertisements mentioned were television advertisements. Advertisements concerning health and social issues that were most frequently mentioned as favourite advertisements were, in order of frequency of being mentioned, were : The B4L “Salon” MMC advertisement (12 participants); Men’s Clinic advertisements (8 participants); B4L “Positive or negative – nothing changes” (4 participants); B4L Patrick Shai abuse advertisement (3 participants); Scrutinize (2 participants); Zazi (1 participant).

The most frequently mentioned commercial advertisements were Chicken-Licken (3 participants), Lunch Bar “Obvious” (2 participants), and the Mweb airport “slapped by the bill” advertisement (2 participants). Other commercial advertisements were mentioned only by 1 participant each.

Evaluation of the television MMC “Salon” advertisement

Recall of content: Prior to the participants being asked to recall the contents of the “Salon” advertisements, several participants in most groups had already spontaneously recalled specific aspects of the advertisement, such as the location (a hair salon, women talking about their partners, and the catch-phrases ‘Zing’, and ‘upgrade’. In all spontaneous references to the advertisement, the advertisement was referred to as the ‘Zing’ advertisement.

Almost all men, when asked to recall the advertisement, did not spontaneously recall the details of the health benefits of circumcision presented in the advertisement. Instead, men tended to focus more on the women’s discussion of their partner’s sexual performance, and the happiness of the man because he was having better sex. In comparison, women recalled the health benefits of MMC, in addition to the details described by men. Some older men (aged 25-34y) confused the “Salon” advertisement with Men’s Clinic advertisements. Not one participant spontaneously mentioned the SMS number or B4L website information, nor did any participant say they – or anyone they knew - had used the printed information.

Overall views (including likes and dislikes): Several men expressed discomfort regarding how the advertisement would result in men being appraised by women, according to their circumcision status. Several men were also uncomfortable with the advertisement breaking the cultural taboos of discussing both sex and circumcision (in particular) by bringing these subjects into the public eye. Some men, however, liked the fact that this information was made available to women.

All the women who participated in the focus groups were clearly pleased (and sometimes amused) with the advertisement, the information provided about circumcision and its health benefits, and the empowerment it provided in their communications with male partners. They enjoyed the realism of the situation (a hair salon), and that women were able to discuss sexuality and circumcision.

Characters and setting: All participants – both males and females – considered the setting (a hair salon) as a realistic situation where women would talk about their partners and sex. Several women identified with aspects of the situation and some of the characters. Some men, on the other hand, did

not enjoy the situation portrayed, and there were conflicting thoughts and feelings about men being discussed by women in that setting.

General clarity of language: In all groups – males and females – the language was said to be clear and understandable, although some older men were concerned that older people in rural areas would not understand it. Several participants expressed the view that the language was suitable for all age groups, and that there was no offensive language used. Participants appeared to particularly enjoy the mixture of English and Zulu (*'Zinglish'*), and the overall sentiment was that this slang approach was highly relatable because that is how most people spoke in everyday life.

'Zing' catch-phrase: For most participants, the term *'Zing'* was synonymous with the “Salon” advertisement. The term was understood variably to mean something simply pleasant or good, or sexual pleasure and excitement, or indicating circumcision and condoms. Women in particular expressed happiness in being able to use the term to discuss circumcision, sex and sexual pleasure with friends, family, and their partners, with some women saying that this had not been the case before.

'Get the upgrade that counts' slogan: The term *'upgrade'* was not always associated with the “Salon” advert – particularly for men – and was sometimes used to refer to Men’s Clinic advertisements that discussed circumcision and men’s health. However, even in those statements, the term *'upgrade'* was typically used to refer to medical circumcision. Overall, for women the term *'upgrade'* appeared to be understood as intended by the advertisement, in terms of circumcision and the resulting benefits for both partners. Men, however, had various additional connotations added to the core meaning of the term, including beliefs that the *'upgrade'* included a bigger penis, protection from STIs and thus not requiring condoms for sex, and also the reduction in pain during sex, leading to improved sexual performance. Some men also said that the term was confusing (with reference to computer upgrades), and would be too difficult to understand by rural audiences.

Messages and new information received: Overall, men and women of all age groups and in all sites reported receiving the main messages of the advertisement, namely that it advocated for men to get medically circumcised, that circumcised men should wear a condom, that circumcision enhances relationships (including sexual pleasure) for both partners, and that medical circumcision had health benefits for both partners (i.e., reduces the risk of HIV, STIs, and cervical cancer). The intended message concerning the 6-week post-circumcision period was less universally received, and the information that the circumcision process took only 30 minutes was not received/recalled by most participants. There were few unintended messages received.

Men and women received the message concerning the female character convincing the male character to get circumcised differently: Women generally viewed this persuasion as being supportive, but some men viewed this as manipulative. However, both men and women considered this strategy as effective.

Some men and women said that they learned for the first time that it was necessary for a circumcised man to wear a condom, and several participants of both genders said that they learned about cervical cancer for the first time. There were also some women who said they learned for the first time that there was a difference in sexual pleasure with men who were circumcised and uncircumcised. In some groups, men and women said that they did not know – prior to the advertisement – that the post-circumcision healing period was 6 weeks.

For men, the three most commonly-reported pieces of new information concerned circumcision reducing the reduction of the risk of cervical cancer for female partners, that when a man is circumcised he still needs to wear a condom to prevent HIV and STIs, and that a woman enjoys sex more when her male partner is circumcised.

For women, the most frequently stated new information learned from the “Salon” advertisement concerned the need for a circumcised man to use a condom. Several women said that they did not know that there was a difference in having sex between a circumcised and uncircumcised man, and that sex with a circumcised man was more pleasurable.

Perceived target audience: Most younger men and women aged 18-24y said that the advertisement was aimed at uncircumcised men in their own age group, because they believed that younger people were more sexually active than older people. Most older men and women aged 25-34y – and some younger men and women - said that they believed that the advertisement was aimed at men, women, and couples because the advertisement showed that circumcision benefited both a man and woman.

Perceived advertisement’s call to action: The most common response was that it was calling upon uncircumcised men to get circumcised to protect themselves and their partners from diseases, for men to use condoms when circumcised, and for women to encourage their male partners to get circumcised.

Interpersonal communications stimulated: The advertisement was reported by young urban men 18-24y to be widely discussed at urban schools, but not widely discussed by most young men in the peri-urban and rural sites, although individual young men did discuss the advertisement and promote circumcision with friends and family. Urban and peri-urban older men aged 25-34y were relatively emphatic that circumcision was not discussed with women, and that such issues were only discussed with other men. However, several older rural men appeared to be comfortable discussing MMC with their families and partners. Both young (18-24y) and older women (25-34y) reported discussing the “Salon” advertisement with partners, friends, family members, and colleagues. In many of these reports, the term ‘Zing’ was used as the key conversation term.

Social media discussions & Internet: Several participants reported using Facebook to discuss MMC, and there were reports of using WhatsApp as part of group promotions of MMC. Only two participants reported using Twitter to discuss the advertisement. Google was used to access information about MMC. One participant reported accessing the B4L website, briefly.

Attitudinal impact of the television advertisement: In uncircumcised men, the most commonly reported change in attitude involved becoming aware that women had sexual needs, that women discussed sexual satisfaction with others, and MMC improved sexual pleasure for both the man and woman. Circumcised men said that the most important changes in attitudes concerned becoming aware of the health benefits of circumcision, and that this had – for some men – increased their sense of responsibility for the health of themselves and their main partner. Overall, female participants described how the advertisement had changed their understanding of circumcision, that this had allowed them to speak about circumcision to partners, family members, and other people, and that this was a significant shift in cultural norms regarding women discussing circumcision.

Impact of the television advertisement on behaviour: Several young men in the groups aged 18-24y stated that they had gone for MMC after watching the advertisement, that friends had done the same. Urban men aged 25-34y said they were not influenced to get medically circumcised by the advertisement because they were already circumcised by the time the advertisement was released. However, at least two older peri-urban men aged 25-34y said they had gone for MMC as a direct result of watching the “Salon” television advertisement, and related several instances of friends and acquaintances – mainly young men and boys - who had also gone for the MMC procedure as a result of the advertisement. This group explained that specific messages motivated men and boys to get circumcised: That the procedure was free, that the healing period was only 6 weeks long, and that the procedure was safer than traditional circumcision. This group also described instances of men who had been traditionally circumcised wanting to do MMC because the traditional circumcision was not full circumcision, and the belief that MMC results in penis enlargement. Young women 18-24y did not relate any behaviours changes in themselves, friends or relatives as a result of the advertisement. Older women aged 25-34y provided examples of how they themselves had refusing to have sex with uncircumcised men because of the advertisement, and of partners going for MMC after watching the advertisement.

Participant recommendations and suggestions: The majority of participants in most groups said that they liked the advertisement exactly as it was. Some improvements were suggested: The advertisement could have two versions, one with mainly female characters, and another with mainly male characters. Another common suggestion from both male and female participants was that a new advertisement should be done in Zulu to reach people who do not understand English. Some men also proposed that the key messages of the advertisement were presented in captions during the advertisement, and that information regarding whether an HIV test was required or not was also included in the advertisement, as this would have a significant impact on men going for MMC.

Evaluation of the radio MMC “Salon” advertisement

Recall of content: Overall, recall of the content of the radio advertisement was considerably less detailed than the recall of the television advertisement. The most frequently recalled content was that it was important for a man to get circumcised, and the term *Zing*’. Other content recalled

included the reduction of cervical cancer, HIV and STIs. The most frequently stated comment regarding the content was that it was the same as the television advertisement. Several men indicated that they either did not listen to radio, or that they did not listen to the radio with much attention.

Overall views (including likes and dislikes): In all groups, the data obtained from participants regarding the radio advertisement was less extensive than for the television advertisement. In the majority of focus groups only a few participants provided spontaneous feedback regarding their overall views, likes and dislikes. The most commonly discussed view expressed by both women and men concerned the clarity of the messaging in the radio advertisement, compared to the television advertisement, particularly that the radio advertisement explicitly states a condom needs to be used after circumcision, whereas the television advertisement does not state this verbally. Some men preferred the male-voiced version because they could relate more to two men talking. Several women found the Zulu female-voiced version more humorous than the English female-voiced version, the latter which was described as boring.

Language and terms used: In all groups, the great majority of participants stated that the radio advertisement language was clear, without a single participant indicating any confusion regarding the content. Some participants also said that the radio advertisement was more specific and accurate than the television advertisement.

Messages and information received: Most participants said the messages and new information in the radio advertisement was the same as in the television advertisement, with specific messages (e.g., reduction in cervical cancer, and use of condoms by circumcised men) being clearer than in the television advertisement.

Perceived target audience, and perceived call to action: Participants reiterated the data concerning the target audience and call to action stated for the television advertisement. Two rural men said that youth do not listen to the radio, but that older people and drivers do listen to the radio.

Interpersonal and social media communication stimulated: In younger men and women aged 18-24y, the most frequently-reported stimulus for interpersonal discussions was hearing the catchphrase 'Zing', followed by conversations regarding what it meant. Older participants aged 25-34y reported no interpersonal discussions resulting from listening to the radio. No reported social media discussions were reported to be connected to the radio advertisement.

Attitudinal and behavioural impact of the radio advertisement: There were very few participant responses regarding the impact of the radio advertisement.

Participant recommendations and suggestions: Apart from young rural males aged 18-24y, no recommendations or suggestions were made. In the rural group of young men the discussion concerned having different content for the male-voiced and female-voiced radio advertisements. The group agreed that the two versions of the radio advertisement were 'balanced'.

Evaluation of the MMC “Salon” billboards and posters

A separate evaluation of the “Salon” posters placed in taverns was conducted with groups of tavern clients, as is reported upon in the document ‘*Evaluation of the Brothers for Life medical male circumcision campaign: Tavern Posters*’ (CADRE, November 2016).

Few participants reported seeing the posters or billboards. Of those that reported seeing the poster or billboard, the most frequently-reported recalled contents included the B4L logo and that there was a couple on the poster. One person recalled seeing a condom. Only one participant recalled the slogan ‘*get the upgrade that counts*’, and the rest of the participants who had seen the poster or billboard could not recall specific details of printed words, which was explained as due to the fact that these posters and billboards were seen very briefly as people drove past them.

Overall, men liked the posters and billboard mainly because the messages were simple and easy to understand, and also that the poster/billboard provided information (e.g., clinic locator number; website; organisations promoting the campaign) that are not as easily observed in the television and radio versions of the “Salon” advertisements. Some men also said they liked the boldness and colours of the text, which made the poster attractive. Overall views of women included that the posters/billboard were clear and easy to explain the posters to young people – but that older people would not be comfortable with the image of a shirtless man – and that the posters and billboards served as a reminder to people of the television and radio advertisements.

The messages contained in the posters and billboards were stated to be simple and clear: Circumcise (*‘upgrade’*), condomise, use condoms after being circumcised, and finally, that circumcision improves sexual relationships.

Participant recommendations regarding the billboards and posters: The most common suggestion from male groups was that the billboards and posters be placed in more places, not just along roads, and not only in a few places. Young urban men said the poster/billboard was dull in terms of colour, and suggested that the size and colour of the text be changed. They also said that the term ‘*get the upgrade that counts*’ would not make sense to people who had not seen the television advertisement. They suggested that the poster and billboard explicitly state that MMC is free. One suggestion from rural young men was that the poster and billboard be released in various languages, including isiZulu.

Way forward

Proposed general approach for a new MMC campaign: Younger men placed a great deal of attention upon a new campaign representing a wide range of languages, cultures, and including explicit messaging about MMC being free, and that government clinics providing MMC services were as good as private service providers. They also focused on the distribution of messages through various mediums. Only the rural young men mentioned community activities to promote MMC. Young urban women did not propose many new ideas for a new MMC campaign.

Older men and women placed great emphasis upon direct community campaigning, with less focus upon television and other media. These older groups of men and women also emphasised messaging that reached people who were more traditional in their beliefs regarding circumcision, and also reaching vulnerable groups such sexually active school-going youth, and those who use alcohol. For older participants, several men believed that the emphasis of messaging to men about getting circumcised should be on manhood, while for several older women, the emphasis should be on circumcision as a health issue, not manhood. In several groups – particularly younger and older men – there was concern that rural people would be omitted from the campaign due to the language used in the MMC media advertisements.

Proposed design of a campaign to promote MMC: Most groups agreed that a new campaign should be national, not regional or local. When asked to identify characters and describe scenarios for such a national campaign, there were clear indications that such characters and scenarios were targeting specific groups (e.g., rural people, older people, specific ethnic groups), and that there was concern that these groups would be addressed in a new campaign. Both younger and older men proposed scenarios involving older and younger male characters conversing about circumcision.

The two most frequently described scenarios presented by men involved an older man advising a younger man about MMC, and scenarios of a man being rejected by a woman because he was not circumcised. The most commonly suggested dialogue proposed by men involved an older man (or men) advising a younger man (or men) about the importance of MMC, why the young man did not need fear MMC, and also providing information about the MMC procedure itself.

Build on the “Salon” advertisement: The majority view was that the “Salon” advert was a good campaign because it was educational, was humorous, and it allowed viewers to have a conversation about MMC. There were relatively few participants who did not like the “Salon” advertisement, overall. However, there were a few participants who believed that certain changes to the “Salon” advertisement would have made it better, such as being more specific in its messages regarding the reduction of risk for HIV and STIs, and using a less-known actor to portray the main female character. Young urban men in particular felt that a new MMC campaign could be a continuation of the “Salon” advertisement.

Develop a new slogan: Some young urban men aged 18-24y did not like the ‘Zing’ catch-phrase, and suggested that a new catch-phrase and slogan was developed specifically for men, such as ‘man up’ or ‘slice’ or ‘cut’ that men could hashtag, to replace ‘Zing’ and ‘get an upgrade’:

Exploratory research to inform the campaign

A formative study with uncircumcised men (aged 18-24y, and 25-34y) was conducted in October 2016, in parallel to the post-broadcast evaluation (PBE) reported in the current document. The full results of this formative study are reported in the document ‘*MMC Formative Research with Uncircumcised Men*’ (CADRE, October 2016). In the current evaluation, participants were asked

the same questions as asked in the formative study. No additional data was obtained in the PBE evaluation.

In both the PBE (current report) and formative study, the most common barrier to MMC was men's fear of the pain of the MMC procedure, and the post-procedure healing period. Other barriers included: The common misconception that an HIV test was mandatory prior to the MMC procedure; Specific cultural groups who do not have a tradition of circumcision did not see the value of removing the foreskin; Lack of clarity regarding whether the MMC procedure was free; The older men feel embarrassed to stand in MMC queues with young boys and men.

The primary enabler of MMC in the PBE groups - both male and female participants – was that there was a broad awareness of the nature of MMC. There were no reports or indications that participants were unaware of where to access free MMC services within their community.

Women's awareness and understanding of circumcision – previously a male-only area of knowledge – was also common, and had facilitated conversations that encouraged MMC with male family members, friends, and partners.

Conclusions and recommendations

It was evident that the “Salon” campaign succeeded in contributing significantly towards a shift in social norms regarding men and women discussing MMC, in the groups evaluated, and that women found this empowering. Men agreed that this strategy was effective, although some were not comfortable with this approach. It is therefore recommended that the general approach of using female characters advocating MMC in future campaigns is maintained.

Overall, the characters and dialogue of the “Salon” advertisement were viewed as realistic, and effective in promoting MMC in audiences. There were indications from several participants rural audiences (male and female), older men, and more traditional men, were excluded from the full impact of the “Salon” advertisements, largely linked to the language used in the advertisement. It is recommended that future campaigns consider rural audiences in terms of language use.

Another common theme concerned some men's request for male-only scenarios, or scenarios that involved discussions between men, particularly dialogues between older men and younger men. It is recommended that future campaigns consist of dual gender advertisements, with a man-only scenario run in parallel to a female-only scenario.

A prominent theme through all groups was that the ‘*Zing*’ catch-phrase was a key factor in making the “Salon” advertisement memorable, distinctive from other MMC campaigns (e.g., Men's Clinic), and it also provided the main entrance to conversations with family, friends, and partners. In comparison, the slogan ‘*get the upgrade that counts*’ was less remembered, understood, and used. Men in particular did not fully understand the term ‘*upgrade*’, and this term was also associated with other MMC campaigns. It is thus recommended that future slogans are clearer in their meaning, and less sophisticated in terms of the vocabulary required to interpret correctly.

Men, in general, were more focused upon the sexual performance aspects of the “Salon” advertisement, and paid less attention to the health benefits of MMC messages contained in the advertisement. It is recommended that health messaging is more explicit in future advertisements, such as the use of condoms following MMC, that the procedure is free, and the health benefits of MMC.

The printed information – the clinic locator SMS number, social media hashtag, and the B4L website address – were poorly received. It is recommended that a survey is conducted to determine the reasons for why this information was poorly received.

The radio advertisements were generally well-received, and the fact that they were both male and female-voiced was stated to be a good approach to engage men who were both comfortable and uncomfortable with MMC being discussed publicly.

Billboards were seen by few participants. The main recommendation by participants is that there should be more of these billboards, not only on main roads, but also within communities. Also, it was suggested that billboards and posters – including in taverns – contain more explicit and detailed information, particularly regarding condom use and the health benefits of MMC.

It is also recommended that future MMC campaigns take participants’ stated barriers to MMC into consideration. Recommendations are that any future campaign addresses the concerns that many uncircumcised men have regarding the pain of MMC (procedural and post-procedure), that greater prominence is given to older men accessing MMC in future campaigns, and that engaging the community in events and meetings is included in rural areas and peri-urban areas.

Many uncircumcised men have specific concerns and questions. It is recommended that a FAQ brochure is developed answering these questions, distributed, and prominently displayed on the B4L website. It is also recommended that reference to this information is made in future B4L campaigns.

Background

Brothers for Life

Brothers for Life is a national campaign that promotes the health and wellbeing of South African men, targeting men between the ages 18 – 34, with a specific focus on HIV prevention and treatment, Medical Male Circumcision (MMC) and Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV). Launched in August 2009, the campaign is a partnership between the Centre for Communication Impact (CCI, previously JHHESA), the SANAC Men’s sector, the Department of Health, and USAID/PEPFAR. The campaign is supported financially by the US President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Brothers for Life is shaped by extensive research, including epidemiological data of HIV prevalence and its patterns in South Africa, findings from the National Communication Survey (NSP), the HSRC HIV/AIDS Survey, regular quantitative and qualitative research and engagement with its target and secondary audiences. It is also informed by extensive consultative processes, involving national and provincial government, key stakeholders in civil society, community leaders, and South African men.

Brothers for Life seeks to influence some of the social norms that define masculinity and influence gender norms and to impact on specific areas of knowledge and practice in HIV prevention and treatment. The logo – two sturdy hands clasped in a brotherly shake –evokes the convention of male bonding and comradeship, which formed in the shape of the red ribbon, denotes that the campaign is aiming to address HIV.

Based on the theory of positive normativity, *Brothers for Life* encourages and reinforces positive behaviours, rather than taking an approach that is judgmental and focused on negative behaviours. Social modelling draws on positive male role models to promote ‘*Brothers*’ norms and values. Issues addressed through the campaign include:

The B4L campaign’s direct HIV-related objectives include: increasing correct and consistent condom use in men; increasing HIV testing in men; increasing the number of men on antiretroviral treatment; increasing the number of men who understand the benefits of MMC in preventing HIV infection; increasing the number of men who undergo MMC; reducing the number of men’s sexual partners; and a focus on reducing gender-based violence. Other B4L campaign objectives are to increase men’s support for (and participation in) the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV, and increasing awareness of excessive alcohol and substance use as a risk factor for HIV.

The B4L campaign is aligned to the National Campaign to promote voluntary medical male circumcision (VMMC), initiated in 2008 by the South African Government. The national VMMC campaign is a combined effort with the Department of Health, USAID, CDC and the Global Fund.

History of B4L MMC campaigns

B4L has promoted the uptake of MMC since February 2012 in support of the National VMMC programme. The overall objective of the National VMMC Strategy is to ensure that 80% of men aged 15 – 49 (the primary audience) are medically circumcised by 2016. Secondary audiences include women and girls, policy and decision makers, health care workers, and traditional leaders.

The B4L MMC communication campaign has been undertaken in three phases comprising of a mix of mass media and other media with community mobilisation interventions that are designed to achieve the objectives of the campaign. The mass media elements of the campaign included television, radio. Other media include print media, out-of-home media, digital media, and social media. The multi media campaign was complemented on the ground with community mobilisation (community dialogues, door-to-door campaigns, workshops, and community activations).

B4L's national MMC campaigns commenced with promoting peer-to-peer dialogues concerning MMC (*"The Time is Now"* campaign), from February 2012 to September 2013. An evaluation of this campaign in 2013 by CADRE identified the lack of leadership as a significant barrier to MMC. As a result, a campaign focusing upon promoting leadership around MMC (using a social normative approach) was initiated.

In an effort to promote partner dialogue and discussion with a specific focus on men engaging in high-risk behaviours, an out-of-home campaign was undertaken in selected sites from December 2013 to April 2014. The objective of this campaign was to encourage debate, dialogue and discussion around the perspectives of women on safer sex and circumcision. The tagline was *"Better, Sexier, and Safer"*, promoting the concepts of circumcision resulting in improved hygiene (*"Better"*), being sexually and aesthetically more pleasing (*"Sexier"*), and that the combination of MMC and condoms prevent STIs, HIV, and unwanted pregnancies (*"Safer"*). This campaign also introduced female voices and images into the messaging, based upon CADRE research indicating that women have a significant influence on male partner's decisions to get circumcised.

The B4L "Salon" MMC campaign

Utilising qualitative research undertaken by CADRE, along with other survey data and epidemiological data, a new MMC campaign was developed and launched in February 2015, entitled the *"Salon"* campaign. This campaign made use of female voices and images, an approach first introduced in the previous *"Better, Sexier, and Safer"* campaign. The *"Salon"* campaign utilises females as key communicators of MMC and its benefits. Extensive pre-testing of creative treatments preceded the campaign, as well as pre-testing of television and radio scripts. Posters and billboards were included in this campaign. The *"Salon"* campaign ended in July 2016.

The primary slogan was *"Get the upgrade that counts"*, referring to the benefits of a man being medically circumcised, which includes increased sexual pleasure for self and partner, HIV risk

reduction (when combined with condom use), STI prevention, prevention of cervical cancer in women, and hygiene benefits.

Four primary media were utilised in this campaign:

- **TV advert:** Women in a hair salon talking about MMC and its benefits. There was a 45-second advert and a 60 second advert. The content of the two adverts was the same, except that the 45-second advert did not show a second woman in the salon saying her man also went for MMC. Key phrases were “*Upgrade*” (the man was circumcised), and “*Zing*” (a euphemistic term used to express sexual pleasure), and “*circumcise and condomise*”. An SMS number was provided for obtaining information about the nearest clinic as well as links to Facebook and Twitter. The TV advert was broadcast from March 2015 to 31 May 2016.
- **Radio adverts:** The radio adverts were broadcast in English, Ndebele, Sepedi, Swati, Tsonga, Venda and Zulu. For each of these languages, there were 2 adverts, one with women taking about MMC, and another one with men talking about MMC. The information was the same in all adverts, and made use of the same campaign concepts: MMC is an “*Upgrade*”, “*Zing*”, “*circumcise and condomise*”, and provided an SMS number for obtaining information about the nearest clinic.
- **Out of home billboards:** The billboard images featured the same characters as in the TV adverts and featured the campaign concepts of MMC as an “*Upgrade that counts*” and “*circumcise and condomise*”, an SMS number for nearest clinic, and a Facebook/Twitter hashtag “#MMCZING”.
- **Posters:** Posters were the same as the billboards. These were made available in clinics, communities and taverns. The posters were placed in 281 taverns in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape. Two versions of the poster (man with a shirt and no condom; man without a shirt, wearing a cowboy hat, holding a condom) were released.

The key messages of the television and radio “*Salon*” adverts included:

- MMC reduces the risk of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections in men;
- MMC reduces women’s risk of cervical cancer;
- The MMC procedure takes 30 minutes to perform;
- Men who have undergone MMC must abstain from sex for 6 weeks for the wound to heal fully;
- Circumcised men must use condoms every time;
- Sexual pleasure is enhanced if a man is circumcised. Women prefer sex with medically circumcised men. Women believe that sex lasts longer and is more pleasurable with circumcised men;
- Encourage women to talk to their male partners about the benefits of MMC;
- Call to action: Men should go for MMC. Call the *120*662# for nearest clinic;
- Social media: Facebook and Twitter using the hashtag #MMCZING for discussions on MMC.

Billboards and posters were more limited in messaging scope:

- **Words:** “*Get the Upgrade that counts*” (large white letters), “*Circumcise & Condomise*” (medium-sized red letters), “*Dial 120*662# for your nearest clinic*” (smaller white letters), and the Facebook and Twitter hashtag “#MMCZING” (small black letters);
- **Images:** A bare-chested man wearing a cowboy hat, and holding a Choice™ condom while looking lovingly and naughtily at his female partner (dressed in night-wear), the B4L logo displayed in the lower right corner, and the logos of DOH, USAID, PEPFAR, and SANAC at the bottom centre.

Evaluation of the B4L “Salon” campaign

Objectives of the tavern poster evaluation

- To explore the reception environment of health advertising, with a focus on the “Salon” television, radio, billboard and poster campaign;
- To explore exposure, recall, personal responses, and engagement with the MMC “Salon” tavern poster’s images and messages;
- To explore interpersonal communications about the MMC “Salon” advertisements;
- To explore whether the advertisements resulted in men going for MMC;
- To identify key strengths and weaknesses of the MMC “Salon” campaign, to inform the development of future MMC communication materials;
- To identify barriers to, and enablers of, MMC, and to use these to develop a set of recommendations for the MMC campaign way forward.

Target audience

The primary target audience of the overall “Salon” MMC campaign was young men aged 18 to 34 years, in the LSM 3-7, single or in a relationship, unemployed, uncircumcised, and/or engaging in high risk sexual activities multiple partners, drinking, and inconsistent condom usage.

A secondary audience of the “Salon” MMC campaign was young, unemployed, out-of-school women aged 18 to 34, single or in relationship. These women are potentially strong advocates for MMC in their family, amongst peers, and with partners. They were incorporated in the new MMC campaign in order to be equipped with the right information to speak to both men and female friends, to facilitate the removal of the taboo in discussing circumcision in public discourse.

Methodology

The post-broadcast evaluation of “Salon” advertisements was conducted in three provinces (Gauteng, Mpumalanga, and KwaZulu-Natal in July 2016, focusing on the 18-month campaign.

Method: Focus groups

The study design involved conducting 9 focus groups. Focus groups typically produce new, relatively generalisable knowledge, insights and understandings of contexts that are not readily acquired through other research techniques.

Site selection

Focus groups were conducted in 9 sites in Gauteng, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal provinces. These sites correspond to districts that the South African government (SAG) and PEPFAR have identified as ‘priority’ districts, given their high HIV prevalence rates and for having highly mobile

/ migrant worker populations. These districts are among those that have been allocated by the South African Government (SAG) for the PEPFAR programme to target.

The evaluation was conducted in 3 urban, 4 peri-urban, and 2 rural sites in these three provinces. CADRE conducted the evaluations in 2 sub-districts (Govan Mbeki, Emalahleni) of one district (Nkangala) in Mpumalanga, 2 sub-districts in 2 districts in KwaZulu-Natal (Hibiscus Coast in Ugu District, and Umlazi in eThekweni), and 2 regions (Region D and G) in Johannesburg Metropolitan District in Gauteng.

Participant selection and recruitment

Participants were selected on the basis of being within the age and gender criteria of the evaluation. During recruitment, participants were screened for exposure to the “Salon” television or radio adverts and needed to have been exposed to the TV or radio advert. Focus groups consisted of males and females aged 18-24 years and 25-34 years (refer Table 1). Both males (primary target group) and females (secondary target group) were included in focus groups in all three provinces.

CADRE briefed recruiters with the selection criteria. Recruiters obtained names and contact telephone numbers of participants who met recruitment criteria and who were interested in participating in the evaluation. Researchers contacted potential participants to explain the aims of the study.

Minimum criteria for participant inclusion were:

- Participants needed to have been exposed to the TV or radio MMC ‘salon’ advert;
- Participants needed to meet the criteria for age and gender;
- Participants needed to expressed a willingness to talk openly and to share their opinions about the “*Salon*” advertisement;
- Participants needed to provide informed consent for participation and audio-recording of discussions and the use of data in a way that protects their identity.

Table 1: Focus groups according to province, locality, age group, and gender .../...

Table 1: Focus groups according to province, locality, age group, and gender

Province	District, sub-district, Site	Site Type	Age group	Gender	
				Males	Females
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg Region D Protea North (Soweto)	Urban	18-24yrs	9	-
	Sedibeng Emfuleni Evaton (Sebokeng)	Peri-urban	25-34yrs	7	-
	City of Johannesburg Region G Drieziek (Orange Farm)	Peri-urban	25-34yrs	-	8
Mpumalanga	Nkangala Emalahleni KwaGuqa Extension 2	Rural	25-34yrs	8	-
	Nkangala Govan Mbeki Emzinoni (Bethal)	Peri-urban	18-24yrs	6	-
	Nkangala Emalahleni Witbank	Urban	25-34yrs	-	8
KwaZulu-Natal	eThekweni Umlazi Umlazi	Urban	25-34yrs	8	-
	Ugu Hibiscus Coast Betania	Rural	18-24yrs	8	-
	Ugu Hibiscus Coast Gamalakhe	Peri-urban	25-34yrs	-	6
Total:				46	22

Focus group procedure

Participants were given information about the focus groups prior to the researcher's arrival. They were again briefed about what their participation involved by the researcher, and invited to participate, on the basis of informed consent.

Groups were comprised of 6-9 individuals in each group. Focus group discussions occurred in the preferred language of participants, through the assistance of a translator. During the discussions the facilitator used a focus group discussion guide.

Ethical considerations

Participants in the focus groups were legal adults (18 years and older). Participants had the aims and objectives of the evaluation explained to them and were provided the opportunity to withdraw from the evaluation. An informed consent form was signed by all participants explaining the use of the audio recorder and that the data will be used in a way that provides participants with confidentiality and anonymity. Participants also completed basic demographic forms and a short survey. At the end of the focus group discussions participants were reimbursed for time, inconvenience and travel expenses.

Measures were taken to make participation as comfortable as possible for participants. To counter the potential that a participant might become upset, it was explained to all focus group participants that they do not need to answer any questions that they are uncomfortable with and that they could decide to end their participation at any point, should they so wish.

The importance of confidentiality and treating everything that others in the group share as confidential was emphasised, but it was also noted that this could not be guaranteed, and so participants were advised not to share anything that might cause them problems later if someone else were to find out. The informed consent process emphasised participants' agency in the process.

There was no expected risk of harm to participants as a product of the general nature of the questions to be explored. Participants who required support or additional information about HIV/AIDS and or MMC were referred to the national AIDS Helpline, to a local MMC clinic, or to a local MMC and/or HIV/AIDS counselling service provider.

The research was conducted by trained researchers with formal training and extensive experience in qualitative research techniques. Researchers were familiar with the content of the "*Salon*" mass media, out-of-home, and poster materials.

Data analysis

All focus groups and interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. When the language used in the focus group was not English, transcribers translated the audio from vernacular to English, verbatim, during the transcription. HyperRESEARCH 3.7 was used for both coding and analysis of focus group material.

Results

Demographic description of participants

As described in Table 1, a total of 68 people participated in this evaluation, of which 22 were women (32%), and 46 were men (68%). Of these men and women, 25 were from urban sites (37%), 40 were from peri-urban sites (40%), and 16 were from rural sites (23%).

There were 23 men (34%) and 8 women (12%) aged 18-24 years, and 23 men (34%) and 14 women (21%) aged 25-34 years.

Employment status and highest educational level achieved

As described in Table A1-1 *Participant Demographics* (Appendix A), the great majority of participants (n=59; 87%) were unemployed, and a few (n=9; 13%) were students. There were no employed people in any of the groups.

Approximately two-thirds (n=44; 65%) of all participants had completed Grade 12 education, and 11 (16%) had completed Grade 11. Of the remaining participants, 6 (9%) had completed Grade 10, and a further 2 (3%) had completed less than Grade 10 education. Only 5 (7%) of participants had completed some form of tertiary education.

Self-reported relationship status, children

As described in Table A1-1 *Participant Demographics* (Appendix A), two-thirds (n=46; 68%) of all participants reported that they were single. A few (n=9; 13%) said they were in a casual relationship, in a long-term relationship (n=7; 10%), or in multiple relationships (n=4; 6%). Only one participant – a man – said he was married (1%). One man did not answer the survey question about current relationships.

Of the 22 participants (32%) who stated that they had children, most were aged 25-34y (n=18; 82%). Only 4 participants aged 18-24y (18% of those who said they had children), reported having children.

Home language

Participants were asked to state which languages they speak. The results are described in Table A1-1 *Participant Demographics* (Appendix A). The majority of participants said they spoke isiZulu (n=53; 78%), and 41 (60%) said they spoke English. Sesotho was spoken by 15 participants (22%), followed by isiXhosa (n=9; 13%). Languages spoken by fewer participants included Setswana, isiSwati, Xhitsonga, and Sepedi (n=2 each; 3% each). Only one participant said he spoke Afrikaans (1%).

Cellular phone ownership and usage

As described in Table A1-2 *Participant Cellular Phone Ownership & Usage* (Appendix A), almost all participants (n=66; 97%) said they owned a cellular phone. One participant said he had access to such a phone, while one other participant neither owned nor had access to a cellular phone.

Most participants (n=57; 85%), apart from the participant who did not have a cellular phone, nor had access to one, stated that their cellular phone had internet access.

Table 2: Participants' Cellular Phone Usage (N=67)

Function	Percentage
Phone calls	94%
SMS-es	87%
WhatsApp	72%
Facebook	64%
Google	64%
Download Apps	58%
Email	43%
Twitter	9%
Instagram	3%
Music	3%
Shazam	2%
YouTube	2%
Videos	2%
Research	2%

As described in Table 2, the great majority of participants utilised their cellular phones for phone calls (94%) and SMSes (87%).

WhatsApp and Facebook were the most frequently-reported social media communications on cellular phones (72% and 64%, respectively). Twitter was not reported to be used by most participants (9%).

The search engine Google was used by 64% of participants. More than half (58%) of participants reported downloading applications on their cellular phone. Email via cellular phone was reported by less than half of participants (43%). All other uses for cellular phones were infrequently reported (3% or less of participants).

Circumcision status of male participants

As described in Appendix A1-3 *Participant Circumcision Status & Intentions* (refer Appendix 1), 27 (60%) of the 45 men who answered the evaluation survey said that they were circumcised, and 18 (40%) said they were uncircumcised.

Of the 27 men who said they were circumcised, all (100%) reported having been circumcised medically (i.e., MMC). There were no male participants who reported having been circumcised in a traditional manner.

Of the 18 men who had not been circumcised, most (n=15; 83%) said they planned to get circumcised medically (MMC). No uncircumcised man said that he planned to undergo traditional circumcision. One man did not state his intentions regarding circumcision. Only 2 men (11%) said that they did not plan on any form of circumcision. One of these men was from a peri-urban site, and the other was from a rural site, both in Mpumalanga.

Abbreviations: In the following sections of this report, the abbreviations ‘MMC’ and ‘UC’ are used to indicate that the male participant is either medically circumcised or uncircumcised (respectively). The abbreviation ‘DNA’ indicates that the man did not answer the survey question regarding his circumcision status.

Exposure to “Salon” television and radio adverts

Of all participants (n=68), only three participants reported not having seen the televised “Salon” advertisement. Three participants did not answer the survey question regarding exposure to the televised advertisement. I.e., 95% of participants (n=62) had seen the televised “Salon” advertisement.

One of the non-viewers was an urban male aged 18-24y, and the other two were rural females, one aged 18-24y, and the other aged 25-34y.

Five participants did not answer the survey question regarding exposure to the “Salon” radio “Salon”. Of the 63 participants who responded, 49 (78%) reported having heard the “Salon” radio advertisement on one or more radio station.

The most frequently-reported radio stations where the advertisement was heard was Ukhozi FM (isiZulu; isiNdebele), followed by Lesedi FM (Sesotho). Other radio stations mentioned included Metro FM (English), Jacaranda FM (English), and Legwalagwala FM (isiSwati). Of those participants who reported recalled the gender of the voices in the radio advertisement, approximately half (n=7) had heard the male version, and the other half (n=6) the female version.

A total of 46 participants out of 62 (74%) who answered the survey questions regarding both television and radio exposure, had both seen the television and radio “Salon” adverts.

Awareness of B4L campaigns and messaging

Exposure to B4L

Participants were asked whether they knew about B4L. Based on responses, exposure to B4L campaigns was high - most participants in all groups had heard of Brothers for Life (B4L).

The most commonly-reported means of exposure to B4L campaigns was television, followed by radio, newspapers, billboards, community events, and pamphlets.

Participants in several groups described having been exposed to B4L messaging through television, radio, newspapers, posters, billboards, adverts in taxis, and pamphlets:

M1-UC: Brothers for Life, I have seen only seen the adverts about it on TV, newspapers and radio. I have seen it on the newspapers each and every day ...

Facilitator: Have you seen it on TV?

Yes. [Group response]

Facilitator: And on radio?

Yes. [Group response]

Facilitator: Okay, and other platforms?

M4-MMC: The posters they put on and those pictures outside have people but it shows that it's from Brothers for Life.

M1-UC: There are also billboards.

M2-UC: They also give us pamphlets.

Facilitator: Who gives you these pamphlets?

M2-UC: There are people who usually come here and do HIV campaigns.

Facilitator: Campaigns?

M2-UC: Yes like FHI.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal)

Facilitator: Where did you hear about Brothers for Life?

F1: From TV, like TV adverts.

F3: Newspaper.

F5: On the taxis, mostly they like to advertise and put like Brothers for Life on a big poster on the taxi.

Facilitator: Did any of you ever see adverts inside the taxi? [No]

F5: No, they only post outside.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

M5-MMC: I've seen cars, not actually literally like adverts or something but I've seen, ja, like cars that have stickers on with something about circumcision ...

Facilitator: Okay and is it a Brothers for Life?

M5-MMC: Ja, a Brothers for Life, I think I've seen some of them.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

At some sites, such as Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Mpumalanga), participants stated that they had seen B4L messaging on television, radio and in the newspapers, but not on posters or billboards.

Facilitator: Where did you see this? TV, radio what?

M2-UC: On TV.

Facilitator: Have you seen any posters or billboards?[silence] Nothing, nothing on radio.

M2-UC: No, I don't listen [to the] radio.

M4-MMC: TV.

Facilitator: TV, radio, no posters?

M4-MMC: No.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzisoni, Mpumalanga).

At another site (Peri-urban females 25-34y Gamalakhe KwaZulu-Natal), participants only mentioned exposure to B4L via television.

F3: I know Brothers for Life from an advert on TV.

(Peri-urban females 25-34y Gamalakhe KwaZulu-Natal).

Peri-urban female participants from Drieziek (Gauteng) also mentioned exposure to B4L through community dialogues that were promoting the opening of a B4L office in the area.

F7: The first time I saw Brothers for Life, it was a dialogue in Orange Farm, Chris Hani complex. They were launching it ... in Volundlela Primary School. ... they were launching Brothers for Life for that ward, and it was also a dialogue for HIV and AIDS. They were telling the community that they were also launching the Brothers for Life that side.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

In some groups, participants identified specific locations where they had seen posters and billboards, such as at the Civic Centre in Port Shepstone (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal), and the Levi Mbatha Clinic and Sebokeng Plaza (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

B4L campaigns identified

Participants were asked what they had seen or heard about B4L. Participants identified several B4L campaigns, some current, recent, and from the past. There were also participants who confused B4L campaigns with other campaigns.

Two male participants (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) directly identified the “Salon” advertisement as a B4L campaign, as well as the current “Positive or Negative – Nothing changes” advertisement.

Facilitator: All right, for those of you that have heard about Brothers for Life, what have you heard or what have you seen?

M3-MMC: What I've heard is that ...when you're going to test for HIV and AIDS, whether you're positive or negative but you're still the same person. Nothing changes in you so you must just be yourself and then love yourself and then live a healthy lifestyle and you'll be fine.

M7-MMC: What I've [seen is]... this advert, Zing ...is very important as a male to get circumcised because it actually reduces your chances of contracting STI's and HIV.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

The most commonly-identified B4L campaign by both men and women was the advertisement aimed at reducing violence against women by men, delivered by the actor Patrick Shai, where he disclosed that he had abused his partner. For some participants, the advert was powerful and memorable because it discussed a subject that many people experienced and did not speak about.

For other participants, it showed that help was possible for men who had a habit of abusing their partners. One man said that it was the one thing he remembered about B4L, and another said that the advert showed that *'they (B4L) try to put men together'*.

F6: If I'm not mistaken the advert I remember about Brothers for Life, I think it was a man who was beating his wife and in the family someone told him about Brothers for Life campaign, saying my brother you don't do such things come and hear what they are talking about that's the one I remember.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

M1-UC: On that Patrick Shai advert they say that, like as a man I used to concentrate on that advert as a man where he gets drunk and beat up his wife and even his children ended up not liking him, so by showing those advert they have changed a lot of people's lives.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

F1: Brothers for Life ... the guy was telling us that he used to beat his wife, he used to beat her. So, after going to Brothers for Life, he changed. ...

F5: I think what made it powerful, it was a way of bringing out what is happening behind every wall in each and every household, because people are not able to speak up about abuse. So that advert helped many people to be able to speak out, or to be able to, if she is my friend, to be able to say to me have you seen that advert? It's something that is happening every day. ... So people were able to open up after that advert.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

M4-MMC: Patrick Shai. Ja, he used to abuse his wife, so last year he was on radio talking about the responsibility as men we must take, yes. So it's not only about medical circumcision - it's also about the responsibility that we must take as men.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

M5-MMC: In fact that man [Patrick Shai] really needs to change. He has got a desire but he is unable to change himself, but he needs help. M6-MMC: Ja, I was at the same point but the only thing I can understand about Brothers for Life is that they try to put men together so that we can stop abusing, violence, child abuse, sort of things.

M1-MMC: The one thing that makes me like that advert it's that Patrick Shai he used to do that, personally. So now that shows he's a changed man that's why they chose him to advertise that part. And most of all, most of men, they stopped doing that after they saw that advert.

Facilitator: So it's a powerful advert.

M1-MMC: Yes.

Facilitator: So there's a potential for men to change?

M1-MMC: To change, yes.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Another previous B4L advertisement recalled by a female participant in Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) concerned two men speaking in a field about the benefits of circumcision and what it meant to be a man, including how to treat women.

*F3: I know Brothers for Life from an advert on TV. There's the first one I know, there were men who were like standing at some field where there was a chart they explained what it means to be a man and the benefits of circumcision, how men should treat females. They explained what it means to be a man; he takes care of his family and his characteristics. When the advert was finished you see a picture written Brothers for Life with two hands shaking, that's how I know about it.
(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).*

At one site (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), participants confused B4L with campaign messaging from other sources, such as the “Yellow Bones” campaign of the Department of Health.

*M5-MMC: I've seen a billboard, I've seen billboards around ... A yellow bone, I just don't remember exactly what it said but they were speaking about a yellow bone but it had that Brothers for Life slogan at the end, like, at the bottom of the billboard.
Facilitator: Okay, who else, what have you seen or heard about Brothers for Life?
M3-MMC: I saw that advert on TV, I think that guy was drinking too much, partying, all things like that, smoking drugs, ja, something like that.
(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).*

Overall perception of B4L

When asked what their overall understanding and perceptions were of B4L campaigns, participants viewed B4L positively (e.g., *I think it's a good thing that they're doing*, Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng; *What I like is that Brothers for Life is teaching us as men to be aware of issues we face in life ...*, Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

The only dislike of B4L was stated by two men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng), who stated that the campaigns to stop abuse ‘... [only] shows women who are abused, and that men are not abused emotionally. Like it is something like 50/50, it is the same ...’ In the same discussion, both men subsequently stated that they recognised that women are more likely to be abused by men, both emotionally and physically.

B4L was viewed largely as being focused on men (e.g., *I think it is about how men behave and the way they do things*, Peri-urban females 25-34y Gamalakhe KwaZulu-Natal), but with impact upon women via improved male behaviours towards women, and more responsible sexual health behaviours:

*F1: The thing that like I heard about Brothers for Life is it teaches men to lower their anger towards women, not to beat them and being abusive not only the women but to their children as well. Just to lower men anger towards other people.
F3: It teaches us about men must be able to take care of their families.*

F5: I think that it helps men... show that ... abuse... is not a solution to problems that you might have.

F6: It teaches men to respect women.

(Urban females 18-24y Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Overall impressions focused on B4L changing the mind-set of men (e.g., *I think Brothers for Life is trying to transform that whole thing and give us a more clear perspective on how we should carry ourselves as men*, Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

According to a man from Umlazi (Urban Males, 25-34y, Umpazi, KwaZulu-Natal), B4L was focused on helping men behave appropriately, and to shift the way women and the community view men, particularly the expectation that men beat and rape women, and generally treat women badly:

M7-UC: I think Brothers for Life is helping men on how to behave appropriately; like if you are a guy you meet a woman she already has certain perceptions of men. She thinks men are dogs and expects being beaten up, raped and being treated badly. So Brothers for Life is trying to shift the way we are being looked at as men. They are trying to change our behaviour at home, in the community, at home and knowing more about your health so they are trying to help us there.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Specific actions mentioned included teaching men not to abuse women, encouraging men to support each other, providing a venue for men to speak to each other, reducing HIV and STIs through medical circumcision (e.g., *[They] inspire people who did not circumcise that if you circumcised ... there are less chance of getting those sickness, HIV, AIDS, STIs and STDs ... it's a good ad*, Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), and generally improving the health of men.

M2-UC: What I can say about Brothers for Life, what I think I understand is that they teach that if you were abusive and things like that.

M4-MMC: What I like about Brothers for Life is that guys [amajita] support each other, males. It's easy to speak to them like that.

Facilitator: Is there anything you didn't like?

M4-MMC: No.

M2-UC: I also like that they support each other; if you need someone to speak you can go and speak to them.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzini, Mpumalanga).

F2: I think it is about how men behave and the way they do things. That this is how things should be done, men are not supposed to abuse women, that's what I think.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Facilitator: I was going to say what do you think of Brothers for Life overall?

M1-MMC: I think it's a good thing because they inspire people who did not circumcise that if you circumcised you reduce less chances, there are less chance of getting those sickness, HIV, AIDS, STIs and STDs. So there are less chances of getting ill of that illnesses, it's a good ad.

M7-MMC: I also wanted to say that because it's actually helping that we reduce a lot of diseases and all that, everything that's coming, that is destroying...

M4-MMC: I think, I haven't seen much about Brothers for Life, neh, but I think their aim is to change the mind-set of men, you know.

M5-MMC: In that way I'm thinking maybe they're trying to make it an organisation for men to come together and speak about situations like that, like when it comes to protecting ourselves and the mind-set of men on its own. I think Brothers for Life is trying to transform that whole thing and give us a more clear perspective on how we should carry ourselves as men because when they say Brothers for Life they mean we all need to come together as brothers and be one and speak about it and enlighten ourselves about a lot of things that are happening in this society. I think it's a good thing that they're doing.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

M6-MMC: The way I see it, Brother for Life is about [clears throat] people's lives to behave themselves because even if you find out that you are sick you can carry on.

You are still the same as other people and also if you are not sick they give you advice on how to stay healthy.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

One man in Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) said that B4L helps men discuss and deal with their sexual problems:

M5-UC: Another thing that Brothers for Life helps us with as men... it gives us freedom to talk about the problems we face sexually because as men we are scared to talk about those issues ... [We men] don't want to reveal our dirty laundry to other people ... [and] so Brothers for Life is there for us as men so that we feel free to talk about our problems.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

B4L messages received

When asked what messages had been received from B4L campaigns, participants responded with a range of messages that reflected current and past B4L campaigns. The most frequently-mentioned message concerned the prevention of abuse against women and children by men.

Some participants also mentioned that the campaigns were conducted with government support, as well as support from international agencies.

M1-UC: Yes, the campaign promotes that males should circumcise and government is also involved as well as stake holders from overseas who are boosting health in South Africa, they are funding them so that's how I understand it ...

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

The following is a list of messages mentioned by participants concerning messages received.

Prevention of abuse against women and children

M6-MMC: ... The only thing I can understand about Brothers for Life is that they try to put men together so that we can stop abusing, violence, child abuse, sort of things. Ja, that is my understanding about Brothers for Life.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

M6-UC: I think it doesn't [only concern] AIDS and circumcision and stuff. Even the lifestyle of men, ja, of how do we treat people, how do we treat our women, such as that, ja.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Encouraging men to support each other in positive behaviours

M1-UC: [It promotes] men to ... handle themselves well and not abuse other people. It includes a lot of things as well as drinking so I think it is a campaign for men.

M8-MMC: I believe that it is about men if you know something then you should tell another brother ... about things you have overcome or that you see them facing, so that other men don't make the same mistakes that have been committed before.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

M4-MMC: What I like about Brothers for Life is that guys [amajita] support each other, males. It's easy to speak to them like that.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

M4-MMC: ... So it's not only about medical circumcision ... it's also about the responsibility that we must take as men.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Promoting male circumcision

M5-MMC: ... [They] would speak about circumcision ... Like, get yourself circumcised ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

M1-UC: Yes, the campaign promotes that males should circumcise ...

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Using condoms when circumcised

M6-MMC: Haai, they encourage people to circumcise and use condoms.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

M5-UC: I think Brothers for Life campaign is good because when we are drunk we have unprotected sex with our girlfriends have fun, so to be safe from HIV and STI's they warn us about that. ... After circumcision chances of contracting HIV are slim but it doesn't mean that you have to be careless not to use a condom.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Preventing HIV and STIs through MMC

*M3-UC: In my understanding Brothers for Life support the prevention of HIV and Aids mostly ... They tell us through advertising about this and that ... They tell us about the importance of condomising and abstaining, things like that.
(Urban males 25-34y Umlazi KwaZulu-Natal).*

*M7-MMC: What I've [learned from the "Salon" advert is that] ... Ja, that it is very important as a male to get circumcised because it actually reduces your chances of contracting STI's and HIV.
(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).*

Encouraging people to get tested for HIV, and to seek treatment

M6-MMC: The way I see it, Brother for Life is about .. people's lives to behave themselves because even if you find out that you are sick you can carry on. You are still the same as other people and also if you are not sick they give you advice on how to stay healthy.

*M2-UC: .. Brothers for Life shows you how to follow the right path. ... If you find out that you are HIV positive they give you that hope of accepting yourself and treating yourself the same way or feel the same way as other people do, they are bringing that hope to people of living a positive life.
(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).*

Giving health advice

*M6-MMC: The way I see it, Brother for Life is ... also if you are not sick they give you advice on how to stay healthy.
(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).*

Unintended message received: HIV testing prior to MMC

One man from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) mistakenly believed that MMC required an HIV test because having HIV would interfere with the post-MMC healing process:

Facilitator: [What] do others say about Brothers for Life?

*M7-MMC: [What] I saw or learnt is the importance of HIV testing because you can't just get circumcised without getting tested ... [because] ... When you don't heal it would be like the mistake has been done by those people who were circumcising you because ... [you were not] tested first.
(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal)*

Several male participants stated that B4L advertisements had had a positive impact upon many South Africans, by providing guidance on various issues (e.g., being safe from HIV and STIs when drinking), and providing hope for those living with HIV.

M1-UC: What I can say is that Brothers for Life has changed so many people's lives ... through the adverts they make.

M2-UC: I agree with him [M1] Brothers for Life shows you how to follow the right path. Not everyone knows the right thing to do you need someone to show it to you, if you are in the same problem they are addressing you can be saved in that way even if you are not saved but you can live

in hope. If you find out that you are HIV positive they give you that hope of accepting yourself and treating yourself the same way or feel the same way as other people do, they are bringing that hope to people of living a positive life.

M5-UC: I think Brothers for Life campaign is good because when we are drunk we have unprotected sex with our girlfriends have fun, so to be safe from HIV and STI's they warn us about that.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Female participants also viewed B4L positively, and said that the B4L adverts taught men how to lead a good life regarding sex, for men to take responsibility for their actions, for men to not abuse women and children, how to treat women with respect, and that it also provided an avenue for men to talk to other men about their feelings.

F5: I know Brothers for Life, like as a campaign that teaches men to lead a good life, to avoid abuse, live a good life concerning sexual intercourse and whatsoever. I think it's guiding men to live or go in the right path ... so they are teaching men to take responsibility of their actions. ... They are also promoting the awareness of do not abuse children and women. So it teaches men a lot about how to take responsibility of their actions.

F6: Also teach men how to treat women, because most of the men around here, they are so disrespectful towards a woman.

F7: What I have realised is that men are scared to talk about their feelings ... So if it's them only, it's only men, because it says Brothers for Life, so if a man is talking to another man, it's simpler than to talk to a woman about his wife or his girlfriend. So it's easier for them to communicate. It's also whatever the problem is, it can be solved ... To talk to each other.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Two women from Witbank (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) expressed the view that B4L had contributed towards the reduction of abuse against women in their area:

F1: I think that Brothers for Life helps ... [In]my community there was once another man like who was very abusive to his family than. He did go to [B4L centres in Joburg. They helped him. Right now he is right. He is not abusive. He learnt that you don't solve your problems by beating someone but to sit down and talk to someone it solve things. In my opinion it really helps.

F2: It has helped in many communities where women and children were being abused and there are not many cases of abuse or of being raped after Brothers for Life has come.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

B4L Logo and slogan

When asked whether they remembered the B4L logo and slogan, and what they thought these meant, participants focused almost exclusively on the logo.

B4L slogan 'Yenza kahle' [Do the right thing]

Only two men from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) recalled the slogan *Yenza kahle*, while other men in the group did not recognise the slogan:

M7-MMC: I am not sure but I use to hear people say Brothers for Life Yenza kahle. [Do well].

Facilitator: Okay so have anyone else heard this Yenza kahle?

M1-MMC: Yes.

Facilitator: So it's M1 and M8 you know it, the rest don't know it?

Yes. [Group response].

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

When asked what they thought of the slogan, the men in the Umlazi group has disparate opinions, with one man saying it was 'perfect' and then saying that the logo doesn't say much about the organisation. A second man said that the logo and slogan didn't say anything (*I see people shaking hands and it says Yenza kahle... Yenza kahle in what way?*, Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal). The first man then clarified that both the logo and slogan need to be seen in context of the advertisement itself, which explained *Yenza kahle*:

M7-MMC: What I can say about the slogan it is right for me because you would be doing something good as a man so for me it's perfect I don't know about other people.

Facilitator: Okay what do other people say...Yenza Kahle?

M7-UC: I think we don't have a problem it's just that what M5 said that if the logo can go with the slogan and say more about the organization itself... Rather than just showing hands on their own. A person who doesn't know what Brothers for Life is and he sees these hands it doesn't say much.

M6-UC: To me it doesn't say anything [Laughter] because I see people shaking hands and it says Yenza kahle... Yenza kahle in what way? It must show us more what is it that men are doing well in so that we can also be interested.

M7-MMC: ... [When]they say Yenza kahle it doesn't stop there it continues. There are things they say first then the slogan comes in... it's not just the slogan in isolation, maybe there is an advertisement on TV that says Yenza Kahle: Be a brother for life... they say that first then the slogan comes in. If you have things you want to talk about here are the channels or people you can talk to then they say Yenza kahle.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

No other participant in any other group mentioned the B4L slogan.

B4L logo of two clasped hands

It was apparent that the clasped hands logo was widely recognised as representing B4L. For example, several participants (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) spontaneously identified the two clasped hands. The logo was viewed positively by these participants, and was associated with men helping, loving, and supporting each other. One participant also said that the red colour of the logo represented brotherly love and warmth.

M3-DNA: I think its hands; I am not sure, maybe shaking hands.

We know it. [Group response]

M4-MMC: I think the logo is good because it shows that together you can make things better as my brothers said its hands holding each other, so as men we should always help and support each other then everything will be fine.

M2-UC: I do agree, I see it in the same way.

M3-DNA: For me...what can I say... the hands holding each other and since they are red that colour signifies love and warmth so in other words they are trying to say as brothers we love each other, we help each other in everything.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

In one group (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) several participants believed that the B4L logo was superimposed on the AIDS ribbon.

F6: ... There are different colours, there's a red one [they are holding hands]. [Cross talk: isn't there a HIV sign?]

Facilitator: HIV sign, wait you are now talking about two things now, someone is saying it's two hands holding each other which are red, the other one says there's an HIV sign. What's happening you are talking about two things?

F4: I think it is also there.

F3: I think the HIV sign it's there and the hands are at the bottom and the sign is on top.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal)

Overall, the logo was perceived in a positive light, as representing men supporting each other, and enabling men to communicate with each other.

M2-UC: I also like that they support each other; if you need someone to speak you can go and speak to them.

Facilitator: What is the Brothers for Life logo?

M4-MMC: Hands shaking or holding each other like this ... It's a good one.

Peri-urban males 18-24y Emzini Mpumalanga

Favourite advertisements

Participants were probed regarding their favourite advertisements – television, radio, billboard or poster - and why they liked a specific advert. Of the 20 different favourite adverts mentioned by participants, almost all favourite advertisements mentioned were television advertisements. Only one participants mentioned a radio advert (“Salon” advertisement), and one other mentioned a billboard advertisements (“Salon” advertisement).

It was notable that most participants who mentioned the MMC “Salon” advert referred to the catchphrase ‘Zing’ to identify the advertisement.

Advertisements concerning health and social issues were most frequently mentioned as favourite advertisements:

- B4L “Salon” MMC advertisement: 12 participants (10 television, 1 radio, 1 billboard)
- Men’s Clinic advertisements: 8 participants
- B4L “Positive or negative – nothing changes”: 4 participants
- B4L Patrick Shai abuse advertisement: 3 participants
- Scrutinize: 2 participants

- Zazi: 1 participant
- Undefined B4L radio advertisement: 1 participant

In comparison, of the 13 commercial advertisements mentioned as favourite advertisements by participants, the most-frequently mentioned advertisement was Chicken-Licken (3 participants), Lunch Bar “Obvious” (2 participants), and the Mweb airport “slapped by the bill” advertisement (2 participants). The remaining commercial advertisements (Telkom, Camphor Cream, Mom’s Doctor, Post Office, Halls, Euro 2016, KFC, Soccer, and Checkers low prices) were mentioned only by 1 participant each.

Preference for health-related advertisements

When asked why so many of the favourite advertisements were health-related, women from the Gamalakhe group (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) - who had mentioned Scrutinize, B4L MMC “Salon”, Men’s Clinic, and the B4L “Positive or Negative – Nothing changes” advertisements - said that these types of adverts were educational, discussed serious subjects that people were not aware of, and helped people discuss subjects people were not speaking about. They also said that such advertisements showed people that they were not the only person with a specific problem, and that subject such as circumcision – normally not spoken about with women – become normalised.

Another woman from this group said that these types of advertisements are different from commercial advertisements because ‘*you sit and listen so that you get the information properly*’. She elaborated that the type of information obtained from such advertisements is not obtainable from other sources, such as family and friends.

One woman from this group said that MMC advertisements helped her deal with her younger (Zulu) brother who did not see the point of circumcision, as he thought it was only for some cultures, such as Xhosa, and the MMC advertisement allowed her to show him the health benefits of MMC, unrelated to cultural practices.

Facilitator: Why is it that when we are asked to highlight adverts, we highlighted the ones of health and HIV?

F2: It's because the health ones talk about the sicknesses that are prevalent and they teach about a lot of things, telling us about what we need to be aware of ...

F4: [With these advertisements] ... they are different from an advert about a drink where you don't pay attention. But these kinds of adverts you sit and listen so that you get the information properly, because some of the things you'll never hear them for instance when you are just walking. ...

Sometimes you hear something from someone you don't have the facts about what they said, so when you see it on TV you realise that this is serious, it is not the same as hearing from your friend.

F6: ... These health adverts are noticeable because... there's that one about circumcision in real life boys don't like to talk about it. For example you are at home sitting with your brother, and his mother says to him you must go and circumcise he'll think there's nothing to it ... Because a lot of

people are not aware that these things are serious. ... I think they ignore it and the adverts are helpful by showing that we can all talk about it, everybody knows about it and you are not the only one who has a problem. There are a lot of people going through the same so the campaigns are helpful in those areas.

*F4: One thing that makes an advert noticeable especially for Zulu people because they say circumcision is for Xhosa people but people are not aware that it is beneficial to all the people. ... My younger brother ... he was criticising him saying I don't even know what were you doing following other people's cultures because you know that you are Zulu ... Maybe if he gets time and watch it and pay attention maybe he will see how it will benefit him going forward.
(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal)*

Favourite advertisements according to age group and gender

The following is a detailed description of the most frequently-reported favourite adverts (“B4L MMC “Salon”, Men’s Clinic, B4L “Positive of negative- nothing changes”, B4L Patrick Shai abuse, and Chicken Licken, for each age group and gender, in terms of why participants liked them. Other less-frequently mentioned advertisements are described in lesser detail.

Favourite advertisements of men aged 18 to 24 years

In a group of young men (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga), three men liked the B4L MMC “Salon” advertisement. The term “upgrade” was mentioned as the reason why one man liked the advertisement, described as protecting his partner from cervical cancer after circumcision. Another man in the group said he liked the whole advert (‘*Everything, it’s good*’). In this same group, one participant did not like the Men’s Clinic advert due to it being too sensitive for younger viewers, but it was stated that the “Salon” advert was appropriate for younger audiences.

M2-UC: I also like that advert the Zing one.

Facilitator: Zing one, what did you like about it?

M2-UC: When the man gets circumcised his lifestyle gets upgraded.

M4-MMC: The Zing one is ok, the one he's talking about now.

Facilitator: Oh the one about the man going to the clinic, with the low sex drive?

M3-MMC: Yes, [the Men’s Clinic advertisement] it is too sensitive for the young ones.

M1-UC: I also like the ZING one.

Facilitator: What do you like about it?

M1-UC: Everything, it's good.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga)

The group of rural males aged 18-24 (Rural males, 18-24, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) did not mention the B4L MMC “Salon” advertisement as one of their favourites.

Two men from the peri-urban group of young men from Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) said that their favourite advertisement was the Men’s Clinic “No Power” advertisement. They said that they liked this advertisement because it was humorous, and because

of the implication that the man would have sex after being to the Men's Clinic. However, one man did not like this advert because he deemed it inappropriate for younger audiences.

M4-MMC: The adverts about the Male Clinic, there is a man who his sex drive is low and his women is inactive and he don't engage in such things, then he goes to the Men's Clinic and he got energy or what, I think it is like that.

Facilitator: What did you like about that one?

M4-MMC: The funny part.

M3-MMC: The advert he's talking about I don't like it at all ... this one is too sensitive for the young ones.

M6-MMC: Yes sir. I like that advert ... That funny part when that man came back [from] the clinic and approaches home when knock [knocks] he says: 'baby I'm home' [group laugh] and he carries her some flowers.

Facilitator: You know what he's gonna do hey?

M6-MMC: Yes.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga)

The group of rural males aged 18-24 (Rural males, 18-24, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) did not mention any of the Men's Clinic advertisement as one of their favourites.

One man from the peri-urban group of young men also mentioned the B4L Patrick Shai prevention of abuse against women advertisement as his favourite advertisement because *'It teaches us not to take advantage as males of women or abuse them in [any] way'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga). Another man from the rural group of young men also mentioned this advert as his favourite because *'The advert just showed me that as men we should not take advantage of women and we should not hit them or abuse them'* (Rural males, 18-24, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

One man from the rural group of young men identified the B4L "Positive or negative – nothing changes" advert as his favourite because *'It just reminds me that even if I get this disease or something like that I should not worry and I should carry on with the pills and use a condom when I have sex'* (Rural males, 18-24, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

The only other advertisements mentioned as favourites in this men's age group was Scrutinise - because the man liked cartoons, and because the advertisement *'says it all it just makes the people we concentrating on what it is all about, what they are saying about HIV and circumcising'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) – and an advertisement by South African Breweries concerning being responsible about drinking, because *'it reminds us about the wrong things we do like drinking, yes you can drink it doesn't mean you are a hero you can do anything. Secondly, drinking and smoking is not for people who are under 18 years of age it should be an 18 year old and above'* (Rural males, 18-24, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

One young man liked the Chicken Licken advertisement that focused on craving, because the advertisement scared his young nephew, and he found this amusing (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng). Another man from Betania (Rural males, 25-34y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) said he liked the Chicken Licken advertisement because it shows that *'if you have a lot of problems you can stay strong and succeed'*.

Three other commercial adverts identified by men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) as favourites included a telephone advert showing two people connecting across a valley because *'they can connect two different worlds'*, an advert for Camphor cream where a man in a desert chooses camphor cream over water because *'the irony ... it gets people talking, laughing'*, and an advert for MWeb where a man is slapped with a bill because *'it was quite funny'*.

Favourite advertisements of men aged 25 to 34 years

It was notable that the B4L MMC "Salon", and Men's Clinic dominated as favourite adverts. It was also notable that several men in this age group confused these two advertisements. In all 3 groups of men aged 25 to 34 (Urban, Peri-urban, and Rural), not one participant mentioned a commercial advertisement as their favourite.

The reasons provided for liking the B4L MMC "Salon" advertisement included providing information that makes it easier for men to go for circumcision by showing that they won't have problems with their partner after circumcision, that there is an improvement in sexual relations following circumcision, that circumcision reduces diseases, and giving men hope that the circumcision will go well.

M7-MMC: I like Brothers for Life ["Salon"] advert I like the approach it uses because it makes it easy for us to go for male circumcision. Because that man tells us about how circumcision helped him, there won't have problems with his partner when they want to have sex because if you are not circumcised you encounter some problems like STI's easily. If you are not circumcised it pulls all the diseases you may have in the blood, so I liked the way he approached circumcision it made it easy for us to go as well. The way he approached it gave us hope.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

M7-MMC: Ja, ... that one with Zing it's my favourite one too ... it shows that there is an improvement after circumcision. So I like it too as well.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

M4-MMC: So while she ...discuss this with her friends ... And then the guys, the guy understand that medical circumcision, the importance of medical circumcision ... Eish, the information and the, the production itself. The way they have, they brought the message to us.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

The Men's Clinic "No Power" advertisement was liked because of the sexual humour, and also because it tells men where they can go for sexual health problems: *'most of [us] guys, you know*

they have a problem but they don't know where to go for help' (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

However, in the peri-urban male group from Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) there were statements made by one man indicating confusion between the B4L MMC "Salon" and the Men's Clinic advertisements:

M4-UC: Well, me I like that one from the first guy that says, Zing. ... Because you can see that Mr [the guy in the advert] is sitting and there are people coming to watch the game on TV, something like that at his house. So he wants to have sex with his wife since he has circumcised. He chases these people out of the house because there was no time to watch TV, it was not time for TV. He did not want to be disturbed because he wanted to have sex with his wife. You see.

Facilitator: So you are saying it's a Zing advert?

M4-UC: Yes ... No, no, it's like I am confusing them now. That one is from the power off [Men's Clinic advertisement].

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

In the same group, the term 'upgrade' – a reference to circumcision, originating from the B4L "Salon" advertisement – was used to refer to non-circumcision issues such as penis enlargement and low sex drive, the latter being the focus of Men's Clinic advertisements:

M5-MMC: Mine is for Men's Clinic.

Facilitator: And why do you like it?

M5-MMC: What I like is that, that man should have an upgrade of..

UM: Circumcision.

M5-MMC: Uh, uh, not circumcision, enlargement, penis enlargement or low sex drive, yeah, something like that ... He needs help, ja, he needs help ... Yeah, of low sex drive, early ejaculation and I don't know others.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

The B4L "Positive or negative – nothing changes" advertisement was also mentioned as a favourite by one participant because *'it teaches me and other people that it is important to get tested'* (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

There was also one unidentified B4L radio advert (Metro FM) encouraging men to take care of their health, and another unidentified television advert concerning a man with dreadlocks showing that it takes 30 minutes to do circumcision.

One man said he liked the Chicken Licken advertisement because of its' inspirational message: *'I like it [because it shows that] ... if you have a lot of problems you can stay strong and succeed'* (Rural males, 25-34y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal). Another commercial advertisement that was liked because of its' inspirational content was an advert for Euro 2016 (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Other commercial advertisements said to be favourites included MWeb (no reason provided) and Lunch Bar because *'they don't talk much – they just say "obvious"'* (Urban Males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal), KFC *'because I like the song and I love food'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng), and Checkers because *'it's actually quite funny and ... even the music is relevant'* (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Favourite advertisements of women aged 18 to 24 years

Young urban women aged 18-24y (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) identified only B4L advertisements as favourites, specifically the MMC “Salon” advertisement, and the Patrick Shai prevention of abuse against women advertisement. In most of the statements made by these women, the focus was on dissemination of information regarding circumcision, its benefits, and also encouraging men to stop abusing women.

One of these women said she liked the “Salon” television advertisement because *'she [the woman who tells her friends her boyfriend had an upgrade] is boasting'*. Another said that she like the radio advertisement because *'... everyone is listening, and she is encouraging people to tell their boyfriends to go to the clinic and do circumcision so that they won't get infected by certain diseases'*. A third woman said she liked the “Salon” billboards because *'... in rural areas there is no electricity ... so the billboard helps them to get knowledge of male circumcision'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

One woman stated she liked the B4L prevention of abuse advert because *'... what I like most is that ... it tries to encourage ... men to stop abuse. So I think it's a good thing and teaches how a woman should be treated without abuse'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

The only commercial advertisement identified by these young women was an advert for the Post Office, concerning saving money for lobola. It was stated that this advertisement was liked because *'it teaches people on how to save'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Favourite advertisements of women aged 25 to 34 years

The women in the two peri-urban groups (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng; Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) shared several common favourite advertisements with their male age counterparts, both in terms of the adverts identified as their favourites (mainly several references to the B4L MMC “Salon”, Men’s Clinic, and B4L “Positive or negative – nothing changes” advertisements), with single references to Zazi and Scrutinize advertisements. There was also indications in statements that the “Salon” and Men’s Clinic advertisements were sometimes confused.

With respect to the “Salon” advertisement, the focus was upon education about life and sexuality, women’s sexual satisfaction, and being able to advise partners about sexual and health issues.

Women in this age group said they liked this advertisement because *'it teaches a lot', 'it's teaching*

the truth, because if you are circumcised you feel the difference, and *'when you have a man, when you go to the bedroom you are not satisfied as a woman, [and] ... that man will put the blame on you'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng). Another woman said that *'it means as girls you can talk and then advise your boyfriend ... about what is really happening in life'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

In describing why they liked the Men's Clinic advertisement, these women focused upon the health benefits of circumcision, how circumcision improves a marriage, and how a man's sexual health improves his relationships. Statements explaining their preference for this advertisement included *'it means lot to protect yourself, because if you are not circumcised you can catch a lot of diseases'* and *'after circumcision, their marriage is perfect'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng), and *'I like it because the way the ... man feels ... he feels happy when he is with his wife'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

There was also evidence that some women in this age group confused the B4L MMC "Salon" advertisement with the Men's Clinic advertisement:

F1: ... It's a couple; the husband wasn't circumcised, so their sexual life was suffering. After the circumcision, the sex life was much better.

F5: I think the one she is talking about ... there is this guy ...the guy is wearing a cowboy hat.

Facilitator: So the one you're talking about is salon.

F5: No, it's not salon.

F2: She is talking about Men's Clinic.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Several women from the Drieziek group (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) stated that the B4L "Positive or negative – nothing changes" advert, and explained that they liked it because it clearly showed people – especially men who are afraid of HIV testing - that it shows that *'even if you are HIV positive, it doesn't mean you are inferior now – you are still going to live a normal life, but you just have to choose a healthy lifestyle ... it's also very educational'*:

F1: ... So I think the message across that is that even if you are HIV positive, it doesn't mean you are inferior now. You are still going to live a normal life, but you just have to choose a healthy lifestyle ... It's also educational.

F5: ... [That] advert, it's trying to teach people, because we have this mentality when you go for testing, you go for testing and then you come out positive, everything changes around you. ... It's because it's in his mind ... Actually, there is nothing like that.

F1: ... So it shows us that ... nothing changes, you see. So, it's very educational. I love it.

F7: ... What stands out for me in that advert, it is the guy who goes to test, and around our community, men are scared to test. They have that thing that if my wife or my girlfriend goes and tests, then I will know my results. So now it's the guys who are telling him that things are going to change and stuff, they are changing everything, but to me, it stands in a way that it's clear, it's a clear message for men.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

The sentiment that this advert reassures people about HIV testing was reiterated in the second group from Gamalakhe:

F3: I like it because it shows that even if you are HIV positive nothing has changed you are still the same person as before.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

The two other non-commercial advertisements mentioned by these women as being their favourites included Zazi because *'that advert teaches young girls to love themselves, whether they have something or not, and not to depend on someone to provide for them'* – the latter referring to men who act as 'blessers' - (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng), and Scrutinize because it was presented as a puppet show at school (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Regarding commercial advertisements identified as favourites in this group (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal), one advertisement concerned Halls sweets/candy because *'the person who was doing the advert acted very well'*, another concerned Lunch Bar because *'I love chocolate'*, and the third advertisement mentioned concerned Mom's Doctor, because it showed that plants can be medicinal.

Evaluation of the television MMC "Salon" advertisement

As previously reported, of all participants (n=68), 95% of participants (n=62) had seen the televised "Salon" advertisement. One of the non-viewers was an urban male aged 18-24y, and the other two were rural females, one aged 18-24y, and the other aged 25-34y.

Recall of content

Prior to the participants being asked to recall the contents of the "Salon" advertisements, several participants in most groups had already spontaneously recalled specific aspects of the advertisement, such as the location (a hair salon, women talking about their partners, and the catch-phrases 'zing', and 'upgrade'. It was notable that, in all references to the advertisement, the advertisement was referred to as the 'Zing' advertisement.

When participants were specifically asked to recall the "Salon" advertisement, several overall results were notable: Men (with one exception) – when asked to recall the advertisement - did not spontaneously recall the details of the health benefits of circumcision (e.g., reducing risk of HIV, STIs, cervical cancer) presented in the advertisement. Instead, men tended to focus more on the women's discussion of their partner's sexual performance, and the happiness of the man because he was having better sex. One man did recall the message to use a condom after circumcision. In comparison, in addition to the advertisement elements recalled by men, women also recalled the advertisement details concerning health benefits of circumcision. It was also notable that some older

men (aged 25-34y) were prone to confusing the “Salon” advertisement with Men’s Clinic advertisements, such as using the terms ‘Zing’ and ‘upgrade’ when discussing Men’s Clinic advertisements.

In contrast to the often-detailed recall of the advertisement’s verbal and visual aspects, few participants noticed the printed information, specifically the clinic locator SMS number and the B4L website information. Not one participant said they had used the printed information, nor did they report knowing anyone using that information.

Recall of enacted advertisement content: Males 18-24 years

Young men aged 18-24y recalled most of the enacted content of the advertisements, including the catchphrases ‘upgrade’ and ‘zing’.

When asked to recall the specifics of the “Salon” advertisement, young men aged 18-24y (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) recalled women in a hair salon telling each other that ‘my man went for some circumcision’, that ‘her man got an upgrade’, and that ‘it’s only just 6 weeks ... for it to work’.

One uncircumcised young man from Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) recalled the salon location, and that women were speaking of their partner getting ‘upgraded and now things are going so well in the bedroom, whereas the other lady her man is ... [not] upgraded as yet’ and she was going to tell her man that he must go get upgraded so that he’ll be able to perform’. Another medically circumcised man in the group recalled that ‘the one [female character whose partner had been upgraded] is just smiling and glowing’. A second uncircumcised man in the group said that ‘in the end after the ladies’ discussion they were able to share the ideas that if your man is upgraded, things are different’. In addition, one man in Emzinoni recalled that the man ‘was wearing a cowboy hat and short pants ... meaning he’s ready for any action now’. Finally, one uncircumcised man said that ‘the lady is happy because after her man is circumcised ... they are protected from cervical cancer’.

Rural young men from Betania described the women as ‘gossiping’ about men as they did their hair (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Recall of enacted advertisement content: Males 25-34 years

Urban men from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) initially confused the “Salon” advertisement with a Men’s Clinic advertisement:

*M5-UC: ... [There] is this one for Zing ... that guy who has a problem I don't know what is happening in his private part then he goes to men's clinic came back a changed man.
(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal)*

However, another man in the same group clarified that in the “Salon” advert ‘there are women at the salon another one is telling others that her man has done an upgrade down there’, and that ‘the

one about circumcision [Men's Clinic advertisement] talks about that there is no pain; This one for circumcision [Salon advertisement] reveals that once you have done it you are safer'. One man also described one of the characters as 'chubby', and that the man who got circumcised was 'jumping on top of the bed to his girlfriend' because he was excited after the circumcision (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

A similar confusion with Men's Clinic *No Power* advertisement occurred when peri-urban males aged 25-34y were asked to recall the "Salon" advert:

M4-UC: Well, me I like that one from the first guy that says, Zing ... [the guy in the advert] is sitting and there are people coming to watch the game on TV ... he wants to have sex with his wife since he has circumcised. He chases these people out of the house because there was no time to watch TV ... and he switches the main switch off.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

As occurred in the urban Umlazi group, members of the peri-urban Evaton group subsequently recognised the confusion, and clarified the "Salon" advertisement as occurring in a hair salon, with a woman talking to her friends about her partner getting circumcised, that it was Zing (amazing), that it only took 6 weeks to heal, and that the man was happy with the 'upgrade', even jumping, because he could have good sex.

M4-UC: ... The ladies they are on the salon ...there is the one who told her friends about the upgrade this man got after circumcision. So then the other one is blushing alone while others busy talking. So afterwards they ask her what's wrong...ding [Zing]. Oh, chommie and you too ...Then she says bazala [friends] its Zing, meaning that it's amazing.

M6-MMC: And she also told her friends that it's not a big deal, you know, it's only 6 weeks to heal and you can see the man is happy there, that man with a hat and the boots, he's happy with a condom... [Laughing]. He simply means that he is enjoying after the upgrade, or ja.... He's happy because now he can have a nice sex or what, ja. He is happy, he is even jumping, Heha!

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

One man from the rural KwaGuqa Ext 2 site (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) accurately described the sequence of events in the "Salon" advertisement, from the women discussing their partners in a hair salon, with one woman saying that 'my man had an upgrade down there', followed by another woman smiling and admitting that 'yes, even my man', followed by the 'Zing' catch-phrase. He also mentioned that 'when the advert starts they show us the guy feeling sad and stuff. And then ... they show us the man, as if he's riding a horse and he's happy ... He's wearing a cowboy hat' (Rural males 25-34y KwaGuqa Ext 2 Mpumalanga).

Recall of enacted advertisement content: Females 18-24y

Young women aged 15-24 years (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) recalled the "Salon" advertisement in positive terms, using terms such as 'glowing', 'bright day', 'it's a great thing', 'funny', and 'happy'. For example, one woman described the woman who was telling her friends about having good sex (the Zing) with her partner as glowing, smiling, and happy. Another woman in the group mentioned the messages concerning how circumcision reduces the risks of

HIV, AIDS, STIs, and cervical cancer. A third woman added that the advertisement stated that the man should wear a condom after circumcision. The group also described the leopard-print underwear and cowboy hat worn by the man in the advertisement.

F8: I've see the salon ad. Where these girls are discussing... this other chick's boyfriend saying that he got a zing which is ... an upgrade a circumcision ... Now it feels great because she is experiencing a Zing ... What I remember is that ... she's glowing and she's smiling and she is having a bright day cause you know, she had this good experience of a Zing because ... her boyfriend ... [has been] circumcised and it's a great thing.

F2: I remember she told her friends about her boyfriend getting the Zing and how it feels when they are having sex and how it prevents some diseases and it's not easy to get diseases when he has done the Zing.

F6: They are talking about HIV and AIDS and STIs, ... [and] ... cervical cancer.

F8: The other thing they talk about is that even though your man has had an upgrade but you still have to use a condom. You know you still have to use protection.

F8: I think it was kind of funny you know. The guy had an upgrade and he showed up in the loo and with a condom and they were all happy. They were going to have sex. So it was kind of funny.

Facilitator: What was he wearing?

[Group Laughter] an underwear [Group Laughter] a leopard print underwear and a hat. A cowboy hat.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga)

Recall of enacted advertisement content: Females 25-34y

In both the groups of women aged 25-34 years, the women described the main female actor – identified as Thandi - telling her friends about her partner getting an ‘upgrade’, and the excitement and happiness evident in her face as she did this.

F5: The excitement on her face. That girl we talked about, her man went for circumcision, she was so excited, yes.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

F3: The other one gets interested and she turns and says 'hai' Thandi! The way they act it out is good and it shows their interested. The way you are smiling, oh you too and says it's nice it is enticing if it was according to me it would just continue.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

One woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) particularly enjoyed one of the characters clicking her tongue as she listened to the other characters, which was interpreted as meaning that she was happy that the other women were obtaining pleasure.

F4: ... [There] is a lady that makes me laugh she keeps on... [tongue click] [group laugh] she doesn't say anything, she's just listening but keeps... [tongue click] ... It shows that she's happy and satisfied, and she is thinking that oh the other ladies are getting the same satisfaction that she is getting and the pleasure.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

In the group from Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal), a woman described the one advertisement character using the term *'my man got an upgrade down there'*.

Several women in the same group described what they imagined the female characters were thinking, and also that circumcision protected the couple from sicknesses, such as *'the one was saying her boyfriend at first didn't want to go. They told him that this will be good for both of us and it will protect you from sicknesses that are prevalent, and also that when they do their thing it will be very nice'*. This group also noted the man holding a condom, and that *'no matter how good you can be good at this as long as you don't have this (condom) we won't 'play' today'*. One woman also inferred that the man was reluctant to go for circumcision, *'but she encouraged him by saying it will help him and protect them from certain things'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Recall of printed clinic locator SMS information and B4L website

None of the participants in any group spontaneously mentioned the 'Dial *120*662#' and 'brothersforlife.org.za' information stated at the end of the advertisement, when asked to recall the content of the advertisement.

When directly asked about aspect of the advertisement, a young man from Protea North said that *'I think in the ad it's like one of those things where 'it's not highlighted, it's kind of like the sub text because it's in the end'*. Another man was not sure if the SMS number was B4L, although he had seen it in one of the vehicles that transport men to circumcision, when his one friend went for MMC. One said that information about where to go for circumcision is contained in pamphlets distributed by sponsors (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Upon probing this aspect of the advertisement, one young peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) said *'yes ...they also show the numbers you can dial'*, and another man said he had the number on his cellular phone, but he had never used it. A third man said that *'they mentioned private clinics, hospitals and it only takes 6 months or 6 weeks to heal after that you good to go'*. The group subsequently agreed that the post-procedure was 6 weeks, and that they all knew where to access medical circumcision. None of the men had been to the website, nor did they know anyone who had done so.

Young men from rural KwaZulu-Natal, when asked about clinic information contained in the advertisement, agreed that there was such information, and *'they do mention that you can go to the nearest clinic [group agrees]'* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

When urban men from Umlazi were asked whether the advertisement contained information about where to find a clinic that performs circumcision, most men said that they did not recall any SMS number in the advertisement. However, one man (medically circumcised) said that *'I know it is there, but I don't know it and I also think it's because we don't want to know it'*. He did not clarify why this was the case. All men in this group agreed that they knew no-one who had used the SMS

number. One man said that the advertisement advised viewers to *'go to your nearest clinic. I think they do mention that I think most clinics do it ...'* (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Peri-urban males from Evaton said that they had noticed the clinic locator SMS number in the advertisement. One man said that *'I think it's for bookings or for information where you can book, the nearest clinic you could go'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng). When asked whether they had used the number, the group said that they had not. One uncircumcised man said *'I want to use the number, but I am afraid ... of the healing process ...'*

In the rural male group in KwaGuqa, no-one recalled the SMS number when directly asked about this, and these men also said that the advertisement said nothing about circumcision services. With the exception of one uncircumcised man, all these men said they knew where to go for circumcision services (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Young (18-24y) urban women from Witbank could not recall the SMS number when probed, and did not know anyone who used it. None of the participants could recall any specific information about circumcision services, except that the advertisement stated that a man who wanted medical circumcision could go *'to the nearest clinics, hospitals or doctor ... local clinics'*, and that *'after you are circumcised you must stay 6 weeks without having sex'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Older peri-urban women from Drieziek (Gauteng) similarly stated that *'it talks about the clinic, the nearest clinic'*, and one woman recalled that there is an SMS number to obtain details of a nearby clinic for circumcision. However, none of them could recall the details of the SMS number, nor could they recall anyone they knew using it. (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng). In the peri-urban group of women from KwaZulu-Natal (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal), the groups stated that no-one had noticed the clinic locator SMS number.

Overall views (including likes and dislikes)

The overall views of the "Salon" advertisement held by men and women were qualitatively different: Men paid far less attention (compared to women) to the health benefits of circumcision conveyed in the advertisement, and expressed a great deal of discomfort regarding how the advertisement would result in men being appraised by women, according to their circumcision status. Men were also uncomfortable with the advertisement breaking the cultural taboos of discussing both sex and circumcision (in particular) by bringing these subjects into the public eye, especially with women learning about male circumcision. Although these sentiments were not universal in all the men in the focus groups, and some men liked the fact that this information was made available, these thoughts and feelings were clearly evident in many of the men.

All the women who participated in the focus groups were clearly pleased (and sometimes amused) with the advertisement, the information provided about circumcision and the health benefits, and the empowerment it provided in their communications with male partners. They enjoyed the realism of the situation (a hair salon), and that women were able to discuss sexuality and circumcision.

Overall views of men 18-24 years

According to one medically circumcised young man (Urban, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), the advertisement was inspiring because this would result in women speaking positively about circumcised men – including himself – in terms of sexual performance. However, he also believed that the advertisement would produce embarrassment, discomfort and isolation of those who were not circumcised because the discussion would be focused upon why they were not circumcised:

M7-MMC: We as guys we would know that ... I need to get circumcised ... because girls, they'll be talking about me that ... I got circumcision, I'm now better ... Ja, in a good way talking about me ... but [if] I'm not circumcised [then] ... I'm bad in bed ... It might be also like a bit embarrassing or uncomfortable for those people who are watching it, those who are not circumcised because they'll feel like they're not better and all that, they still need to do that and then they're embarrassed because they will feel like okay, this is all on me, they're just talking about me, they're just discussing me, that I need to get circumcised and ... ja, I'm isolated because I'm not circumcised and all that. (Urban, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Another young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said the “Salon” advertisement was a ‘great initiative’ that helped people who were ‘clueless about it [circumcision]’.

M5-MMC: Oh, can I add something ... Can I just say one last thing, thanks for the whole knowledge about the whole thing because I don't know, maybe amongst us there were people that were clueless about it and it's a great initiative that you guys are doing, thank you very much. (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Three young men from the same group felt that, although the advertisement was good, motivational and interesting when watching the advertisement alone, there was discomfort in watching it in the presence of parents and other older people. This discomfort was in part due to the realization that women are talking about men in salons, and also because the advert concerned sex. In one case, the young man’s mother laughed when she saw the advert, indicating to him that she also discussed sex and circumcision in a hair salon. Another young man said that older people did not discuss sex with young men, hence the discomfort in watching an advertisement with sexual connotations with older people.

M6-MMC: [The] advert is good when you're watching it alone but not with parents ... [When] you are watching it maybe alone ... you become interested and ...it motivates you in a way, you see because you feel comfortable and that. Unlike when you're with parents ... you won't listen to anything that they say there ... [because] ... you feel uncomfortable ... [about] ... everything it's there, everything, like they say, it's straightforward ... it involves circumcision and [sex].

M5-MMC: Well, I'm still at the whole uncomfortable thing about it. I think it's the women in the advert, the way they're speaking ...[it] gives you that perspective that even in real life ... when you are sitting with your mother, you know she is the person that goes to the salon, they probably do speak about it. So that's where it gets uncomfortable ... Yeah, because they laugh about it, because

there was a day I accidentally passed the advert while she was watching it and she laughed ... So it's, I think the whole good and bad thing it's in the middle with the ad. In the same time it's good, it's informational, you know, everyone likes it and everyone speaks about it ... I see the message that it's trying to portray but at the same time it's portraying the wrong information because children will go around saying, Zing and you know ...they're talking about sex ...

M9-MMC: [Some] of us we don't speak about sex with our parents or elders, that's what makes us uncomfortable because you know in the black community the elders and parents are, they talk with themselves about sex, they don't include us.

(Urban, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Three other young men also found the advertisement good because it 'has straight talk', and did not find watching the advertisement with older people uncomfortable. This was because they felt that their parents knew that they were sexually active, and also because one of the men had been circumcised at an early age, and he felt his parents knew about his sexual life. A fourth man concluded that parents are not all the same, and that some talk about sex, and others do not.

M3-MMC: I think that advert it has straight talk ... I think it's a good advert because even parents know [that] ...when he grow up he knows that he's doing this things when he have sex like that.

M7-MMC: And then me I don't really find it uncomfortable, I feel like they already know a lot, because I ... got circumcised when I was 2 years old ... so they know a lot about my sexual life, so I just find it as just a normal thing, it's not uncomfortable for me.

M2-UC: I don't see anything wrong with the ad because I think it's quite motivational, you see. because like our parents ...they do know [that] we're now older, we do party and do all these things so we have to be open to them ... [and] ... they should know that ...when you're obviously turning 18 they should start talking about sex ...

M6-MMC: [Parents] are not the same, they are not the same ... for some of us we've never, ever spoken about sex [unclear], never.

(Urban, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Several young men in the urban Protea North discussed the merits of the advertisement using women to speak about circumcision. The consensus was that this was a good strategy because 'women speak to men and men listen', and when a woman tells a man to get circumcised, his response will be *I will go, don't worry, don't leave me* because he wants to please her. One man stated that *I don't think if they spoke about circumcision alone it would have appealed to us but because they included the fact that it will be better in bed, it appealed to most men* (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

M6-MMC: [The] advert uses women ... because I think the point of them using women because they know men are weak, I won't lie, men are weak, they listen to what ...a woman says ... [group agrees].

M5-MMC: I think ... women speak to men and men listen. So I think it was one of those things where they used women as the tool to speak to men because at the end of the day you know it's uncomfortable, you know it's going to be uncomfortable to say to a woman that I'm uncircumcised,

knowing that they speak about it and knowing that it's good when it's circumcised, so yeah, I think it was a clever move.

M3-MMC: Haai no, it couldn't work because if you tell me I must go circumcise I'll say [expletive] off, go for yourself man. If the girl is coming and telling you [to get circumcised] I will go, don't worry, don't leave me.

M7-MMC: ... I'd want to please a lady because she's a lady. So a guy, why would I want to please a guy, they all have that mentality that okay, he's a guy, he has everything I have, you see. So this is a woman, I have to please the woman. For me, I have to do this for me to please a woman, you see, in bed and everywhere for her to stay with me.

M5-MMC: For me I think the reason why the ad had so much impact is that I don't think if they spoke about circumcision alone it would have appealed to us but because they included the fact that it will be better in bed, it appealed to most men to say, oh, so if I go do this I'll be better in bed. because I don't think if they spoke about it just nje, like themselves saying, oh I think my person should go get an upgrade but not specifying for what, it wouldn't have made sense.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

In the group of peri-urban young men from Emzinoni, a similar conflict between liking the fact that women were discussing circumcision and disliking discussing sexual content was apparent: One uncircumcised man liked the advertisement because the women *'were able to discuss about things that were making them unhappy regarding their boyfriends'* - which he said was how men talk to each other when they are alone, and *'that after the man came back from being circumcised he came back with strength and vigour in bed ... the nice part is when they are now going to have sex'*. However, another uncircumcised man was not comfortable with the sexual content of the advertisement, and with women speaking about circumcision on television, because *'the children nowadays are so smart, they ... know what is happening and what they are speaking about ... sex'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

It was also noted by these young peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) that women discuss sex and their partners in other places, such as in taxis and at schools, that this could be perceived as disrespectful by older people who are present.

M5-UC: You see a taxi is a public thing, and sometimes there are old people like grandmothers and grandfathers there and they get shocked and say it means young people have no respect anymore.

Facilitator: It's disrespectful because a taxi is a public thing, when you are in taxi there are older people like grandmothers and granddads and when they talk about these things in the taxi is like they are disrespecting everyone.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

Another reason provided by these young men from Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) was that women did not understand the pain that was involved in the circumcision process, and instead only spoke about how long it takes to heal, and how this affects them.

M1-UC: ...When you come back from circumcision they [women] just discuss how long it takes [to heal, and] they don't even understand the pain you are going through.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

There was not unanimity in the discomfort expressed by some men in the young peri-urban males from Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga). Some men said that they were comfortable with women discussing circumcision, while others said that promoting the sexual benefits of circumcision would destabilise relationships because women would target circumcised men for sex, even those in relationships.

M4-MMC: I think it is wrong on their side to speak about us because if she talking about me to her friend, her friend will want to be with me [group laugh] ... It's bad for her and not for me.

M5-UC: I also agree, because they may break up before it's long because the other woman would want to go and sleep with him as well.

M2-UC: I think it is ok.

M3-MMC: I think it is ok as well.

M6-MMC: It is ok.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

In rural young men, (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) two medically circumcised men found the advertisement 'perfect' and one said that it 'encourages [circumcision]'. They said that they liked the advertisement because it shows men that if they want to make their partners happy in bed they need to get circumcised, that a relationship is much better after circumcision, and that circumcision reduces the chances of getting STIs.

M4-MMC: I think the advert is perfect for me, because they use the angle that we all know will definitely make a man take note; that of making your woman happy and that is what all men want... when it comes to the bedroom. So the person who don't go there is stubborn ... [Your] relationship will be much better once you are circumcised and there are also benefits like it reduced the chances of you getting STI or STD's ...

M6-MMC: They also show us what happens to a woman when she is with a man who is circumcised and how excited they get.

Facilitator: Okay, so it encourages men to do the procedure?

M6-MMC: Yes.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Overall views of men 25-34 years

One medically circumcised urban man from Umlazi (KwaZulu-Natal) said that 'there is nothing wrong about this advert everything is right and there is no strong language, what I can say it encourages us to do this' (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Two other men – one medically circumcised, and the other uncircumcised – enjoyed the evident excitement of both the man and the woman in the advertisement after the man had been circumcised, the male character's evident confidence, and also that he used a condom after circumcision.

M5-UC: I like the guy where he shows excitement that he liked what he has done...he's acting that part well because he's showing that he now has confidence in himself ... and his wife is also excited,

but ... [the thing] I like the most in that advert even after upgrading he still comes with a condom to protect themselves. He is teaching us that we must still protect ourselves

M7-MMC: I was going to say the same thing M5 said the excitement of that guy.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

However, three other men – one uncircumcised and two medically circumcised - said that although the advert was well done, it focused too much on improved sex as the main benefit of circumcision for the man, and did not adequately educate about the health benefits of circumcision for the man. They explained that one of the female characters mentioned the health benefits (reduction in STIs and cervical cancer), but that all the male character does and says concerns sex. According to one of these men, the reason why some people don't go for circumcision is because they aren't fully educated about the health benefits of MMC, due to the focus on sex.

M4-MMC: It is right the way they are doing it ... [but] they are giving us the wrong information ... [by showing that] ... the reason why we must get circumcised is because you want to have great sex alone ... When that man start he is wearing a shirt and a jean. You don't understand if he is okay or not but after that he comes back wearing underpants only getting all excited. [Laughter].

M7-UC: I am going to add on what my brother was saying it must educate not just being fun only it mustn't be just for fun like you have upgraded now sex is going to be great. There must be a message behind it we must learn something which not that you can have great sex and that's it. There must be some form of education to it as well. I think the person who tells the story better is that lady who says her man has upgraded so that she can't have cervical cancer and contract STI's.

M4-MMC: Yes she tells her man that if he gets circumcised that will reduce chances of her getting cervical cancer but it doesn't say what benefits the man gets.

M1-MMC: In short I think what confuses us ... is that people get circumcised because they want to have great sex ... [The reason I think] people don't want to go to the clinics ... [is because] ...they [don't] explain clearly to us all the benefits. People get circumcised because of great sex not knowing there are other health benefits. I don't think are aware of that... all they think of is sex
(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

One older urban man from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) also said that it is a good thing for women to discuss men because men are also curious about women, and that discussing issues such as those in the advertisement are good for relationships.

M3-UC: I think it is right for women to say something because some men are curious on how women feel about this, there are some who do not speak to their partners of such so and some only speak to their partners and not other women to find out how they feel when you talk to your partner it's not the same. When you see women talking about it that helps you in a way.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

In the group of peri-urban men from Evaton (Peri-urban, males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng), one man said he liked the advertisement 'a lot' – with the group concurring - because it showed the before-and-after-circumcision improvements in a man's sexual pleasure, and that after the advertisement most men in their area went to get circumcised. Another man said he liked the advertisement

because he obtained information about how long the post-circumcision healing process was, which he felt would be useful to men who were afraid to get circumcised.

Facilitator: Did you like the advert?

M1-MMC: Yes a lot. [Group also says yes] ... Because afterwards, after the advert aired, most of the guys in the communities where we live went to get circumcised at Men's clinic, yes.

M4-UC: [What] ... I like about that advert is that she could tell her friend about the length of time it took for him to get healed, things like that, because there are other people who want to get circumcised but they are scared [afraid].

(Peri-urban, males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

However, another man in the peri-urban Evaton group said that although he liked the advertisement, he did not like women talking about circumcision because this resulted in women putting pressure on all men to get circumcised, and some men did not want to get circumcised for cultural reasons.

M3-MMC: I like half of it and dislike half of it ... I like [that] ... in that advert you can learn from before circumcision and after circumcision ... [The male character] was not enjoying sex ... [but] after circumcision everything goes smooth. And then what I dislike about it, women talking about circumcision ... because some of them they put pressure on their guys or boyfriend, you have to do that so that we can enjoy Circumcision is for men. And some of them, not all of us are going to circumcise ... [because] of their belief ... Like for instance, a Zulu guy can go there, some of Sotho guys cannot go there.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Some of the men in the rural KwaGuqa group (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) held conflicting views regarding women discussing circumcision: Only one medically-circumcised man liked the fact that the women were discussing the circumcision status of their partners because it showed that their partners thought about them, and that they (the women) deserved to have a circumcised partner because of the 'hygiene' aspects.

M3-MMC: What I liked about that advert is that as those three ladies were sitting there, that one, the one who was happy, who was excited, I love that because it shows that her man thinks about her too. That's why he decided to do ... medical circumcision because as a women she deserve to be, to have that man with her because for personal hygiene ... things.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Another man in the rural group said that the advertisement was 'two-sided' because, on the one hand it is 'encouraging' men to do something (circumcision), it was 'bad' on the other hand because it was disrespectful to older people, especially regarding young people talking about sex.

M6-UC: It's like, okay, my opinion it's these adverts they are two sided, okay. There's a side that, okay, it's okay 'cos they're, er, they are encouraging and giving you a way of doing something about, one, two, three. On the other side, eish, I think they are bad on the other side ... Because now, even a child, just a, maybe a young girl or young boy they talk about these things now like they are nothing. And for us we feel disrespected.

Facilitator: Okay, so for you it is a big thing.

M6-UC: Very big thing.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Most of the other group members in the rural KwaGuqa group also objected to the advert encouraging women to discuss circumcision, for several reasons:

- It is embarrassing to talk about sex, and that when young people talk about sex they are being disrespectful of older people;
- Traditional circumcision was not discussed publicly, especially by women, and so older people would be uncomfortable with women publicly discussing circumcision;
- The advertisement implies that if a man is not circumcised he is not sexually satisfying his partner, and women will compare circumcised and uncircumcised men sexually. This was viewed as disrespectful. Also, even though women had previously discussed their partners, the advertisement has resulted in women discussing their partners more, and even in public places;
- Some people have religious beliefs that men who are circumcised will not enter heaven;
- It is taboo for a woman to talk about circumcision because this was strictly a topic for men to discuss.

M1-MMC: I don't know, maybe it's a dislike. Ja, every time when the guy comes jumping like a horse it's so destructive when you are sitting with parents ... It's very, very [embarrassing, because it speaks about sex] ...

M7-MMC: I think older people actually won't be comfortable, yes. Reason being that before this medical male circumcision thing most of people used to go on mountain initiation schools, of which it's something that hasn't been discussed. Most of the people don't know what's happening there. So now, if we are talking about that they think, no, ... they are disrespecting us, talking about things we do elsewhere, publicly. Now women also know that, of which it's something that they shouldn't know about what's happening there. So I don't think they will actually be comfortable.

M6-UC: I would say that [the] advert somewhere somehow it's okay, but ... [the] ladies are sitting, talking about men having circumcision ... [which] ...brings this picture of that if I'm not circumcised it means I'm not satisfying my woman or something ... [Also,] a biblical way says ...the one that is circumcised won't meet the kingdom of God.

M7-MMC: My point is actually based on the women too. Now as a black, we believe that talking about circumcision with women is actually taboo. So now there are a lot of old people out there who are not circumcised but then by seeing the advert, 3 women are talking about circumcision, what do they know about circumcision? That's the question? Do they have the penis? Do they get circumcised? So, no, why should I listen to them? ... I think this and most of the people think too.

M3-MMC: [It is] ... disrespecting or disrespectful ... because, now these three women are talking about their boyfriends. Say one of her boyfriend maybe is circumcised and we, boyfriends of the other 2, we're not. So she will automatically disrespect us because we are not and then she will think that we are not man enough for her friends ...

M6-UC: It's like before these adverts were not being published, these women used, okay, used to talk but now because they've seen it in a public view, that I can just talk about it, it's where they, it's like it grew more and more. Now they can even talk about when, when they're just walking ... everywhere now saying hey, my man is what, what. But back then, before these adverts were published they didn't, I think.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Overall views of women 18-24 years

One young woman from urban Witbank thought the advert was 'great because it teaches not only men but also women about the benefits [of circumcision], and the Zing, about upgrading, and about circumcision'. Another young woman also thought the adverts was 'great ... because it teaches us about diseases like ... cervical cancer' (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga). The first woman also found the advertisement amusing because after he was circumcised he appeared with a condom, both characters appeared happy, and they were going to have sex.

Overall views of women 25-34 years

In response to a question regarding whether it was a good idea to state that circumcision results in more pleasurable sex, an older peri-urban woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) responded 'Yes, because it got more people to circumcise'.

One woman from the peri-urban Drieziek group said that the advertisement was 'tops - it's number one for me' because she liked men who were circumcised, and the advert promoted circumcision. She also liked the advertisement because it teaches women to take care of themselves, and she also liked that the advertisement showed that a condom needed to be used by circumcised men.

F3: As I said, it's tops, it's number one for me. I like men who are circumcised ... if you circumcise, it prevents some of the diseases like sexually transmitted diseases. Yes, you avoid that and then it helps because in that advert it shows a condom, even if you're circumcised, you have to use a condom. For us women, it teaches us that we have to look after ourselves.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

The sentiment regarding the use of condoms was echoed by two women from peri-urban Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal), who added that they liked the fact that the advertisement showed that circumcision protected women from cervical cancer, and that the use of condoms prevented unwanted pregnancies.

F4: Also what's important is that it shows the guy appearing holding the condom, it says that no matter how good you can be good at this as long as you don't have this (condom) we won't 'play' today.

F5: I like that advert, because it shows that it is not just for males it is helpful to females as well because she explains that it will protect her from cervical cancer, she won't get sicknesses, and that she won't fall pregnant because they also have a condom so they are using double protection. It is helps both male and female.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

A woman from peri-urban KwaZulu-Natal (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) said that what interested her the most about the advertisement was that it represented a realistic situation, and that the overall topic – relationships, sexual pleasure, circumcision – was something that all women face as they grow older, and the advertisement provided guidance on how to talk to a man about these issues, thus improving communication between women and men.

F6: [The] thing that interested me was the way they relayed the message because ... it is too realistic. It also shows that as you are growing you will meet a man on the way and you will experience such challenges and you must have a way of talking to him. Since there's now this advert you are now able to say without fear that babe there's 1, 2, 3 so it helps with communication. (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Another woman from Drieziek said: *'I also love the advert because it also explained how they to the circumcision, [and] they also explained what happened after the circumcision, like it takes 6 weeks for the wound to heal, [and] that you still have to wear a condom, yes, and we enjoy, after that six weeks'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Three other women in the Drieziek group liked the advert because it showed women working and talking together in a hair salon – which is what women do, according to one woman - and that the discussion of the effect of circumcision on the one woman's relationships helped the other women with their relationships.

F1: I think the scene itself, because it is situated in a salon, so it speaks directly to us because that's exactly what we do. When we go to salons we talk about our life, so it relates to us women.

F4: [I liked] ... the way they are busy talking there in the salon, because that's what we do, women, like chatting.

F5: I think also what I liked about it, those women, I think they work together, and then just because the other one spoke about her man who went for circumcision, it helped the other ladies to speak about their relationships, if you can remember clearly, because that one said my man went for circumcision and last night was nice and whatsoever, and then it helped the other girl, she was also able to say eish, I want to also tell my man that he must go for that, for circumcision. As you said, it's nice, I also want to feel there what is nice.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

One woman from peri-urban Gamalakhe (KwaZulu-Natal) highlighted the role of women in encouraging men to get circumcised when she said that she liked the advertisement *'because it shows that if women are supportive when it comes to male circumcision they are showing that it is a right thing to do'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe KwaZulu-Natal). Another woman from the Gamalakhe group echoed this sentiment, noting that although some men do not want to go for circumcision, if female partners keep pressuring them, they will eventually go.

F3: I also like the advert ... [because] the lady who is talking about her man who went for circumcision mentions that he didn't want to go, but she encouraged him by saying it will help him

and protect them from certain things. I like it because it shows that although they tend not to want do something but if we keep on pressuring them they'll end up doing it because they'll see that we are supporting them.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe KwaZulu-Natal).

Several women in the peri-urban Drieziek group engaged in a discussion regarding the difficulties of knowing whether their partner was circumcised or not. Examples were provided of the lights being switched off before underwear was removed, therefore not allowing the woman time to observe whether the man was circumcised or not. One woman concluded that *'I think because there are a lot of women who have only slept with one guy, so they don't know the difference. They cannot tell. They can't compare, because they don't know how it's like to sleep with somebody who is circumcised and who is not circumcised'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Some women said that they most enjoyed specific characters' actions and expressions, such as - referring to the woman discussing her partner's circumcision - *'the excitement on her face'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng), and *'there's a lady that makes me laugh she keeps on ... [tongue clicking]'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal). Another woman from peri-urban Gamalakhe said she liked the advertisement because the characters represented a range of age groups, *'so it spreads the message to all age groups'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Characters and setting

All participants – both males and females – considered the setting (a hair salon) as being a realistic situation where women would talk about their partners and sex. Several women identified with aspects of the situation and some of the characters.

Some men, on the other hand, did not enjoy the situation portrayed, and there were conflicting thoughts and feelings about men being discussed by women in that setting. Some men, for example, expressed resentment to being regarded as sexual objects, while others wished their partner would boast about them being circumcised.

Realism of the setting and situation

As indicated and illustrated in previous sections, the setting and situation – women discussing their personal lives, including partners, in a hair salon – were unanimously accepted as being true-to-life by all participants in all groups.

However, the realism was not necessarily enjoyed by all participants. One young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that although the portrayal was realistic, he did not enjoy the treatment of women discussing circumcision, which he compared to *'treating the whole situation like it's a piece of pie or a slice of pizza'* because the focus was on women enjoying sex after the partner is circumcised, and *'what about me, a man?'* The same man from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) also said that he thought that the advertisement did not realistically reflect that not all men – such as those with high blood pressure or other diseases –

would benefit sexually from circumcision. He also said that he would have preferred it if the advertisement portrayed a group of men discussing circumcision, and concluding that a man enjoys it now that he is circumcised, and his female partner enjoys it too.

M4-MMC: Ja, I also think it was realistic but I feel like it would have been better if it was us men talking about it because now it's like, it's a girl saying she enjoys it better when it's circumcised, what about me, a man. It encourages men to go circumcise but like the whole message is like a woman enjoying sex after you being circumcised. So I think it would have been better if it was men talking about it and saying, I enjoy it when I'm circumcised and she enjoys it when I'm circumcised. (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

The suggestion that the advert should portray men discussing sex with other men was contradicted by an older urban man from Umlazi, who stated that *'women can do it [referring to discussing partners and sex] but as men we can't do it'* (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

A rural man from KwaGuqa (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) did not dispute the realism of women talking about their partners in a hair salon, but thought that it was inappropriate for women to do so in a public place, and suggested that the advertisement should have been set in a hospital or a surgery where there could have been men too.

Identification with characters

A young peri-urban medically circumcised man from Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) said that *'a part [of the advertisement] that I feel is about my life'* was *'where the lady is saying my man went'* because (as clarified subsequently) he wished that his partner would boast about him being circumcised.

A young uncircumcised rural man from Betania (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) said that the male character had a Choice condom and *'he's not just holding it, he's biting it [laughing]'*, and that this *'talks to me'*.

An older circumcised peri-urban man from Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that he did not identify with the male character using a condom because he prefers sex without a condom.

M6-MMC: [That] advert ... it doesn't say much because ...I think that if I am circumcised I will have sex without a condom. It will be nicer than a condom, you see. (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

Women in all the focus groups identified with aspects of the situation, as well as with some of the characters, such as where the characters become excited to tell their friends about circumcision, that the discussion in the salon precedes having sex, that the female characters are happy and smiling, and that the overweight female character makes everyone feel welcome in the hair salon.

F4: The part that I like most neh... that's where the friend starts to be excited and say have to tell my boyfriend about this cause like it's a good thing to do.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

F1: I think the scene itself, because it is situated in a salon, so it speaks directly to us because that's exactly what we do. When we go to salons we talk about our life, so it relates to us women.

F2: Ja, to the salon and then to the bedroom [chuckles].

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

F1: They are ok they deliver the message well, they are able to entice you as I mentioned that it has that 'ZING' they make you see it, and they are active and they are all smiles and all is well. Even the guy looks happy.

F4: They are perfect because there's this sdudla [someone fat] [group laugh] she makes you want to sit down, she's active, the way she speaks ...and when she starts talking you just smile and you will feel like you are there as well.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Language and terms used

In this section the focus is upon the general clarity of the language used in the “Salon” advertisement, followed by how the catch-phrase ‘Zing’ and the term ‘upgrade’ (part of the advertisement slogan) were understood.

General clarity of language

In all groups – males and females – the language was said to be clear and understandable, although some older men were concerned that older people in rural areas would not understand it. Several participants expressed the view that the language was suitable for all age groups, and that there was no offensive language used.

Participants appeared to particularly enjoy the mixture of English and Zulu, and the overall sentiment was that this slang approach was highly relatable because that is how most people spoke in everyday life.

Young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that the language used in the advertisement was ‘clear’, ‘understandable’, and that ‘*the language – the girls [do] ... talk like that*’. One man said that everyone is accustomed to the slang terms and language used in the advertisement, so it was understandable.

M5-MMC: I think ... it's the slang we're used to, like, everyone around here is used to that type of slang so I don't think that anybody would have said that I didn't understand what happened. We understood because that's the exact slang that's used ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

One rural man from KwaZulu-Natal (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) said that he did not initially understand what was occurring in the advertisement, but that it became clear when he heard the term ‘Zing’. The same man said that the language was ‘fine’ but that he would have

preferred it in another language – such as isiZulu – because there are many people who do not understand English, and therefore did not obtain the information contained in the advertisement.

M4-MMC: At the beginning you're not sure what's happening. When I first saw it she was just turning her around saying whoa! Thandi and continues but in the beginning I didn't understand, but when she says "mmh! Zing" that is when ... [I knew] what's going on.

M4-MMC: I feel the language is fine but it is in English but it can be better if they do it in IsiZulu because we still have uneducated people who doesn't understand English, it prevents other people from getting this information ...

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

An older urban man from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) said *'there is nothing wrong'* with the language used because *'there is no strong language'*. Another man in this group reiterated the sentiment that *'there is an issue of language, [because] people who stay in rural areas they don't know English - if they talk too much English it's like these people are not talking to me'*. A third man from this group referred to the language used in the advertisement as *'Zinglish' – It's English and Zulu just all together'*.

Older rural men from Mpumalanga (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) also found the language clear. One man pointed out that older men in rural villages would ask children what the English terms meant, and then conclude that the advertisement was disrespectful when they discovered what was being said. He therefore suggested that the language used was more understandable for older rural people.

M3-MMC: I think what they were trying to communicate there was clear. No, I like it, the language. No, the language is fine, I don't have a problem with the language because it's a language whereby everyone can understand.

*M8-MMC: I also do not like the fact that, um, the women are talking in English. Not that I've got an objection or any other problem with the language but ... [although] in these modern days a lot of people understand English ... but older men around the villages do not understand English and it will be very awkward for an old man to ask his child what are they saying. So and, it will, it will, when, when the child will try to translate, it will seem very disrespectful and the father or whoever might be asking for translation will feel as if the advert is teaching younger children wrong things. So I think if, if maybe they could try and maybe put it 50/50, the language that older village, disadvantaged communities will understand and other modern communities will understand, yes.
*(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).**

Several young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) said that the language was *'good'*, *'fine'*, *'understandable'*, and *'suitable for everyone'* because *'there was no vulgar language – just clean [and] simple'*. Two of these young women said that they would be comfortable watching the advertisement with their grandmothers because of the educational content of the advertisement, which their grandmothers also discussed with them.

F1: I think there's nothing offensive. The language is good. It's understandable. It's suitable for everyone.

F8: Ja... I think that the language was fine. It was actually excellent. It was suitable. There were no vulgar languages. Just clean [and] simple.

F4: I would be comfortable [watching the advertisement with my grandmother] because ... when I was like growing up she usually told me that there are things that are going to happen in your life and all that ...

F2: No, I wouldn't be scared because it teaches. It teaches that use a condom. These are things that grannies tells us. They say when you are older and are doing things like this use a condom so that you won't get things like this... diseases.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Older peri-urban women from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) discussed the catch-phrase 'Zing' at length (reported in the following section). Other than the term 'Zing', two women said that the language used – such as the term 'Haibo!' and 'Hello!' – 'talks to us' because it was some of the slang they used in everyday life.

F1: Ja, I think the language that was used, it relates to us because it's some of the slang that we use. Haibo! We use that in our everyday places, so it talks to us.

F6: Hello! [Laughter].

(Peri-urban females 25-34y Drieziek Gauteng).

One woman in the peri-urban group from KwaZulu-Natal said that the language was 'good, fun, and interesting ... the language is good'. Another woman in this group said that the language 'appeals to every age group', and a third woman said that she loved the language because 'it is simple, it seems like it is us ... it is ghetto, it is perfect'.

F1: The language is good, fun and interesting everything is enticing even when they start with the message it is appealing, so the language is good.

F6: Language wise it is fun, it attracts and appeals to every age group ... So this makes us to be interested, even the young ones are able to talk about it. The advert shows that you don't have to be shy this is thing is for everyone we all know about it. So language is perfect.

F3: I love the language because it is simple, it seems like it is us. It is simple, it is ghetto, it is perfect.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Meaning of the Zing catch-phrase

For most participants, the term 'Zing' was synonymous with the "Salon" advertisement. The term was understood variably to mean something simply pleasant or good, or sexual pleasure and excitement, or indicating circumcision and condoms.

Women in particular expressed happiness in being able to use the term to discuss sex and sexual pleasure with friends, family, and their partners, with some women saying that this had not being

the case before. Women in all groups explained how the term was used in everyday life, particularly when discussing sex with friends.

Men's understanding of Zing

Young urban men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) did not directly explain their understanding of the 'Zing' catch-phrase. However, based upon the following statement by one of these men, the term appears to be associated with sex and circumcision.

M5-MMC: [one the one hand the advertisement is]good, it's informational, you know, everyone likes it and everyone speaks about it because when you walk around the streets you'll hear little children going Zing ... And I see the message that it's trying to portray but at the same time it's portraying the wrong information because children will go around saying, Zing and you know how people's mentality will just automatically will go to the south of it. It won't even be about the circumcision itself, it will be, oh, they're talking about sex ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

The same young man from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), said that the 'Zing' term had 'trended', but had subsequently died down because of new terms 'circling around', such 'blessers' (men who 'bless' women with money).

M5-MMC: I think when it started, when the ad was still fresh because now I think it's old now, ja, it's old and things trend quickly and they just die down. There are new things that are circling around, you know, like blessers, now people are speaking about blessers, it's not about that zing anymore.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Some older men understood the term 'Zing' to mean excitement and happiness. For example, an older man from urban Umlazi understood the 'Zing' term to mean 'it shows excitement – everything is going according to plan - she is showing that she is happy' (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal). Another peri-urban man from Evaton thought that the term means that 'it's amazing, something like that [feeling] after sex' (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

However, one medically circumcised man from Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) interpreted the term somewhat differently to other participants, in that he said that the term 'Zing' meant that, after circumcision, a man can have sex without a condom, and that this was the 'upgrade' referred to.

M7-MMC: Okay, let me be straight. There is a difference between using a condom and going without a condom ... But with circumcision ... when you are not using a condom there's gonna be a difference ... it's that, the upgrade. Ting. Zing.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Women's understanding of Zing

For the female participants, the term 'Zing' was understood as meaning three different concepts: The first meaning was that something was pleasant (not with a sexual connotation). I.e., something

is 'nice, zing' (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng). The second meaning was that 'Zing' referred overtly to sex, and that 'when I want [my man to know I want sex].. I say Zing! It's time to Zing! So he knows I really need him' (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng). The third meaning of 'Zing' was presented as referring to circumcision and condoms: 'I took the Zing and condoms and combined it together that's when I saw [that Zing is] all about circumcision and condoms' (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Female participants in all three groups discussed how the term 'Zing' was used in various interactions and conversations with strangers, family, and even by children. For example, a young urban woman from Witbank (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) related how her younger sister used the term as a joke, without knowing what it meant.

F4: I've heard my younger sister. No like she takes it as a joke. She doesn't really understand what this Zing is. So like when my mother asks her where she is going. She says mama I am going to Zing. (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

An older woman from peri-urban Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) related how she was talking to her friends about something being 'nice' by using the term 'Zing' (i.e., in a non-sexual context), and that contract workers overheard this conversation and laughed because they knew the advert, and (presumably) assumed the women were speaking about sex and circumcision. She concluded that men know that women like their partners circumcised.

F7: One day we were at Annandale, me and my colleagues. We were going past some contract men who were working there. So, we were just talking about, I don't recall what it was we were talking about, but we were saying it's nice. As we were passing, we were just saying oh, Zing, it's nice. So these men, like they know that advert, they just laughed. They burst! So what comes to mind to me, it's like they know that advert, males, and it's like when they see it, they know what women think about that advert. That's what I think about that advert. It's like that message, it's clear for men that women also like their husbands or boyfriends to be circumcised. (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Participants in both the Drieziek and Gamalakhe groups (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng; Peri-urban females 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) said that the 'Zing' term (and the term 'Hello!') facilitated conversations with male partners about sex and circumcision, and also made it easier to discuss sex with friends, which had been previously difficult. One woman said this ability to discuss sex brought 'joy, unlike before'. They also said that the term was even used by older people aged 50 and older.

F1: [Using the term Zing] means as girls you can talk and then advise your boyfriend as well about what is really happening in life. (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

F1: Yes, and the Zing thing, they introduced a new word to use.

F5: ... [The] language ...introduces a new technique. Like it helps, especially for me, it helps us when we speak about like sexual intercourse, to have that excitement. It brings new language, and then it teaches us that when you are about to have that with your man, it doesn't have to be something that is... it has to be something to think about, even if you are alone, so that I can be able to talk with my friend and say ... yesterday I had Zing. So, it's something, it brings joy, unlike before ... [when it was] something that we didn't talk about. [So] ... it's encouraging, I don't know how I can put it, the playful part.

F1: Ja, I think she is telling the truth, because now people are starting to use the languages. Instead of saying I had sex yesterday, they say it was zing. A lot of old people are using the language ... 50 [years old].

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Understanding of the Upgrade slogan

The end-credit slogan 'Get the upgrade that counts – Circumcise and condomise', and the phrases expressed by one of the characters in the advertisement that 'Thomas, my man, had an upgrade, down there', and '30 minutes for the upgrade and six weeks to heal', introduces audiences to the term 'upgrade', which was generally understood to indicate improved sexual performance by men, and the health benefits for both the man and woman after circumcision.

However, as noted in previous sections concerning participants' favourite advertisements and spontaneous recall of the "Salon" advertisement, the term 'upgrade' was not always associated with the "Salon" advert – particularly for men – and was sometimes used to refer to Men's Clinic advertisements that discussed circumcision and men's health. However, even in those statements, the term 'upgrade' was typically used to refer to medical circumcision.

Overall, for women the term 'upgrade' appeared to be understood as intended by the advertisement, in terms of circumcision and the resulting benefits for both partners. Men, however, had various additional connotations added to the core meaning of the term, including beliefs that the 'upgrade' included a bigger penis, protection from STIs and thus not requiring condoms for sex, and also the reduction in pain during sex, leading to improved sexual performance. Some men also said that the term was confusing (with reference to computer upgrades), and would be too difficult to understand by rural audiences.

Men's understanding of Upgrade

Men had various interpretations of the term 'upgrade', including that it referred specifically to circumcision resulting in improved sexual performance by the man, and increased sexual pleasure for both partners. However, there were also several men who had added other meanings to the term, including that circumcision resulted in a bigger penis, that being circumcised meant you don't have to wear a condom because circumcision made sex safer, and that being circumcised meant that you were a man. There was also confusion with the use of the term 'upgrade' related to electronics

equipment, and some men also felt that the term was too sophisticated to be understood by some rural audiences.

For example, according to three young urban men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), some young people used the term ‘*upgrade*’ to refer to penis enlargement resulting from circumcision. One of these men also added that the term ‘*upgrade*’ was understood by some young people to mean that it was not necessary to use a condom once a man was circumcised because the ‘*upgrade*’ produced by circumcision was that it was safer to have unprotected sex.

M7-MMC: ... I also heard some kid around here ... saying ... that my man got an upgrade so he didn't think that they were talking about circumcision, [instead] he was [saying that he] ... got an upgrade on the ... [penis – making it larger].

M9-MMC: To add on ... when they say I got an upgrade, some of us we take it literally, it means it got bigger when you circumcised. And the part wherein they say you mustn't use ... [condoms, because] ...it's much more safer when you're circumcised. It means, to me it's literally, I'm going to get it with no condom, see. It's what it says to some of us.

M9-MMC: Not me exactly, some people take it literally. That means it's an upgrade it's ... safer.

Facilitator: So I got an upgrade, for you it means it's bigger?

M9-MMC: And much more safer ... You don't use condoms, that's the safe part.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Three young men from the same Protea North group (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) disagreed with the other men, and said that the term ‘*upgrade*’ referred to the improvement in sexual pleasure for both partners, and also to the reduction in risks for diseases such as cervical cancer.

M2-UC: I think upgrade is to satisfy them because they say it's more ... [pleasure].

M6-MMC: It's nicer ... for both [partners].

M5-MMC: Benefits is reducing the risks for cervical cancer in women ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

The men from the peri-urban group in Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) did not initially recall the ‘*upgrade*’ slogan. After watching the advert during the focus group session, two men said that the slogan was ‘*make the circumcise that counts*’ and ‘*get the upgrade that counts*’ (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

The understanding of ‘*upgrade*’ referring to an increase in sexual pleasure for both partners was reiterated by a young rural man from Betania, who said that ‘*[the] upgrade down there [means] ... circumcision is good for both of us*’ (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Several older urban men from Umlazi expressed confusion about, and dissatisfaction with, the term ‘*upgrade*’ for two main reasons: First, ‘*you upgrade on something that you have done earlier on. Some people know this word in things that you downloaded [on the internet]*’, and secondly ‘*we*

understand things differently others are fast and others are slow then there is an issue of language like people who stay in rural areas they don't know English'. In other words, they found the term too sophisticated for non-English-speaking audiences, and also confusing because the same term is used to refer to electronic equipment upgrades (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

One peri-urban man from Evaton (Peri-urban males, Evaton, Gauteng) said that his understanding of 'upgrade' was that it *'encouraged us not to use a condom [after circumcision] – Yes, it's that, the upgrade ... which means you're not going to get infected'*. Another man in this group stated that, for him, the term 'upgrade' meant *'before circumcision you are less of a man. After circumcision, you are a man'*. A third man said that the 'upgrade' referred to the fact that before being circumcised, *'you don't perform because there are some of the things that can make your penis to be painful... [and] after circumcision everything is goes smooth. That's why you perform [better after circumcision]'*. Another man offered one further explanation of the term, and said that 'upgrade' referred to improved sexual pleasure of the female partner, specifically *'the satisfaction of a female it's extra when after circumcision. Before, you are not reaching the climax'*.

Women's understanding of Upgrade

As reported in the previous section concerning how women understood the catch-phrase 'Zing', the bulk of discussions in all female groups focused upon the 'Zing' term, with little attention paid to the 'upgrade' term. From a statement made by one peri-urban women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal), it may be deduced that the term 'upgrade' was understood to refer to circumcision, and improved sexual pleasure for both partners, as stated in the "Salon" advertisement.

F3: [One female character says] she's got a new man and ... 'my man got an upgrade down there'.

Facilitator: So to say I've got an upgrade is clear, you know what she's talking about.

[Group agreement: yes].

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

In initial discussions, none of the women from the peri-urban group of older females from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) mentioned the *'get the upgrade that counts'* slogan. After watching the television advertisement again, one woman said that she had initially thought the term 'upgrade' meant penis enlargement (*'I thought they meant ... your penis is going to go bigger'*), and that after watching the advertisement again, she had come to realize that it meant *'upgrading to better sex'*. Another woman said that she understood the term to mean *'circumcise'*.

Messages and information received

This section focuses on the responses of participants to questions regarding the main messages received from the "Salon" advertisement, with minimal prompting regarding specific aspects of the advertisement.

Overall, men and women of all age groups and in all sites reported receiving the main messages of the advertisement, namely that it advocated men to get medically circumcised, that circumcised men should wear a condom, that circumcision enhances relationships (including sexual pleasure) for both partners, and that medical circumcision had health benefits for both partners (i.e., reduces the risk of HIV, STIs, and cervical cancer). The intended message concerning the 6-week post-circumcision period was less universally received, and the information that the circumcision process took only 30 minutes was not received by most participants.

There were few unintended messages received.

Men and women received the message concerning the female character convincing the male character to get circumcised differently: Women generally viewed this persuasion as being supportive, but some men viewed this as manipulative. However, both men and women considered this strategy as effective.

Some men and women said that they learned for the first time that it was necessary for a circumcised man to wear a condom, and several participants of both genders said that they learned about cervical cancer for the first time. There were also some women who said they learned for the first time that there was a difference in sexual pleasure with men who were circumcised and uncircumcised.

In some groups, men and women said that they did not know – prior to the advertisement – that the post-circumcision healing period was 6 weeks.

Intended and unintended messages received by men aged 18-24y

Young men aged 18-24y received most of the intended messages of the “Salon” advertisement, including that men should get medically circumcised, and the relational, sexual, and health benefits of the procedure for both themselves and their female sexual partners. They also perceived that the central strategy of the advertisement was to pressure men into circumcision by increasing women’s preference for a circumcised man. Only one young man received the unintended message that the reduction of the risk for HIV and STIs produced by circumcision meant that condoms are not required after circumcision.

In all focus groups of men aged 18-24y, the following intended messages were received when participants were asked to describe what they key messages were of the advertisement:

1. **Men should get circumcised:** *‘They say ... go get circumcised’* (Urban males 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng); *‘It’s about telling the community that they must not be afraid of talking when they are not happy that their man is not circumcised ... people who are ashamed will be able to get help as well’* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga); *‘To get circumcised that is the message’* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

2. **Use a condom if you are circumcised:** *'It shows the condom so you still know that okay, I'm still supposed to use that'* (Urban males 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng); *'They say circumcision is not a substitution for a condom'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga); *'[It says] just because you are circumcised it does not mean that you can sleep around without a condom'* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).
3. **Circumcision improves relationships and increases sexual pleasure, including that a woman prefers sex with a circumcised man, and a man performs better sexually when circumcised:** *'What really they're talking about is a man being better when he is circumcised'*, *'She said that it's better when it's circumcised'* (Urban males 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng); *'You enjoy much pleasure, and you are not doing only for yourself but your partner as well'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga); *'This advert actually made me realise that a women needs the satisfaction all the time, so [and] when you look at this woman [whose partner was circumcised, you can see] ... she got satisfaction, which is something that can encourage me to go and get circumcised'*, *'Yes your relationship will be much better once you are circumcised'*, *'they used the perfect motivation which is making your woman happy in bed as they say when the woman is happy the man is also happy'* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).
4. **Circumcision produces health benefits for both men and women, including reducing the risk for HIV, STIs, and cervical cancer:** *'For women and men, not for women only'*, *'Once I'm circumcised, it reduces my chances of HIV [and] ...STDs'*, *'She says it reduces the risk of her getting cervical cancer'* (Urban males 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng); *'To me the main message on the advert is that it reduces the chances of getting STI's, ... and cervical cancer that's the main message for the diseases ... they [also] mention HIV'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga); *'There are also benefits like it reduced the chances of you getting STI [and] ... it reduces the risk of getting HIV and AIDS'*, *'[It] also reduces the risk of all those diseases like cancer'* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).
5. **The post-circumcision healing process takes 6 weeks:** *'You don't even wait for winter anymore, you know, it's one of those, go, after 6 weeks you're good'* (Urban males 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng); *'It only takes ...6 weeks to heal after that you good to go'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga); *'After her man got circumcised, it just took 6 weeks'* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

It was notable that none of the men aged 18-24y spontaneously mentioned that the advertisement stated that it only took 30 minutes for the circumcision procedure to be performed, and that men from these three groups only noticed this message after being shown the “Salon” advert to determine whether there was additional information that they had not previously noticed.

A frequently-stated sentiment in all three groups of young men aged 18-24y was that, although the advertisement presented health benefits of circumcision, the advertisement was effectively manipulating men to get circumcised by utilising men's desire to please women, and to be perceived as having sexual prowess by women. As stated by one young man from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), *'most women don't want to sleep with a guy who is not circumcised'*.

M4-MMC: ... The whole motive behind the advert is saying go get circumcised so that your girlfriend can talk about you being better. Even though they talk about like it's less disease and all those but what catches me is that she said that it's better when it's circumcised ...

*M6-MMC: ... [What] mostly happens, most women don't want to sleep with a guy who is not circumcised ... So it pushes men to go circumcise ...
(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).*

*M4-MMC: I think the message is that they are trying to address is that when you've circumcised you enjoy much pleasure, and you are not doing only for yourself but your partner as well.
(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).*

M -UC: This advert actually made me realise that a woman needs the satisfaction all the time, so when you look at this woman thinking while others are talking it means she got satisfaction which is something that can encourage me to go and get circumcised.

*M4-MMC: I think the advert is perfect ... because they use the angle that we all know will definitely make a man take note; that of making your woman happy and that is what all men want... when it comes to the bedroom. So the person who don't go there is stubborn.
(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).*

Only one man – a medically-circumcised man in the urban Protea North focus groups (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that the advertisement promoted the notion that one of the advantages of circumcision was that the man did not thereafter need to wear a condom. This view was rebutted by two other medically-circumcised men in the group.

M6-MMC: Because they say okay, go get circumcised ... [and] I think what it promotes at the end of the day again is that no using condoms after it because after circumcision it says you're reducing, they are reducing getting other diseases ...

M5-MMC: I think no, at the end ... I think it does stipulate that fact that, no, afterwards, we're still using a condom my man ...

M7-MMC: Adding on what M5-MMC said ... I think also with the advert, when it ends it shows the condom, the product, the Choice product, ja, it shows the condom so you still know that okay, I'm still supposed to use that.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Intended and unintended messages received by men aged 25-34y

The messages received by older men aged 25-34y were similar to those received by younger men aged 18-24y, with the exception of some older men noting that one of the messages they received from the advertisement was that medical circumcision was safer and of shorter duration than traditional circumcision. The messages concerning the duration of the circumcision procedure (30 minutes) and the 6-week post-healing period were also poorly received by most of these men. Some uncircumcised older men also disliked the emphasis upon the sexual benefits of circumcision, and would have preferred a heavier focus on the health benefits of the procedure. Also, one man noted that the message regarding using condoms after circumcision was weak, and only presented with an image, and no spoken words.

The following are the messages received by the men aged 25-34y, in all groups.

1. **Men should get circumcised:** *'In the end we are being encouraged to get circumcised'* (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal); *'All men have to be circumcised'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng); *'The advert actually educates and motivates men out there to get medically circumcised'* (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).
2. **Use a condom if you are circumcised:** *'So once I use [a condom] after circumcision I am still preventing pregnancy, us as men once we get circumcised we think that we no longer going to contract diseases and make your woman fall pregnant'* (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal); *'At the end we can see a man with a condom, we can see the man with the condom so that we can see, oh, the condom is there, even if you are circumcised you, we must, we use a condom'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng); *'When he pulls out the condom, that clicks to me, oh, medically circumcised or not I should still use a condom'* (Rural Males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).
3. **Circumcision improves relationships and increases sexual pleasure, including that a woman prefers sex with a circumcised man, and a man performs better sexually when circumcised:** *'We are being encouraged to get circumcised and have a good sex', 'It clearly it tells us the same thing that people tells us that after circumcision you are going to be strong for your woman in bed'* (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal); *'He's happy because now he can have a nice sex', 'The advert shows that if you are circumcised, you can enjoy sex', 'Girls like men that are circumcised because we can see they are happy that my man got an upgrade', 'I learned there is that in a bedroom there must be equal satisfaction because that guy was happy after circumcision and even there his lady was happy too'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng); *'The advert actually educates and motivates men out there to get medically circumcised for their benefit of their relationships and for their own health as well'* (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

4. **Circumcision produces health benefits for both men and women, including reducing the risk for HIV, STIs, and cervical cancer:** *'They tell them that it will make them safe from [sexual] diseases', 'If he gets circumcised that will reduce chances of her getting cervical cancer'* (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal); *'Safety for having sex without, safety for not [getting infected] ... with STIs ... [and] ... 60% for safety [of getting infected with HIV]'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng); *'For women [circumcision] prevents women from getting cervical cancer'* (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Among older men aged 25-34y, only men from the peri-urban group in Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) recalled the 6 week healing period without prompting:

5. **The post-circumcision healing process takes 6 weeks:** *'She also told her friends that it's not a big deal, you know, it's only 6 weeks to heal', 'We used to think that it takes a very long time to heal [after medical circumcision, [but I learned that] ... it is only 6 weeks'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng);

Furthermore, even after being shown the "Salon" advert again, the urban men from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) did not mention the six weeks healing period, but the rural men from KwaGuqa (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) did notice it.

None of the men in any of the groups of older men aged 25-34y spontaneously recalled that the advertisement stated that the circumcision process only took 30 minutes. After viewing the advertisement again, only the peri-urban and rural groups of men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng; Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga), noticed the message concerning the 30 minute circumcision procedure period.

6. **The safety of medical circumcision:** Two men from the peri-urban group of older men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) stated that another important message received concerned the safety of medical circumcision and that it did not take long, compared to traditional circumcision. One of these men said that *'you can trust in medical circumcision'*.

M4-UC: [The main message I received from the advert was] how safe it is to make a medical circumcision ... That it's safe, easy and it's not too long. The hidden process it's not like the one from the traditional schools, ja.

M1-MMC: Trustworthy. You can trust in medical circumcision.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Two uncircumcised men from urban KwaZulu-Natal (Urban males, 25-34y, KwaZulu-Natal) discussed their view that the advert focused mainly on the sexual benefits of medical circumcision, and that the advert did not emphasise other benefits of the procedure for men.

M6-UC: ... In the end we are being encouraged to get circumcised and have a good sex ... No, I don't see other benefits.

M7-UC: I don't want to say it is wrong but the way they are doing it they are delivering the

wrong information the way I understand it. It is right the way they are doing it but they are giving us the wrong information ... [that] the reason why we must get circumcised is because you want to have great sex alone ... [The advert] must educate not just being fun only ... There must be some form of education to it as well. I think the person who tells the story better is that lady who says her man has upgraded so that she can't have cervical cancer and contract STI's.
(Urban males, 25-34y, KwaZulu-Natal).

One medically circumcised man from Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that the advertisement didn't verbally mention condoms, and that if the advertisement had not shown a condom, the impression would have been created that a man did not need to wear a condom after circumcision.

M1-MMC: But we can see one condom, you just see it ... They don't talk of condom, we don't hear from condoms, we just see the condom ... If there was no condom by that picture I would believe that you, after circumcision, you just go straight, you don't use a condom.
(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Intended and unintended messages received by women

Women reported receiving the same main messages as men, but they also mentioned receiving the message of the importance of supporting and encouraging men to get circumcised. Some women focused upon how the advertisement educated young women about the difference between circumcised and uncircumcised men, and that it was important for circumcised men to also wear condoms to prevent unwanted pregnancies.

1. **Men should get circumcised:** *'It teaches not only men but also women about the benefits [of circumcision], and the Zing, about upgrading, and about circumcision'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga); *'that message ... it's clear for men that women also like their husbands or boyfriends to be circumcised'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng); *'when it comes to male circumcision they are showing that it is a right thing to do'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).
2. **Use a condom if you are circumcised:** *'Even though your man has had an upgrade but you still have to use a condom'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga); *'It shows a condom, even if you're circumcised, you have to use a condom'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng); *'even though you are circumcised it doesn't mean you won't get AIDS; you will get it even though you are circumcised so you must use the condom'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).
3. **Circumcision improves relationships and increases sexual pleasure, including that a woman prefers sex with a circumcised man, and a man performs better sexually when circumcised:** *'She told her friends about her boyfriend getting the Zing and how it feels when they are having sex'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga); *'Yes, and we enjoy, after that six weeks', 'get circumcised, you will get pleasure in the bedroom'* (Peri-

urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng); *'She's happy and satisfied, and she is thinking that oh the other ladies are getting the same satisfaction that she is getting and the pleasure'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

4. **Circumcision produces health benefits for both men and women, including reducing the risk for HIV, STIs, and cervical cancer:** *'It prevents some diseases and it's not easy to get diseases when he has done the zing ... They are talking about HIV and AIDS and STIs, [and] ... cervical cancer'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga); *'By her man going to circumcise, it's going to reduce the chances of her getting cervical cancer and other STIs ... HIV ... and drop'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng); *'She explains that it will protect her from cervical cancer, she won't get sicknesses'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).
5. **The post-circumcision healing process takes 6 weeks:** *'after you are circumcised you must stay 6 weeks without having sex'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga); *'It takes six weeks for the wound to heal'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

None of the women in any of the groups spontaneously mentioned the 30-minute duration of the circumcision process mentioned in the advertisement, and only one woman from the Drieziek group (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) noticed this message after watching the advertisement again.

One older peri-urban woman said that one of the messages she also received from the advertisement is that *'for us women, it teaches that we have to look after ourselves'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Mpumalanga). Two other women in the same group said that the advertisement teaches women about the difference between circumcised and uncircumcised men, and that it was important for young women to know that even a circumcised man should wear a condom to prevent unwanted pregnancy, because young women are not particularly concerned about HIV. Another woman stated that the advertisement teaches people to get young boys to get circumcised at an early age.

F5: I can also add to that, it also teaches young girls ... the difference between a circumcised man and a man who is circumcised. ...

F1: [It] also teaches young kids that even if your man is circumcised, he has to wear a condom. He must not come here and say no, I am circumcised, so you won't get HIV, because the thing is, us here, a lot of young kids they prevent, they go for prevention ... for birth control, you see, so they don't really care about HIV that much. So, the advert teaches them that no, you still have to use a condom.

F6: It also teaches us for young kids, the boys, to go and circumcise at an early age.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

In the group of peri-urban older women from Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal), three women focused on the message from the advertisement that a woman can – and should – support, encourage, and *'pressure'* her partner to get circumcised, even if he doesn't want to get circumcised, because *'it is a right thing to do'* and it will prevent the diseases mentioned in the advertisement:

F3: I also like the advert ... the lady who is talking about her man who went for circumcision mentions that he didn't want to go, but she encouraged him by saying it will help him and protect them from certain things. I like it because it shows that although they tend not to want to do something but if we keep on pressuring them they'll end up doing it because they'll see that we are supporting them.

F2: I like it because it shows that if women are supportive when it comes to male circumcision they are showing that it is a right thing to do.

F5: The way things are explained on the advert, made me have a picture that when I start doing this with a man who is not circumcised all I will get all the things that are listed there? Then I said it is going to be easy for me to tell him that he must go for circumcision so that we won't get [these diseases] ... (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

New information learned by men

For men, the three most commonly-reported new information concerned circumcision reducing the reduction of the risk of cervical cancer for female partners, that when a man is circumcised he still needs to wear a condom to prevent HIV and STIs, and that a woman enjoys sex more when her male partner is circumcised. It was also mentioned by some men that they did not know that it only took 6 weeks to heal after medical circumcision.

For example, in three separate groups (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal; Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga; Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga), men said they had learned about cervical cancer for the first time from the advertisement.

M2-UC: [I learned about] cervical cancer.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

M3-UC: The information I got is that I can protect my woman from cervical cancer after circumcision.

Facilitator: How many people who didn't know that? [M2, M3, M6 and M7]

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

M6-UC: Ja, I've learnt something about this cancer something for the women, I didn't know about that, ja ... Ja, cervical cancer.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Two young peri-urban men from Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) said they did not know that a circumcised man should use a condom to prevent 'diseases' because, as stated by one of these men, prior to the advertisement, he had believed that 'after circumcision you are good – 100%', meaning that he was protected from diseases by virtue of being circumcised.

M4-MMC: I learnt that even when you circumcised you must still use a condom, because it doesn't mean once you circumcise you won't get diseases when having intercourse.

M5-UC: I think I didn't know that you can get circumcised and still condomise after circumcising ... I thought after circumcision you are good, 100%.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

One young uncircumcised man said that the advertisement taught him that *'when you've circumcised your woman enjoys [sex] in bed, [more than] ... when you are not circumcised'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

A young rural uncircumcised man from Betania (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) said that he learned that *'a woman needs the [sexual] satisfaction all the time'* and that she will discuss her sexual satisfactions with others, *'which is something that can encourage me to go and get circumcised'*.

M1-UC: This advert actually made me realise that a woman needs the satisfaction all the time, so when you look at this woman thinking while others are talking it means she got satisfaction which is something that can encourage me to go and get circumcised.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Two young uncircumcised rural men from Betania stated that they learned that the healing period after circumcision was *'just 6 weeks'*, and one man said he learned *'to be courageous and what you have to do to make things right ... [and] once you have done it, it will be best thing you have ever done in your life'* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Following reporting of unprompted information recalled, participants were shown the advertisement, and asked to report new information that they have not previously not noticed:

- The first most-frequently reported information noticed only after watching the advert again concerned the slogan *'get the upgrade that counts'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga; Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).
- The second most-frequently reported information noticed only after watching the advert again concerned the 30-minute duration of the circumcision procedure, and the 6 weeks healing period (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga; Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal; Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).
- In terms of characters, two younger men and one older urban reported that they had not noticed the quieter female character whose partner had also been circumcised (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga; Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal; Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).
- Two young urban men from Protea North said that they had not noticed the condom before, one of whom said that he did not previously notice that the message was that a man can be both circumcised and use a condom (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).
- Several men from various groups only noticed the clinic locator SMS information and the B4L website upon watching the advertisement again (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng; Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).
- Two peri-urban men reported that they had previously noticed the information regarding cervical cancer (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

- One young urban male from Protea North, and one older rural man only noticed the USAID logo upon watching the advertisement again, and both stated that they did not know what the term USAID meant (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng; Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

New information learned by women

For women, the most frequently stated new information learned from the “Salon” advertisement concerned the need for a circumcised man to use a condom. For example, a young urban woman from Witbank stated that *‘I knew that you have to use a condom, but I didn't know that you have to use it even after he has done the Zing [circumcision]’* because *‘I didn't see the necessity of using a condom because if you get an upgrade it reduces the amount of disease that you can get’*. Another young woman from the same group said that people do not know about the *‘high chances to get cervical cancer’* when having sex with an uncircumcised man (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Two older women reiterated the new learning about the need to use a condom by a circumcised man, to protect both the male and female from diseases. One of these women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) had previously believed that a circumcised man could not become infected by HIV and other diseases, and said she had come to realize that a circumcised man could still become infected with HIV and other illnesses, but that this risk was lower than for an uncircumcised man.

F3: ... Even though they are circumcised, we have to use a condom. It's not only the man, it's also the woman.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

F4: In the beginning I had that mentality that if a guy is circumcised they will not get AIDS, as well as other sicknesses. ... But I came to understand that even when you are circumcised it is possible to get them, but it is not the same as with someone who is not circumcised because they [more] easily get the sickness ...

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Peri-urban women from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) cited several new learnings, including learning about how circumcision occurred, the 6-week post-procedure healing period, that it was important to use a condom after circumcision, and cervical cancer. Several women in this group agreed that they did not know that there was a difference in having sex between a circumcised and uncircumcised man, and that sex with a circumcised man was more pleasurable.

F4: [The advert] also explained how do they do the circumcision, because they also explained what happened after the circumcision. Like it takes six weeks for the wound to heal. Yes, and that you still have to use a condom, yes, and we enjoy, after that six weeks. Yes, it has changed my perspective of

thinking because before I thought maybe after you have circumcised, maybe it will take months for the wound to heal, but now I know that it takes six weeks for the wound to heal.

F5: About the cervical cancer, I didn't know if your man is not circumcised, there is a high possibility of getting cervical cancer, but now I know.

F1: To be honest, I didn't know that there was a difference between having sex with a circumcised man and a non-circumcised man. So the advert told me that oh, okay, so if I'm going to date somebody, I have to check [laughter] if they are circumcised.

Facilitator: Others, was that new for you, that it increases sexual pleasure? [General agreement - yes] So for who was it new? F4, F1, F5:, F2.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Following reporting of unprompted information recalled, participants were shown the advertisement, and asked to report new information that they had previously not noticed:

- The most frequently reported information reported by women that they had previously not noticed concerned the characters in the advertisement: Two women noticed that the male character was not happy prior to being circumcised, but that after the procedure was very happy (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga; Peri-urban females 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng), and another woman noticed that the quieter female character also had a partner who was circumcised (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).
- Other information mentioned by participants as not having been noticed before included the clinic locator SMS number and the USAID logo (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga; Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng), the information regarding the 30-minute duration of the circumcision procedure (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng), and the B4L logo (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Additional information: How the advertisement helped self and others

In response to a question regarding whether the advertisement was helpful to themselves and others, participants reiterated the main messages and new information described in previous sections.

The following are examples of these responses:

- The advertisement promotes medical circumcision, which is safer than traditional circumcision:

M2-UC: My sister, in my suggestion, these adverts have helped a lot of people because its many people who now know that they are supposed to circumcise, and they are not supposed to go to the traditional schools of the Sothos or Xhosas things like that. Do you understand? People are dying there. But after these advertisements, many people got relieved, they went to circumcise [medically] ...

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

- Circumcision has health benefits, including the reduction of certain diseases, for both men and women:

M4-MMC: It was helpful to me and I think to others ... because they didn't know that if you didn't do circumcision you have greater chances of getting diseases.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

F1: I think it is helpful to the women a lot, even men are shown that if you go and circumcise your things will be ok, you don't get sicknesses easily ...

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

- Circumcision improves sexual pleasure:

M6-MMC: For me ...it was very good ... You see when it comes to having sex and you the foreskin you see... [Group laugh] now that is not necessary. Because sometimes there used to be that bit of pain but now that the skin is gone it's 100%.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

- Circumcision benefits both men and women, and also that a condom needs to be used even if the man is circumcised:

M3-MMC: [The advertisement is] useful in such a way that men and women, like, we both contribute in the situation. Even if a man is getting circumcised but as a woman also, you understand. So if you're circumcised it doesn't mean that you mustn't use a condom 'cos if you are circumcised and using a condom on top you are actually making yourself more, feel, more protected also, I can say.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

F1: They show a guy who is happy after doing it and he also was carrying a condom showing he's continuing with taking care of himself.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Perceived target audience

Overall, most younger men and women aged 18-24y said that the advertisement was aimed at uncircumcised men in their own age group, because they believed that younger people were more sexually active than older people.

Most older men and women aged 25-34y – and some younger men and women - said that they believed that the advertisement was aimed at men, women, and couples because the advertisement showed that circumcision benefited both a man and woman.

One rural man said that older, more traditional people would not be comfortable with the advertisement because it discussed an issue that was previously secretive, and that they would especially object to women speaking about male circumcision.

Men's perceptions of the target audience

When asked who they thought the advertisement was made for, some younger men aged 18 to 24 years at all three sites said that they believed that the target audience was primarily uncircumcised

men, men who are having sex, with some saying this was for men of all ages, and others saying men aged 18 to 25.

M6-MMC: The people that are not circumcised ... [of] any age.

M5-MMC: Only for men ... who are not circumcised ...

M9-MMC: Uncircumcised men.

M7-MMC: I could also say it's for any age ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

M1-UC: Men.

M6-MMC: Guys who are not circumcised as yet [group laugh].

M3-MMC: Yes males between the age of 16 upwards, maybe to 25.

M4-MMC: Males who are having sex.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

M6-MMC: It is done for men so that they get circumcised.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

There were also some younger men who said that the advertisement was also aimed at women 'to tell their partners to do this ... so that the woman can also be safe' (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), and 'One young peri-urban man said that the advert should have also targeted women (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga). Two young rural men concurred with these sentiments, and said that circumcision benefited both men and women, and that the target audience included couples (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

M4-MMC: I feel like the main audience for this advert is men but also for women because ... being circumcised doesn't just benefit the man; it also benefits the woman. So, yes the main target audience might be men, but women are also targeted through this advert.

M2-UC: I think the target market is for couples.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

A similar finding was found in older urban and rural men (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal; Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga), with some men saying the advertisement was aimed at men, and others stating it was aimed at both men and women, and couples.

M4-MMC: It encourages people who are in relationships to be circumcised they need to add those benefits you get at the clinic.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

M7-MMC: I feel like they're actually talking to males.

M5-UC: Ja, I was thinking also that they were talking to men to play safe, to play safe.

M4-MMC: Both male and females.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

One older medically circumcised rural man from KwaGuqa (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) said that he believed older, more traditional, people would not be comfortable with the advert because circumcision has been done through initiation schools, and this was not discussed publicly, especially with women.

*M7-MMC: I think older people actually won't be comfortable ... [because]... before this medical male circumcision thing most of people used to go on mountain initiation schools, of which it's something that hasn't been discussed. Most of the people don't know what's happening there. So now, if we are talking about that they think, no, this actually, they are disrespecting us ... [and] now women also know ... something that they shouldn't know about what's happening there.
(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).*

Women's perceptions of the target audience

Younger urban women held similar views to younger urban men, in that most of these young women believed that the advertisement was aimed at uncircumcised men – especially young men ‘because they are more engaged in these things [sex]’, while one younger woman believed the advertisement was also targeted at both men and women because ‘both of them should be responsible [for] using a condom even after circumcision’ (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

F4: I think it is based for men.

F8: I think it is based on young people... you know... the youth.

F2: On men ... teenagers. Younger men in our age because there are the ones who are more engaged in these things.

F6: I think it is talking to men not women. Men that are not circumcised ... Saying even after they have circumcised they must wear condoms.

F1: I think its talking to women and men. Asks men to go and get circumcised and women to encourage their men to get circumcised and both of them should be responsible of using a condom even after circumcision.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Older peri-urban women from both Drieziek and Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng; Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) said that the advertisement was aimed at both men and women or all ages because ‘as mentioned on the advert the lady says sthandwa (baby) this is not just for you but I will benefit as well’ (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

F1: I think it's made for both women and men.

Facilitator: Everyone agreed? [Yes].

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

F6: Both men and women ... [because] as mentioned on the advert the lady says sthandwa (baby) this is not just for you but I will benefit as well so they explain it. ... [The] advert [also] caters for all age

groups, there's a girl you can say is 18, a lady who is in her 40s or 30s, another one looks 20 something. So it spreads the message to all age groups.

F5: I like that advert, because it shows that it is not just for males it is helpful to females as well because she explains that it will protect her from cervical cancer, she won't get sicknesses, and that she won't fall pregnant because they also have a condom so they are using double protection. It helps both male and female.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Perceived advertisement's call to action

For those participants who responded to probing questions regarding what the advertisement is asking the audience to do, the most common response was that it was calling upon uncircumcised men to get circumcised to protect themselves and their partners from diseases, for men to use condoms when circumcised, and for women to encourage their male partners to get circumcised.

Men's perceptions of the advertisement's call to action

When participants were asked what the advertisement was asking the target audience to do, one younger peri-urban men replied *'obviously to get circumcised'*, and two other young men said *'to get circumcised and also use protection'* and *'protect yourself from sicknesses'*. One man said *'strictly circumcising'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

Older urban men (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) agreed that the advertisement asked men to get circumcised, but added that *'it encourages women to talk to their partners about getting circumcised – it mustn't be the men's issue only'*. One uncircumcised older urban man also said that *'it encourages men to get circumcised so that their women can be protected as well ... [and the advert also] speaks to women that they must encourage their men to get circumcised'*.

One medically-circumcised man rural man said that the advert was asking men specifically to *'be more responsible than before'* (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Women's perceptions of the advertisement's call to action

A younger urban woman from Witbank (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) said that the advertisement is speaking to men, *'saying that after they have circumcised they must wear condoms'*, while another younger woman said that the advertisement was not only speaking to men, but also women, and that the advertisement is asking *'both of them [to] ...be responsible [for] using a condom even after circumcision'*. Both these women agreed that the advertisement *'asks men to go and get circumcised and women to encourage their men to get circumcised'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Four peri-urban women from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) simply stated that the advertisement is asking men to *'go get circumcised'* and *'after [circumcision], using the condom'*.

Interpersonal communications stimulated

Participants were asked whether they – or anyone they knew – had discussed the advertisement with friends, family, or other people.

In young men aged 18-24y, it appeared that the advertisement was widely discussed at one urban school, with young women enacting the advert and asking young men whether they were circumcised or not. However, the advertisement did not appear to be widely discussed by most young men in the peri-urban and rural sites, although individual young men did discuss the advertisement and promote circumcision with friends and family.

Urban and peri-urban older men (aged 25-34y) were relatively emphatic that circumcision was not discussed with women, and that such issues were only discussed with other men. However, several older rural men appeared to be comfortable discussing MMC with their families and partners.

Both young (18-24y) and older women (25-34y) reported discussing the “Salon” advertisement with partners, friends, family members, and colleagues. In many of these reports, the term ‘Zing’ was used as the key conversation term. One woman explained that the advertisement had enabled women to discuss circumcision with others, where this was previously not possible.

Interpersonal communications: Men aged 18-24y

One medically circumcised urban man from Protea North described how girls at his school would ‘joke to others’ about the advert, and ‘then act it out’. These girls would also ask the young men if they were circumcised, and make comments such as ‘if you are not [circumcised] then you’re nothing ... I’m not interested’ (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Another urban young man from the same group said that he had promoted circumcision using the term ‘hey buddy, it’s time ... you go get yourself an upgrade’. He also said that it was difficult to tell whether a man was circumcised or not, and that he would only speak to friends when he noticed that they were uncircumcised while urinating in a public toilet.

M5-MMC: [It’s] not easy talking because, to another man because we’re all wearing pants, I can’t see this one is circumcised, this one is not circumcised [but] ... You can see from the toilets that this one is circumcised or what. If that person is my friend I would tell him, go get circumcised but I can’t just tell someone I don’t know hey, go get circumcised ... Obviously if I see you taking a pee and you didn’t get yourself circumcised I’d say, hey buddy, it’s time, it’s time you go get yourself an upgrade, you know, something like that.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

The same young man said that he would discuss the advert with other young people, but ‘I would talk about it in an annoyance way’ because he did not like ‘how the women speak about it’, particularly young girls saying ‘hey my man had an upgrade’. He also stated that his annoyance was

not with the circumcision aspect, but that it was the 'sex part' (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

In peri-urban Emzinoni (Mpumalanga), only one (uncircumcised) young man said he spoke to some of his friends who were afraid to get circumcised, about the importance of circumcision. The other member of the group said they had not heard anyone – either men or women - talking about the advertisement.

Facilitator: Have you discussed this advert with anyone?

M4-MMC: No.

M5-UC: No.

M1-UC: Yes ... Some of my friends who are scared to circumcise so I was telling them of that it is important, the reason that we have adverts shows that this is important.

Facilitator: Have you heard women or any other men talk about it? [No]

(Peri-urban, males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

One young rural man from Betania (KwaZulu-Natal) related how he asked his sisters whether they had seen the 'Zing' advertisement. He said they laughed about the male character in the advertisement.

M4-MMC: Yes we spoke a lot about this advert ... I also spoke to my sisters ... about Zing then we laughed, but we didn't go in to detail about it just laugh about that guy in the advert. Just asking each other if they've seen the advert ...

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Interpersonal communications: Men aged 25-34y

When asked whether they had discussed the advert with anyone, an uncircumcised male from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) said that 'as men we have a problem – we are scared to talk about these things [circumcision]' but that it is easier to discuss issues such as STIs ('some kind of illness like drop and lice') so that 'he can help me with that on what I can do', referring to herbal remedies.

M7-UC: As men we have a problem we are scared to talk about these things. I don't think I can come to you and say my brother there is something like this, but I can talk to M5 if I had a problem maybe I had some kind of illness like drop and lice. [Laughter] Then he can help me with that on what I can do.

Facilitator: Show you herbs you can use?

M7-UC: You see. [Laughter].

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Another urban man (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) related that 'when you talk about something concerning health people don't care about that unless you talk about alcohol and girls'. He then gave an example of how he had spoken to another man about pubic lice, and that the other man told him he was disgusted and dismissive.

M1-MMC: When you talk about something concerning health people don't care about that unless you talk about alcohol and girls. I once spoke to another guy about lice telling him that I have that problem he just dismissed me said that is disgusting I must drop that topic. [Laughter] I concluded that this is not a person you can talk to but then I got help that I needed I was cured.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

The only direct conversation regarding the “Salon” advertisement reported by an urban man (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) concerned a man who was told by another man that he knew the male actor in the advertisement.

When men from the peri-urban group of older men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) were asked whether they discussed the advertisement with partners and female family members, or whether female partners discuss the advert with them, the group reiterated the finding in the urban males of the same age that ‘*we don't talk, we don't talk, haai we don't talk [to women about the advertisement]*’. The reason was that ‘*men to men, we can talk but men to female, I can't. I feel uncomfortable*’. When probed regarding what occurred when watching the advertisement with their partners, one medically circumcised man said that when his partner asked him about the difference between traditional and medical circumcision, he responded by telling her that he will not tell her about traditional circumcision because ‘*I'll be disobeying the rules*’.

Facilitator: But what would happen ... when you were watching it ... with your partner...?

M7-MMC: Usually my partner, there is this question she would like to ask me is that, what's the different between the circumcision of the tradition and the medical one? So the answer I give her is that I won't tell her about the traditional one because I'll be disobeying the rules.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Another medically circumcised man from peri-urban Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that he had discussed the advertisement with his friends, without specifying the content of these discussions.

M6-MMC: Male friends, like M7 and M5, we talk. We used to sit together, you see and we talk a lot ... Ja, when the advert comes there, ha, we just know, haai, haai, this is ja!

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

One medically-circumcised man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that a close friend had seen the advert, and had told him that he was thinking of getting circumcised. The participant explained the risk, and advised his friend to get circumcised if he felt ready. He reported that his friend subsequently went for the procedure.

M1-MMC: One of my closest friends, he told me straight that I saw an advert on TV and I think of going and circumcise. I just said to him, go man, if you are ready, you can go. And he asked me why must he go there. I told him of the risks, you had a lot of risks if you are not circumcised 'cos most of that fluid can stay inside.

Facilitator: Did he mention that advert?

M1-MMC: Yes .. [he] saw something to do with circumcision and [he thought of going there. That's when I told him you can go, if you are ready.

Facilitator: And so he went.

M1-MMC: Ja, he went. Even now he's approaching that 6 weeks.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Another medically circumcised man from the same group (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that he had a debate with his friends regarding his belief that the advertisement was suggesting that a condom was not needed after circumcision, which his friends did not agree with.

M7-MMC: Like I said earlier, I used to tell them that advert has encouraged us not to use a condom. They disagree ...

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

An uncircumcised peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that he had discussed medical circumcision with a traditionally circumcised friend who wanted to get medically circumcised as a result of watching the “Salon” advertisement. His friend’s motivation to get medically circumcised was based on the belief that MMC would result in penis enlargement. His friend was also afraid of the length of the healing period, which he compared to the healing period following traditional circumcision.

M4-UC: I know one of those guys who want to go and circumcise, but he went to the traditional school long time ago. He is scared to go now.

Facilitator: Why does he want to go to the clinic to circumcise?

M4-UC: Because he sees these advertisements. He likes these advertisements that we are talking about.

Facilitator: Why does he want to go and get circumcised again?

M4-UC: He complains about penis enlargement, things like that. ... [but] he is scared because he is worried about the length of the healing process that he underwent at the traditional school. Do you get me? That is what makes him scared to go and circumcise.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

The same uncircumcised peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) reported discussions with other uncircumcised friends who were afraid of the anticipated pain of the procedure, and who had asked him how it was done. He responded that he did not know if it was painful, and advised them to ask someone at the circumcision facility.

M4-UC: I also know like the one who are now go to make circumcision but they are afraid, they are also getting afraid of going to make circumcision. They also asking, monna [man] how is it going to happen, nje [just], something like that, you know. Is it painful or is it what? ... Ay, so I can't explain to him, hey, it's painful or it's what, something like that. I tell him just hey monna [man], just go there, you will get someone to explain that thing to you.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

A medically circumcised man from rural Mpumalanga said that the advertisement was helpful in promoting communication between partners, and expressed the belief that the advertisement had

'broken that thing of the taboo of saying that women should not all talk about circumcision [and that] ...it's something that we all should talk about, as a man or woman you should actually communicate about such' (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga). As an example, another medically circumcised man from the same group described how he and his girlfriend had discussed their relationship with reference to the content of the advertisement as a result of watching it together.

M8-MMC: There was this time I remember we were both watching TV and then the advert came on. And then I've posed a question to her like saying, babe, do you really think what the advert is portraying happens to us? And she just smiled and with no response. And then in my head I believe that maybe it made a difference

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Two other medically-circumcised rural men from KwaGuqa (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) related how watching the advertisement had resulted in the families of two young men (13y, 12y) discussing the merits of medical circumcision, resulting in both young men being medically circumcised. In the first case, the family cancelled traditional circumcision for the young man, and in the second case, the group participant had taken the young man for MMC.

M4-MMC: I have a cousin who is, um, I think 13 years old this year. He was supposed to go to the, to the [traditional] initiation - to the mountain - ja, but his parents, they just, ja, they just cancel the whole thing and they suggested that he must go to the hospital because of...

Facilitator: Because of what they saw?

M4-MMC: Yes.

M3-MMC: Also my nephew, he's my nephew but he's 12 years something, ja. Also, my sister encouraged him that, because my sister saw that thing on TV, that advert and then encouraged him that no, you must go and get medically circumcised and I accompanied him to do that at New Start.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Interpersonal communications: Women aged 18-24y

Several young urban women from Witbank (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) reported personally discussing the advertisement with a male cousin, a sister (regarding the sister's young son), a former boyfriend, and two brothers. In all these interactions, the participants encouraged MMC, and advised the other person regarding the reduction of STIs and HIV resulting from circumcision.

Facilitator: Did anybody talk to... I am talking about you personally... Did any of you discuss this advert with somebody else?

F5: Yes, I did with my cousin ... A male. ... I told him that if he goes for circumcision he won't get disease... he won't get diseases easily. It will help him not to get STIs, drop and HIV, but not that he won't get it totally but the chances will be less.

F2: I speak to my sister. I told her to take her son. Her son is still younger, so he will grow up circumcised.

F3: I spoke to my first boyfriend. He was not circumcised. I told him about this circumcising. It's important to circumcise because there are so many illnesses. It happens that you get infected... Maybe... if we decide to have sex then I get sicknesses.

F1: I spoke to my two brothers. They are not circumcised so I was like buzzing about this Zing upgrade. I always say you two didn't get the zing upgrade. So, they were like this person is annoying. [Group Laughter].

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Two young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) reported hearing boys speaking about MMC, with the circumcised boys teasing the uncircumcised about not being circumcised. In these discussions, the boys used the reference of the 'man on TV with the cowboy hat, jiving, jiving'.

F1: Like the children in the street. The boys one mostly. They like... The one who has circumcised telling his friends that he has circumcised and what are they waiting for. He says, you see this man on TV with the cowboy hat, jiving, jiving. The circumcised boys even asks the uncircumcised boys what they gonna do with their cherries.

F3: I heard boys talking in the street talking about circumcise saying that it's not nice if you are circumcised as compared to when you are not circumcised.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Several women from peri-urban Gauteng (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) identified specific incidences of discussing the advertisement with other people, including partners, family members, and friends. According to one of these women, the "Salon" advertisement enabled women to discuss circumcision, where previously they had been unable to do so:

F1: [The advertisement] changed how people saw this thing of circumcision ... because now, it helped us to be able to talk about it. [Before], you [were] not able to ask your man are you circumcised, did you go for the circumcision or whatsoever, initiation school. But now you are able, because it's no longer something that you can't talk about.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng)

This sentiment was echoed by a woman from peri-urban KwaZulu-Natal, who described how she had advised her uncircumcised brother to get medically circumcised because it was quicker than traditional circumcision, and less painful. She also said that 'it is right – we have to talk about it – and encourage them' (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

F1: I explained to my brother that he can go do it, and he was talking about going to the mountain I told him to go to the clinic it will be quicker, going to the mountain was going to take time so the clinic is going to be quicker and he won't be in too much pain ...It is right we have to talk about it and encourage them.

Facilitator: Did he go?

F1: Not yet we are still talking about it, he is afraid. He keeps on talking about it but he says he is scared, but talks about it and he is interested.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

An amusing anecdote was related by one woman from Drieziek regarding how she and her friends were walking past a group of men working, and the women used the term ‘Zing’ in a non-sexual context to mean something was ‘nice’. In response, the men laughed, as they assumed the two women were discussing sex and circumcision. The women interpreted this response to mean that *‘it’s like they know that advert, males, and ... they know what women think about that advert. ... it’s clear for men that women also like their husbands or boyfriends to be circumcised’* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

One example of how the advertisement encouraged women to discuss circumcision with their partners was related by a woman in the Drieziek group, where she discussed her problem of speaking to her husband about circumcision with colleagues at work. Her colleagues advised her that *‘you can talk to your man, just tell him about the Zing thing, maybe he will understand’* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Another woman from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) described how, after watching the “Salon” advertisement, she used the term ‘Zing’ in telling her husband to get circumcised because *‘I want to hear the Zing thing’*, which he subsequently did. She also told him that medical circumcision was better than traditional circumcision.

F5: ... After seeing that advert, I told my man hey, you must go and circumcise. I want to hear the zing thing [laughs] ... and he went and circumcised. ... [At] first he was scared. He’s like hey, and I told him do you prefer to go to the mountain or to go to the clinic, and he’s like okay, I’ll go and I escorted him and he went and then he got circumcised.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

One peri-urban woman from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) reported that she and her friend had watched the advertisement and they had subsequently discussed why a cousin’s husband was not circumcised. In the discussion, it was revealed that the man had gone for circumcision, but had been refused because *‘he has a sensitive skin’*, and the women were mystified why this would be the case.

F1: My friend, my cousin’s husband is not circumcised, so I asked her why. She says the guy went to the clinic, they refused to circumcise him because he has a sensitive skin ... I was ...shocked, because we saw the advert, so we were discussing it ...

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Social media discussions & Internet

Participants were asked whether they had participated in discussions regarding the “Salon” advertisement on social media, such as WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter, and also whether they had accessed the internet – including the Brother for Life (B4L) website – for more information about circumcision.

The following results should be viewed in the context of the survey data collected from participants, as described in Table 2. I.e., 72% reported using WhatsApp, 64% used Facebook, 64% used Google, and 9% used Twitter.

Several participants reported using Facebook, for two reasons: To find a chat group about circumcision (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga), and to share personal information and views about the merits and demerits of medical circumcision (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng). The former Facebook page was unnamed, and the latter was a personal Facebook page.

Participants from two groups (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga; Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) reported using WhatsApp as part of group promotions (church group; soccer group) of circumcision.

Only two participants – both young urban men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) reported using Twitter to discuss the advertisement, specifically the hashtag ‘*get an upgrade*’.

Three men (1 urban, 2 rural) reported using the internet to obtain information about medical circumcision, primarily using Google (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal; Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga). One of these men said he briefly visited the B4L website, and then moved to other sites. No other participant reported accessing the B4L website.

Social media and internet discussions: Men 18-24y

Two young urban men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) reported being aware of the Twitter hashtag ‘*get an upgrade*’ that had trended, and one of these men said that parents were complaining that this was encouraging young people to believe that they could have sex because they were circumcised.

M5-MMC: I think it was also in the social media a lot where it was hash tagged as ‘get an Upgrade’ ...

M7-MMC: [Some] ... parents ... were like complaining, saying it had a negative part because it was like inspiring young, like teenagers, that okay, as long as I’m circumcised I can now have sex ... (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

No other men in this age group – including the peri-urban and rural groups - had participated in the Twitter discussion. Furthermore, none of the young men in the urban, peri-urban, and rural sites were aware of any social media discussions regarding the advertisement on WhatsApp or Facebook. Also, none of the young men from all three sites had used the internet to search for information regarding circumcision, nor did any of them visit the Brothers for Life website.

Social media and internet discussions: Men 25-34y

None of the men aged 25-34y (all groups) reported using Twitter to discuss the “Salon” advert.

One uncircumcised urban man (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) said he had ‘liked’ a Facebook page concerning circumcision, although he did not specify whether it was the B4L Facebook page or not. None of the other men in the group had used Facebook to discuss either circumcision or the “Salon” advertisement. One man from the same urban group said he had searched for information about circumcision, but this was not the B4L website because the group said none of them had been to the B4L website. When asked what he learned from the internet, he said he learned that circumcision ‘*reduces chances of contracting HIV, [and] protecting your woman from getting cervical cancer*’ (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

None of the men in the peri-urban group (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) reported using Facebook to discuss the advertisement, and none of them reported accessing the B4L website. One man said that an uncircumcised friend of his had accessed Google to find out more about the “Salon” advertisement.

One of the older rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) reported that he belonged to a church group that used WhatsApp to discuss and promote MMC, although he did not state that this included discussing the “Salon” advertisement.

M3-MMC: Actually we have this ... church group on WhatsApp... [where] this other pastor of us was talking to us ... Like he was asking if, are there any of us who are medically circumcised and all of that. So people were putting opinions why we must get circumcised, is it right or wrong, all of those things. So as church members we were talking about things on WhatsApp group ... His opinion was that we must try and get medically circumcised ...

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

A medically-circumcised rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) described how he had Googled medical male circumcision to find out what the benefits of the procedure are, including whether it did indeed have an impact on sexual pleasure, and learned that MMC did not have an impact on sexual pleasure but that MMC did reduce the probability of contracting HIV by 60%, reduced the risk for getting STIs, and was beneficial in terms of personal hygiene.

M7-MMC: Oh, I went onto Internet to search for information about medical male circumcision, I wanted to know about the benefits, yes. It was when I was asking myself whether it does have an impact on sexual pleasure or not. That's when I found out that MMC has no effect on sexual pleasure but rather it helps, it benefits you from, it's 60% chances of contracting HIV and STI's, also for your personal hygiene, ja.

Facilitator: Where did you look for information?

M7-MMC: It was Google.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

One rural man searched for MMC discussion groups in several locations, including Facebook, the B4L website, and Google, and that he found such a chat group on Facebook, although he could remember the name. Regarding the B4L website, he said he went there once, but did not browse

there for long. What he learned from the Facebook discussion forum was that MMC is beneficial for both the man and woman in a couple.

*M8-MMC: Yes, I also went into the Internet and search for male medical circumcision ...
... I tried the [B4L] website [after watching the television advertisement] ... [but] I didn't browse in there for much longer but I've tried the website once ... I've [also] looked to Google and I went into Facebook ... searching for male medical circumcision groups that were available and I found one, just that don't remember the actual name of the group on Facebook. But I've remember seeing one, different people go into the group chat and post different opinions about their perspective and [providing] more information regarding the MMC, yes.*

Facilitator: So what did you learn from what you were looking at?

M8-MMC: What I've learned from it is that most, I've liked one opinion of a certain guy who post that as a, as a person in a relationship with a lady, both of you should be eager and take responsibility doing, um, doing MMC. 'Cos the MMC it's not, it's not actually for the man only but for both of you as a couple.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Social media and internet discussions: Women 18-24y

None of the young urban females (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) mentioned searching for information regarding circumcision or the “Salon” advertisement on the internet, nor did any of them mention social media discussions on Twitter or Facebook. However, two of these young urban women described using WhatsApp to promote circumcision, in a programme called *Bhambatha*. The programme involved encouraging young soccer players to get circumcised, with the reward of receiving a soccer kit. WhatsApp messages were sent to people in a chain-letter fashion to promote this programme.

F5: We have a group... a group that I like from my village. This group is called Bhambatha. So, in this group there will be a campaign tomorrow. This campaign is for circumcision. This is a soccer team. I mean boys play soccer like. If a person gets circumcised they will get the soccer kit as an incentive. So we talked about this through WhatsApp to encourage the team to get circumcised so that the team will get the soccer attire.

F3: I was speaking to my friends that I used to attend school with. So like we were enquiring about it. Asking those who don't know it. So like they were able to post about it and tell others further. So they started making it a chain like each and every one see it.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

None of the older peri-urban women from Drieziek and Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng; Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) reported using the internet, B4L website, Twitter or WhatsApp to discuss the advertisement. However, several of the women from Drieziek described using Facebook – a personal page, not a group Facebook page - to discuss circumcision and ‘Zing’. The discussion involved a friend posting a picture from her bedroom with the term ‘*I had Zing last night*’, as well as various other people discussing the merits and demerits of medical versus traditional circumcision. It was also reported that people were using

various slogans – such as the KFC slogan of ‘you will never find inner peace if ...’ - to promote medical circumcision. Included in this narrative was a man who objected to the advertisement because he believed it was offensive.

Facilitator: Did any of you talk about this advert on social media?

F3: Yes, Facebook ... No, it's not a group. It's one of my friends on Facebook. She posted in the bedroom, and she wrote something like Zing. So most of the guys, they come and discuss it, and there were suggestions, others come with ideas.

Facilitator: [Was] the discussion about circumcision?

F3: Yes, yes .. So others they were disagreeing, others they were like you must go to the mountain, to initiation school. Others, they will say no, you mustn't go to an initiation school, you must go to a clinic.

Facilitator: And what about that pic, because she put herself, right, in her own bedroom, with Zing?

F3: Yes, I had Zing last night, you know, something like that.

F4: Also on Facebook, they are using this logo, the KFC, and then they write you will never find inner peace, the Chicken Licken [slogan] ...they are now using it, they are writing you will never find inner peace if you are not circumcised, and then people will comment there [laughter].

Facilitator: And do we know if it's related to Zing, or not?

F4: Is it? It is ...

Facilitator: How is it?

F1: Because they took the inner peace thing only from Chicken Licken to promote the circumcision. So they are taking like other relevant...

Facilitator: Like slogans?

F1: Slogans to promote circumcision.

F6: And also commented on before circumcision and after, so there's a difference before the foreskin and what-what. Ja, foreskin and after, because after it's a younger man.

Facilitator: Okay, so was that on Facebook, they had another discussion?

F3: Yes, they said it's chakalaka hot, peri-peri.

Facilitator: So it's about the sexual benefits?

F3: Yes.

F4: Hot peri-peri. [Laughter]

F5: One of my friends, he was a guy, I think this thing of advertisement on the TV, he found it very offensive, because he said at first they tried to, if you still remember guys, there was this story of, it was a Xhosa drama where they showed guys, the initiation, and then it was quickly removed from television, if you still remember guys. Then they said they fought for that to be removed. Now they are using adverts sort of like to talk about it, and for them, I don't know if he was like speaking for others or for him, but he said for him, they find it very disrespectful ... I don't know if he is a traditional man or what, but I think he is one of those people who ... don't like speaking up about those issues.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Attitudinal impact of the television advertisement

During the focus group, participants were asked whether the “Salon” television advertisement had influenced or affected prior attitudes and feelings about medical circumcision.

Among uncircumcised men, the most commonly reported change in attitude resulting from seeing the television advertisement involved becoming aware that women had sexual needs, that women discussed sexual satisfaction with others, and MMC improved sexual pleasure for both the man and woman. Only one man said that the advertisement made him less likely to circumcise because it enhanced the fear of the anticipated pain of the procedure.

Men who were already circumcised said that the most important changes in attitudes that occurred as a result of seeing the advertisement concerned becoming aware of the health benefits of circumcision, and that this had – for some men – increased their sense of responsibility for the health of themselves and their main partner. One man also mentioned that he had not previously realized that women also benefit sexually when a man is circumcised.

Overall, female participants described how the advertisement had changed their understanding of circumcision, and also that this had allowed them to speak about circumcision to partners, family members, and other people, and that this was a significant shift in cultural norms that specified that women could not know or speak about circumcision.

Attitudinal impact on men 18-24y

The impact of the advertisement on the attitudes and feelings of uncircumcised young men towards medical circumcision was variable: One uncircumcised rural man from Enzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) said that the advertisement had made him even more afraid of getting medically circumcised, due to the anticipated pain. The same man said that his belief in God required that *'when you die all your body parts must be intact'*, while another uncircumcised man from the same group said that *'after seeing it many times, I did go for circumcision'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga). A young uncircumcised rural man said that the advertisement made him aware of women's sexual needs, and it showed him that *'a woman needs satisfaction all the time'*, and that the advertisement made him aware that women discuss the sexual satisfaction they obtain from their partner. He said that this new awareness *'is something that can encourage me to go and get circumcised'* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

M5-UC: To me it didn't change anything ... After watching it I got even more scared about getting circumcised ... Hai! I worry about the pain man! I also believe in God too much because in my culture you are created the way you are created and when you die all your body parts must be intact.

M4-MMC: It did [change my attitude] because I wasn't circumcised, and after seeing it many times I did go for circumcision.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

M1-UC: I'll just talk about it. This advert actually made me realise that a woman needs the satisfaction all the time, so when you look at this woman thinking while others are talking it means she got satisfaction which is something that can encourage me to go and get circumcised.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

One young urban circumcised man from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that his attitude had changed about the value of MMC - *'more guys must get circumcised'* - due to the advertisement because the advertisement resulted in his learning that sex is better when a man is circumcised. Another young man from the same group said that although the advertisement did not appeal to him because he was already circumcised, it did result in an increased understanding concerning the reduction of contracting STIs as a result of MMC,

M9-MMC: Ja, it changed because I used to think it's the same sex with circumcised or no circumcision, now since I heard that, ja, it changed a little bit ...[towards] Being safe, more guys must get circumcised.

M5-MMC: ... [If] you [are already] circumcised ... it really doesn't appeal to you ... [but it] gives you a [clearer] perspective of it reducing chances of contracting STDs and stuff like that.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Attitudinal impact on men 25-34y

One urban uncircumcised older man from Umlazi (KwaZulu-Natal) said that prior to watching the advertisement, he had not been keen on circumcision, and had believed that *'God had created me like this so if I die and he says why did you cut this piece, where is it?'* However, as a result of the advertisement, his views were changing: *'now my mind is being opened a bit about circumcision because it is not only helping you ... but your partner as well not to contract diseases'* (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

M7-UC: Yes the Zing it changed my mind a bit [Laughter]. ... I was not into circumcision thing I am not saying that in am ready to go but there is that thought at the back of my mind that maybe I need to go. Another guy I stay with said I must go get circumcised then I asked him why because I am healthy there is nothing wrong with me. I can go and get tested then come back not to cut off any part of my skin because God created me like this so if I die and he says why did you cut this piece where is it? [Laughter] But now my mind is being opened a bit about circumcision because it is not only helping you ... but your partner as well not to contract diseases.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Another uncircumcised man, from rural Mpumalanga, said that the advertisement conveyed a *'very powerful'* message that MMC affects sexual performance and pleasure for both men and women (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

M6-UC: [This] guy has quoted something very powerful about the, the sexual pleasures. But now because the advert, it's like, it's directing us that somewhere somehow there's a possibility that in these women and us, it also effect the sexual [performance and pleasure].

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

In the same group of older rural males from KwaGuqa, three medically circumcised men said that the advertisement had impacted upon their attitudes in different ways. One man said that before seeing the advertisement he had not considered being responsible for his partner and had many sexual partners, and after seeing the advertisement, he had changed this behaviour to being more

responsible and having one partner. Another medically circumcised man said that he had realized from watching the advertisement that MMC not only benefited him, but also his partner, in terms of reducing the probability of contracting STIs and HIV. A third medically circumcised man, who firmly believed that circumcision did not result in improved sexual pleasure, said that this firm belief was brought into doubt by the advertisement, particularly by seeing the male character initially unhappy, and then happy after being circumcised (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

M3-MMC: Yeah, actually [the advertisement] did [change my attitude] ...because ...before I watched that advert my thoughts ... [were] like, living the same life that I did. But after that advert I started to change some of the things, like I started to, being responsible for, with my partner, you know. Ja, one partner and but before I used to have many partners, ja. So now I'm responsible. I know what's important, ja.

M8-MMC: After seeing the advert I had a [change in] ... perspective view about getting circumcised. The advert itself ... got me thinking that getting medically circumcised doesn't only benefit me but also benefits my partner as well because if I'm not circumcised I'm not only, the only person who's going to be infected about STI's. But then it got me thinking that oh, getting circumcised means that I also reduces the chances of both of us getting STI's and both of us getting the risk of HIV and AIDS, yes.

M7-MMC: Now I cannot say what I've learnt there, it's actually a big thing but then now it got me thinking that, by seeing the man at first sad and at the end happy, and the women also happy, it actually clicked in my head ... because I knew that medical male circumcision actually has no effect on sexual pleasure. But then now when seeing the man happy and the woman happy, I asked myself so maybe there, actually, there's a contradiction there, where the MMC has the effect on sexual pleasure. (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Attitudinal impact on women 18-24y

A young urban woman from Witbank (Mpumalanga) said that the advertisement was a good thing for girls because it changed her attitude towards being able to talk to men about circumcision, versus previously not speaking to boyfriends or brothers about circumcision. She also said that many boys were raised by single mothers, and that these mothers were often too shy to talk about circumcision to their sons (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

F4: uh...I took it seriously that like it's a good thing more especially us girls. Like we don't follow that path to like talk to our boyfriends or our brothers at home. Cause if you check most boys are raised by single parents. Sometimes you find that mothers are shy to talk about that. The advert did change my attitude that I can talk to other people about it. (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Attitudinal impact on women 25-34y

Older peri-urban women from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) reported several changes in understanding and attitudes as a result of watching the “Salon” advertisement. Most of these changes in attitudes resulted from learning about circumcision, and from being encouraged to speak about circumcision.

One woman explained that, prior to the release of the advertisement, women were considered disrespectful for women to discuss circumcision, even with male partners. As a result of the advertisement, women could speak about circumcision (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng):

F7: For me ... It changed how people saw this thing of circumcision ...because now, it helped us to be able to talk about it. [Before], you [were] not able to ask your man are you circumcised, did you go for the circumcision or whatsoever, initiation school. But now you are able, because it's no longer something that you can't talk about ... [Now] as women, it's something we can talk about, unlike before. I can say ... [that] as black people, as women, we are not supposed to talk about anything that has to do with circumcision. It's only men, and then if you are found talking about, it's something like you don't have to say that ... You are disrespectful ... It's something that is not talked about. (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Two women from the Drieziek group described how the information regarding MMC – the 6 week healing period; information about disease reduction; that there is a difference in sexual pleasure for both partners when the man is circumcised – had changed their attitudes about MMC, from believing that ‘circumcision was just something they just wanted to do - I didn't even know ... what was the reason behind [it]’ to ‘now I know why people circumcised’. As a result, one woman said that she is happy about MMC, and she is encouraging people to go for circumcision (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

F1: Yes, [the advertisement] did [change my mind], because I had no idea how long it takes for the guys to get healed. So it changed my perception about circumcision because I didn't know ... I thought circumcision was just something they just wanted to do. I didn't even know ... what was the reason behind ... It has [changed my mind about circumcision], because I thought it was a waste of time, because I didn't know what it was for. Now I know why people circumcise. Now I'm happy about it, and I am encouraging people to go for circumcision.

F4: Yes, it has changed my perspective of thinking because before I thought maybe after you have circumcised, maybe it will take months for the wound to heal, but now I know that it takes six weeks for the wound to heal.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Another woman from the Drieziek group said that the advertisement educated women who had only experienced sex with an uncircumcised man that there is a difference in sexual pleasure between a circumcised and uncircumcised man.

F1: [There] are women who don't know the difference ...[There]are women, I know like personally, I know somebody who has slept with one person and the guy is not circumcised. So she told me straight that it's the same, she doesn't know how it should be like ...

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Impact of the television advertisement on behaviour

The focus of this section concerns reports by participants of men going to get medically circumcised as a direct or indirect result of the “Salon” advertisement, as well as how women changed their behaviour regarding having sexual relations with men who are either circumcised or uncircumcised.

Several young men in the groups aged 18-24y stated that they had gone for MMC after watching the advertisement, that friends had done the same, and in one case, a younger brother and his friend. In most of these cases, discussions and agreements to do MMC occurred between friends. Two young men described how their fear of the pain of the procedure prevented them from going for MMC.

Urban men aged 25-34y said they were not influenced to get medically circumcised by the advertisement because they were already circumcised by the time the advertisement was released.

However, at least two of the peri-urban men aged 25-34y from Evaton (Gauteng) said they had gone for MMC as a direct result of watching the “Salon” television advertisement, and related several instances of friends who had also gone for the MMC procedure as a result of the advertisement. The older peri-urban male group also related examples of how young men and boys in particular were going for MMC as a result of them seeing the advertisement, or their families watching the advertisement. This group explained that specific messages contained in the advertisement motivated men and boys to get circumcised: That the procedure was free, that the healing period was only 6 weeks long, and that the procedure was safer than traditional circumcision. This group also described instances of men who had been traditionally circumcised wanting to do MMC because the traditional circumcision was not full circumcision, and the belief that MMC results in penis enlargement.

Younger women aged 18-24y did not relate any instances of men in their family, partners, or friends going for MMC as a result of seeing the advertisement.

Two older women from Drieziek (Gauteng) stated that they themselves had changed their sexual behaviour as a result of watching the advertisement, specifically concerning refusing to have sex with uncircumcised men, and preferring circumcised men because of health risks associated with being uncircumcised.

Other older women aged 25-34y described two instances of their male partners going for MMC as a result of watching the advertisement, and another instance of a younger brother going for MMC partially as a result of the advertisement. One older woman – who worked for CHAPS – related how she had noticed older Zulu men going for MMC as a result of the advertisement and increased availability of information about HIV and STIs.

Behavioural impact on men 18-24y

Two medically circumcised urban young men (Urban Males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) related how their friends had gone to get medically circumcised, after watching the television advertisement. In one case, the friend went for MMC, and upon his return advised the participant to get circumcised too, which he presumably did. In the second case, it is unclear whether the participant accompanied his friend, but at the time of the focus group he was also medically circumcised. It was notable that with the second participant, one of the motivations to get medically circumcised was that the procedure was available in summer, and that it only took 6 weeks to heal, both factors being unlike traditional circumcision.

M6-MMC: ... One of my friends, so like after the advert he went to go, [to] get circumcised ... He said after, he told me after getting circumcised ...

M5-MMC:[When] we saw the ad it was like ja, ... I need to go get circumcised and I was like ja, go ...Ja, it was a friend of mine. It was one of those things where you don't even wait for winter anymore, you know, it's one of those, go, after 6 weeks you're good. So he actually did go, literally, he went and then got himself circumcised ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Two medically-circumcised men from Emzinoni said that they went for medical circumcision after watching the advertisement. One of these men said that he went for MMC after '*seeing it [the advertisement] many times*' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

M6-MMC: I also went for circumcision after seeing the advert.

M4-MMC: It did because I wasn't circumcised, and after seeing it many times I did go for circumcision. (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

However, two uncircumcised peri-urban young man from Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) said that the advertisement did not convince them to get circumcised. One of these men said watching the advertisement scared him because of the anticipated pain of the procedure. He also said that his religious beliefs dictated that when he died all his body parts must be intact. The other uncircumcised man said that he was also afraid of the pain and the needle after hearing about the procedure from men who had done the procedure.

M5-UC: To me it didn't change anything ... After watching it I got even more scared about getting circumcised ... Hai! I worry about the pain man! I also believe in God too much because in my culture you are created the way you are created and when you die all your body parts must be intact.

M2-UC: I want to go but I am afraid ... The guys who went told me how it's done and I got scared; even what they said about the injection got me scared ... The injection, they say the needle is this big...and they say it is very painful when they inject you.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

The group of young rural men in Betania (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) said that they knew people who had gone for MMC after watching the advertisement. One of these men

related how his younger brother and a friend from school went for MMC after watching the advertisement. He also said that his brother needed someone to go with him to do the procedure because he was afraid to go alone.

Facilitator: [Have] you known of anyone who has seen these adverts and [been] influenced their decision to go for the procedure?

Yes. [Group response]

M3-DNA: It was my younger brother; he did it after seeing the advert ... Yes the one we are talking about ... This year he is 23... 22 year old, so after seeing it he said he was going to do it but it was like a joke, saying I am going to cut this it is a nuisance. After that he found out that his friend at school has the same problem. He also wants to get circumcised but is also scared; he needs someone who can be next to him to do the same thing so they agreed to go together and they did it. (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Behavioural impact on men 25-34y

When the older urban men from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) were asked whether they had changed their behaviour as a result of the advertisement, the group said 'no'. When asked why this was the case, two men said that they were already circumcised when the advertisement was released. One of these men said that he had been convinced to get medically circumcised when he was still in school.

Facilitator: [Has anyone] changed his behaviour ... after seeing the advert?

No. [Group response].

M1-MMC: The problem with me when these adverts came I was already circumcised.

M5-MMC: Me too.

M1-MMC: In 2012 I was still at school another guy went and ... this guy told us that he went for [medical] circumcision. When I asked him [about it] he explained it in a way that I became interested because he was talking from experience the next day I went to the clinic.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Two peri-urban older males (Peri-urban men, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that they themselves went for MMC as a direct result of watching the television advertisement.

Facilitator: But what actually motivated you to go from onset?

M5-MMC: It was that advertisement, and my friend as well.

Facilitator: Okay, so you went?

M7-MMC: Yes.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Several participants in the group of older peri-urban men from Evaton (Peri-urban men, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) described knowing of many cases of men going for MMC as a direct result of watching the "Salon" television advertisement. One man said that he knew 'a lot of people who go there because of the advert – close to 12 – most are youngsters', another man said 'me as well, I

know a lot of people, mostly my friends', and a third man said 'one of my closest friends, he told me straight that 'I saw an advert on TV and I [am] thinking of going and circumcise'.

When asked why these men were motivated to go for MMC after watching the advertisement, several reasons were provided. In one case, when the medically circumcised participant's friend said he wanted to for MMC after watching the television advert, but was unsure, the participant told his friend about the reduction in health risks ('*you have a lot of risks if you are not circumcised 'cos most of that fluid can stay inside*'). The friend subsequently went for the MMC procedure (Peri-urban men, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

M1-MMC: One of my closest friends, he told me straight that I saw an advert on TV and I [am] thinking of going and circumcise. I just said to him, go man, if you are ready, you can go. And he asked me why must he go there. I told him of the risks, you had a lot of risks if you are not circumcised 'cos most of that fluid can stay inside ... Ja, he went. Even now he's approaching that 6 weeks.

Facilitator: Did he mention that advert?

M1-MMC: Yes.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Another medically circumcised man (Peri-urban men, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that a lot of young men went for MMC after learning that the procedure was free from the advertisement. He was also emphatic that most of these people who went for MMC did so as a result of the advertisement, including the young boys who were taken for MMC by their parents who had watched the advertisement.

M6-MMC: Me also, I know lot of people who go there [for MMC] because of the advert. Because you know, most of the people they were thinking that medical circumcision will cost you a lot of money to be circumcised. So after this advert they know it's for free. You don't pay nothing. You just go there and get circumcised. ... Jo, close to 12 people. Most are youngsters ... young boys 15 years, 13 ... and they took them to the [MMC Centre] ...there, eh, for free. .

Facilitator: But when you say it was from the advert how do you know it was from the advert?

M6-MMC: Haai, it's from the advert. Oh, for those who are older than those, ja, I think it's for the advert, but those who are small, they don't know nothing, they just took them from their parents, yes.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Another medically circumcised older man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) related how he was convinced to go for MMC due to the advertisement stating that it only takes 6 weeks to heal after the procedure, and that '*that 6 weeks motivated me to go because I thought that in my mind 6 weeks is a short time*'.

M7-MMC: What motivated me to go was that the advert, after hearing that after only six weeks, I would be healed. That 6 weeks motivated me to go because I thought that in my mind 6 weeks is a short time.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

The same man described how he had had a discussion with an uncircumcised male friend, where the participant was encouraging his friend to go for traditional circumcision. His friend disagreed, and responded that he was motivated to do MMC instead because *'I have seen the advert and .. they said it's only 6 weeks ...and then I'll be fine'*. The friend also indicated that he considered MMC to be safer than traditional circumcision: *'... [At the MMC clinic] I am gonna get medical which are going to be suitable rather than going there [traditional circumcision]'*. Regarding the perceived safety of the MMC procedure, compared to traditional circumcision, the medically circumcised participant added that *'some of my friends did go [for MMC] because they've been encouraged by the advert ... [because] it doesn't take too much time to heal. And it's easier 'cos you [get] treated by the special doctors, [compared to] going to the mountain [traditional circumcision, where] you gonna be a little boy [where they do] all those things to you'*.

Four men in the peri-urban group from Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) described how they knew men who were traditionally circumcised but were motivated by the advertisement to get medically circumcised. When asked why they want to do this, one man explained that traditional circumcision was not uniform, and that some forms of traditional circumcision was partial – *'semi-circumcised'*. Another man elaborated by saying that *'the traditional circumcision procedure is not enough for him, so he wants to top it up with medical male circumcision'*. A third man added that this need to get medically circumcised may be related to the belief that MMC results in penis enlargement.

M6-MMC: You see we have three kinds of people. Others they are uncircumcised, others they are semi-circumcised, others they are fully circumcised ... it depends ...which tradition he comes from.

M1-MMC: I want to add ... It seems as if his friend feels that the traditional circumcision procedure is not enough for him, so he wants to top it up with medical male circumcision.

M5-MMC: Exactly.

M4-UC: [The man who is traditionally circumcised] sees these advertisements. He likes these advertisements that we are talking about. [And] he complains about penis enlargement, things like that. (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Two older rural men from KwaGuqa (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) described how a 13-year old cousin and a 12-year-old nephew had been sent for MMC by their families after the families had seen the advertisement. In one case, the family cancelled sending the young man to 'the mountain' (traditional circumcision).

Facilitator: Do you know anyone who actually went for circumcision because they saw the advert?

M4-MMC: Yes ... I have a cousin who is, um, I think 13 years old this year. He was supposed to go to the, to the mountain [for traditional circumcision] ... but his parents, they just cancel the whole thing and they suggested that he must go to the hospital because of [the advertisement].

M3-MMC: Also my nephew, he's my nephew but he's 12 years something, ja. Also, my sister encouraged him that, because my sister saw that thing on TV, that advert and then encouraged him that no, you must go and get medically circumcised and I accompanied him to do that at New Start. (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Behavioural impact on women 18-24y

No examples of male partners, friends, or family members going for MMC as a result of the advertisement were provided by the group of urban females aged 18-24y (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Behavioural impact on women 25-34y

Two older peri-urban women from Drieziek (Peri-urban women, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) explained that, as a result of the advertisement, they would not have sex with an uncircumcised man (even with a condom), and would only have sex with a circumcised man. The main reason provided for this behaviour included the health risks of having sex with uncircumcised men. When one of these women was asked by another participant how she would know if a man was circumcised or not prior to having sex, the woman said that she would not have sex with a man on the first date, and would instead wait until she was certain that he was uncircumcised.

Facilitator: Did you change your behaviour after watching the advertisement?

F5: Yes, it did change my behaviour because since from that time, all I can say is that I told myself I would never date a man who is not circumcised ... Because for my side I didn't know that if you are not circumcised, many dirty things, especially [the foreskin] ... Ja, the foreskin, it keeps all the dirty things inside, and the you as a woman you won't be able to say okay, let me clean it up before we have sex. So, for me that is where I told myself I would never, whether you are wearing a condom but not circumcised, I would never date a man who is not circumcised.

Facilitator: So now you're saying you want someone who is circumcised for health reasons?

F5: Yes.

F7: If I may ask, how are you going to do that? Are you going to ask the person are you circumcised?

F5: No ... I won't ask the person. So for my side, I won't date ... and then sleep with you the very same day. It's going to take us months, and then in those months, it's my time to observe ... I believe if you are not circumcised I am not going to date you, that means I have to make a point that I make sure that you are circumcised.

Facilitator: Anybody else?

F1: Yes, it did change my behaviour, because now I'm more conscious. I check, because I know of the risks that I am putting myself into, the danger of sleeping with a person who is not circumcised. So ... now I prefer circumcised men.

(Peri-urban women, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng)

Two peri-urban women (Peri-urban women, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) related how their male partners had gone for MMC after watching the advertisement. In the first case, this was initiated by the woman seeing the advert, prompting her to tell her partner to go for MMC. When he said he was afraid, she told him that MMC was preferable to traditional circumcision, and he went for the medical procedure. In the second case the motivation for going for MMC was initiated by the 40-year old man watching the advertisement and saying 'always I hear on the TV, what is zing, zing, zing?', followed by his partner encouraging him to go to the clinic to find out.

F5: ... After seeing that advert, I told my man hey, you must go and circumcise. I want to hear the Zing thing [laughs] ... and he went and circumcised. ... [At] first he was scared. He's like hey, and I told him do you prefer to go to the mountain or to go to the clinic, and he's like okay, I'll go. And I escorted him and he went and then he got circumcised.

F8: Yes, my man went to circumcise [recently] ... he is 40

Facilitator: What made him go?

F8: He saw this advert, and then he asked me, he said always I hear on the TV, what is zing, zing, zing? I said you can go to the clinic and find the information.

(Peri-urban women, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng)

One peri-urban woman from Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, Kwa-Zulu-Natal) described how her younger brother had gone for MMC, partially due to a medical condition concerning his foreskin, and partially due to the advertisement, in particular the message that women preferred men who were circumcised.

F4: [My] my younger brother who is the last born went [for MMC] ...

Facilitator: [Was the advertisement] the reason that made him to go?

F4: That too made him, he also had a problem [with his foreskin] ... So he realised he'll have a problem going forward, and the other problem was that women now prefer those [who were circumcised] ... and it was going to work against him going forward.

(Peri-urban women, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

One peri-urban woman from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) who worked for CHAPS – an organisation that promoted MMC - said that there were older Zulu men going for MMC in the Drieziek community as a result of the advertisement, as well as the increased availability of information concerning HIV and STIs.

Facilitator: Okay, anyone want to add to that description? Are there any older men who go for circumcision?

F5: Yes.

F7: Recently, because of the adverts.

Facilitator: This advert?

F7: Yes, and more education about HIV and AIDS and STIs, before, Zulu men didn't do circumcision, but now there are more Zulu men who are going to do [medical]circumcision.

Facilitator: How do you know?

F7: I know ... [We] ...were working with CHAPS, ... [and] they gave us some referral letters to give to any men who want to go for medical circumcision. So we would get some men who want to go and refer them, give them the referral letters.

Facilitator: Okay, so you have noticed that Zulu men are going.

F7: Yes.

(Peri-urban women, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng)

Participant recommendations and suggestions

Participants were asked whether they had any suggestions regarding the television “Salon” advertisement. The majority of participants in most groups said that they liked the advertisement exactly as it was, although there were some participants who raised specific issues that they felt would improve the advertisement.

Both men and women suggested that an advertisement could be created that had two versions, one with mainly female characters, and another with mainly male characters. Another common suggestion from both male and female participants was that a new advertisement should be done in Zulu to reach people who do not understand English.

Most women liked the existing “Salon” advertisement as it was. However, although most men said they liked the advertisement and found it entertaining, there were several men who were not comfortable with the women-only scenario of the advertisement. Various alternative male-only scenarios were proposed. Some men also proposed that the key messages of the advertisement were presented in captions during the advertisement, and that information regarding whether an HIV test was required or not was also included in the advertisement, as this would have a significant impact on men going for MMC.

Male participant recommendations

In older urban males from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal), one uncircumcised man said that the advertisement was *‘entertaining when you see it for the first and second time ... but the third time you must be serious – I think it can have some writing underneath that [is]serious’*. When asked which printed messages should be placed underneath the images during the advertisement, an uncircumcised man said that the advertisement should have clarified whether the man had been tested for HIV or not, and *‘does that mean you can get circumcised without testing because they didn’t show the part where he gets tested?’*. Another man responded to this statement by saying that HIV testing information was important because *‘people are scared to get tested’*. The first man then stated that he needed that information because if he arrived at the clinic for MMC and found out he had to be tested for HIV, that would be *‘what will make me not to get circumcised’*. Another man in this group said that there should be printed messages about the benefits of MMC.

M3-UC: Since the advert is entertaining when you see it for the first and second time you can laugh as it has Zing but the third time you must be serious, I think it can have some writings underneath that are serious.

M7-UC: What I can say is I watched that advert maybe another person can ask himself about the guy in the advert that he was depressed now he is excited has he tested? Does that mean you can get circumcised without testing because they didn't show the part where he gets tested? They need to show him getting tested first then circumcision.

M4-MMC: I think the reason why they don't show the testing part is because people are scared to get tested so you will get there and find out that you need to get tested first ... Yes people are scared to get tested.

M7-UC: I don't know if I am right or wrong I think it is good to go to a place knowing what's happening there having all the information, rather than going to the clinic to get circumcised and the nurse tells me that I need to get tested first [Laughter]; that will make me not to get circumcised.

Facilitator: Any other comments?

M4-MMC: It must also show the importance of getting circumcised.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Men aged 25-34y in the Evaton focus group (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) suggested that the “Salon” advert be replaced by adverts that mainly involved male characters, one for younger men, and one for older men. Various scenarios were proposed, including one man saying that when he was not circumcised, he was *‘denying himself the pleasure’*. It was also suggested that the proposed advertisement inform men that the post-procedure period is not long, and *‘only 6 weeks’*. Various other suggestions were made, including the use of Itumeleng Kune (the goal keeper of Kaiser Chiefs soccer team) as the main character because *‘if Itumeleng Kune talk about circumcision on TV most of the people they will do it, because of their icon’*. Another suggestion was to use hip-hop artists because *‘because a lot of youth they follow the hip-hop artists’*. Another suggestion was to utilise an older man advising a younger man to get circumcised as they stand in a queue. A final suggestion was that there were two adverts, one targeted at older men, and another at younger men, both involving male characters. Of interest in this discussion was that all those men who proposed a male-only advertisement were medically circumcised men. The only dissenting voice in the proposal to use men as the main characters in the proposed advert originated from an uncircumcised man, who said men *‘they don’t like to talk about ladies, to talk about sex ... they get shy to talk about the lady’*, so using *‘ladies [as the main characters] is more attractive’* because when he hears that women like a man who is circumcised, it motivates him to get circumcised.

M4-UC: ... I disagree about the [proposed] advertisement of men 'cos mostly men they don't even like to talk about ladies, to talk about sex ... Most of them ... get shy to talk about the lady.

Facilitator: So what are you saying, we keep the ladies?

M4-UC: The ladies they are more attractive 'cos when I heard something like the lady says ‘I like a man who got circumcised’ ... it gives me something ... [because it] means most of the ladies they like the guy who got circumcised. But if I [a man] are telling you [a man] ... ‘hey I got circumcised, hey my wife what and what and what’ ... Ha! You just say ‘hey monna [man], [don’t] you tell me [what] to do ... When it comes to the men, hey, it [won’t be a good advertisement].

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

In both the younger and older rural male groups (Rural males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga; Rural males 25-34y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal), the main suggestion concerned the use of English in the advertisement, and requests that the advertisement should be replicated in Zulu or other languages for people who do not understand English, such as older rural men:

M4-MMC: I feel the language is fine but it is in English but I can be better if they do it in IsiZulu because we still have uneducated people who doesn't understand English, it prevents other people from

getting this information so, if I could make a suggestion; I would say maybe if they can also use other languages.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

M8-MMC: I also do not like the fact that, um, the women are talking in English. Not that I've got an objection or any other problem with the language but what they are trying to educate there I believe that in these modern days a lot of people understand English, yes, but older men around the villages do not understand English ...

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext2, Mpumalanga).

One older rural male (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) also felt that *'they should have used white ladies because as my cultural background, we as men, we don't discuss our circumcision with women. I think they should have used white or two white ladies there and one Black'*. Another older rural man also suggested locating the advertisement in a tavern.

A young rural man (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) would have preferred the male character to have been more *'romantic'* by wearing a shirt, instead of the advertisement showing him excited and *'like a horse going to bed'*. However, the other men in the group did not agree with this man's view of the male character, and they said *'it is fine'*.

Female participant recommendations

Female participants had few suggestions to improve or change the advertisement, and most said they liked it the way it was: *'It is perfect the way it is, everything is fine'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

One suggestion made in the Gamalakhe focus group (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) that there should be two versions of the television advertisement – one with predominantly female characters, and the other with predominantly male characters – in the same manner as the radio advertisement. Another woman supported this idea, and said that this television male version of the radio advert should *'be fun and interesting because men like humour. Have something with lot of laughter'*. A third woman in the group also suggested that the proposed advertisement is done in Zulu for those who do not understand English.

F3: I also like the one [radio advertisement] with the guys ... I have this thinking that if it is attracting me now (the guys one) maybe they should now have one for TV you see. Have the guys talking but on TV ... Like on the radio.

F6: I second F3, and when they do it, it must be fun and interesting because men like humour. Have something with lot of laughter, not so ordinary ... they should make it more interesting than the one with the ladies if they want men to be interested.

F2: The guys one can be on TV but also do it in Zulu on radio and let them speak Zulu only. Maybe others don't understand but when they speak their language they will understand what they also saying on TV when they watch.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Evaluation of the radio MMC “Salon” advertisement

As previously described, 78% of participants who responded to the participant survey had heard the radio version of the “Salon” advertisement, and most of these participants (74%) had both seen the television advertisement and heard the radio advertisement.

The radio version of the “Salon” advertisement was released in two versions, one with male characters speaking and the other with female characters. Overall, of those who reported recalling the gender of the voices in the radio advertisement, approximately half had heard the female version, and the other half had heard the male version. A few of these participants had heard both versions.

The most frequently reported radio stations where the advertisement was heard was Ukhozi FM, followed by Lesedi FM. The most frequently-reported language in which the radio advertisement was heard was isiZulu, although individual participants reported also hearing the advertisement in English, Sesotho, isiSwati, and isiNdebele.

Recall of content

Participants were asked for spontaneous recall of the contents of the radio advertisement. If recall was poor, the facilitator then played the advertisement – typically both male and female voiced versions, in the language of the group - to the group to determine whether the group recognised the advertisement.

Overall, recall of the content of the radio advertisement was considerably less detailed than the recall of the television advertisement. The most frequently recalled content was that it was important for a man to get circumcised, and the term *Zing’*. Other content recalled included the reduction of cervical cancer, HIV and STIs. One participant mentioned the 30-minute duration of the procedure, the 6-week healing period, and the clinic-locator SMS number. The most frequently stated comment regarding the content was that it was the same as the television advertisement.

Several men indicated that they either did not listen to radio, or that they did not listen to the radio with much attention.

Recall of radio advertisement content: Men 18-24y

Although two-thirds (6 of 9) of the participants in the group of young urban men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) had stated that they had heard the radio advertisement in the pre-focus group survey, when asked what they recalled from the radio advertisement, it was apparent that most of these young men were uncertain about the content of the “Salon” radio advertisement.

M6-MMC: I think I’ve heard it ... the one I was saying ...Kula Ndoda that’s why I said I’m not quite sure if it’s that one or what now.

M5-MMC: I think no, at the end it does say something about that, like, No Glove, No Love. I think it's the one I heard on radio or something like that. ... So I'm not quite sure about that ... Er, no, I'm saying like I heard something different to what, not a different one.

M2-UC: Oh ja, it was on Khozi FM. It was about, actually it was mixed, it was teenage pregnancy, unprotected sex, circumcision, ja man, eish, it was all about that.

M7-MMC: I think I might remember ... it was also like a focus group type, because they'd play that ad on the radio and then you'd find people calling in, commenting about that ...

Facilitator: So we can't really remember the radio, except you remember...

M5-MMC: Yeah, just brief.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

When participants in the male urban Protea North were asked why their recall of the radio advertisement was poor, one man said that *'radio ... is [a] medium we don't tap into a lot, radio is ... obsolete ... most people don't listen to radio'*. Another man in the group said *'you listen to radio only when you're driving'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North).

M5-MMC: Can I just say that radio .. is [a] medium we don't tap into a lot, radio is just, it's obsolete, it's one of those things that most people don't listen to radio.

M6-MMC: You listen to radio when you're only driving. If I'm not driving, I don't listen to radio.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

After the radio advertisement was played to the group (both male and female voiced versions, in isiZulu), only one young urban man said he recognised the advertisement (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North).

In the group of young peri-urban men from Emzinoni (Mpumalanga), only three of the six participants had stated that they had heard the radio advertisement in the pre-session survey. One uncircumcised in the group recalled that the radio advertisement (male version, heard in isiZulu) contained two men saying that men should get circumcised (*'men should go for an upgrade'*). A medically circumcised man in the group reiterated that the advertisement dialogue (also the male version, in isiZulu) concerned *'how important it is to circumcise'*. Another uncircumcised man in the group had heard the female version of the advertisement in isiZulu, and said that he recalled that the female characters *'were ... talking about their husbands that they should go and circumcise and that they ... will be protected'*. These participants stated that they could not recall any other details of the advertisement (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

Although four young rural men from Betania (KwaZulu-Natal) has reported hearing the "Salon" radio advertisement in the pre-session survey, when asked to recall the content of the advertisement, one uncircumcised man said *'all I [heard] is the Zing ... then after that I don't know what happens next ... [because] I wasn't paying attention'*. The other group members could not spontaneously recall any content of the radio advertisement (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

M2-UC: Yes, all I hear is the 'Zing' on the radio advert then after that I didn't know what happens next. [Laughter] ... It was playing on radio I wasn't paying attention all I heard was Zing. [Laughter]

Facilitator: Has anyone else heard this advert on radio?

Group: [Silence]

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

After playing the radio advert to the group, most men in the young rural male group from Betania (KwaZulu-Natal) said that they recognised the advertisement. One uncircumcised man said that he had heard the radio advertisement in isiZulu before, but that *'I didn't recall it until [now] - They play it on radio just that if you hear something you easily forget it but when it plays on TV it stays in your mind because you see the picture'*. A medically circumcised man in the group added that *'when you are listening to radio you don't focus on everything they say [because if you are just] ... passing by to the kitchen maybe, so you just hear Zing and you passing by so you don't hear the whole conversation'* (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Recall of radio advertisement content: Men 25-34y

Although several older urban men from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) had stated they had heard the "Salon" radio advertisement, only one man could recall any aspect of the content of the radio advertisement (which he had heard on Ukhozi FM), namely *'important points like they say if your man is circumcised you don't have a risk of having cervical cancer as a woman'*. Other men in the group said they had not heard the advertisement (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

M7-MMC: I have heard it from radio ... stating important points like they say if your man is circumcised you don't have a risk of having cervical cancer as a woman, so that's how I hear it from radio.

Facilitator: M8 is the only one who heard it from the radio?

Group: Yes.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Similarly, although seven men in the peri-urban group of older men in Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) had stated they had heard the "Salon" radio advertisement, when asked to recall the content, only two medically circumcised man responded said they had heard the advertisement, and one described the content as *'It's the very same advert, they just changed the language. But the very same characters, the very same everything'*, referring to his recall of hearing the female voiced version of the advertisement on Lesedi FM in Sesotho.

M1-MMC: I heard it by Lesedi FM.

M7-MMC: Me too as well ... Yes, Lesedi FM.

M1-MMC: It's the very same advert [as the television advertisement] but in there they're just talking Sesotho ... It's the very same advert, they just changed the language. But the very same characters, the very same everything.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

After the advertisement was played to the group, two other men recalled hearing the advertisement (both recalling the male-voiced version) in SiSwati and English.

Eight participants of the rural male group in KwaGuqa (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) initially indicated that they had heard the radio advertisement in the participant survey. When asked to recall the contents of the advertisement, one man recalled hearing about cervical cancer in the male-voiced SiSwati version of the advertisement, another recalled two women speaking in English about the benefits of getting medically circumcised (specifically regarding reduced chances of getting cervical cancer, HIV, and STIs), and a third man recalled two men conversing in isiZulu regarding one of the men going to hospital (presumably for circumcision). All three of these men agreed that the contents of the radio advert was *'the same as the one on TV'*. A fourth man recalled the *'positive or negative – you are the same person'* radio advert, not the “Salon” advertisement.

M1-MMC: Ja, it's the one of cervical cancer.

M8-MMC: The two women talking about, um, the benefits of getting medically circumcised ... Um, if not mistaken I think um, they mention some of the things that are mentioned on the TV advert, like um, getting, less chances of her getting cervical cancer, less chances of them getting, um, HIV and STIs.

M4-MMC: Two guys were discussing and the other was asking the other guy, where is he going, and he said he's going to the hospital. If I remember correctly.

M3-MMC: What I remember is that, that line where it says, whether you are positive or negative but you are still the same person that you...

Facilitator: The advert we're talking about now is the one about the circumcision. Do you remember, did you hear that one?

M3-MMC: No, I don't think I heard that one.

Facilitator: Was that radio advert ...the same as the TV or was it different?

M1-MMC: No, it was the same ... it was the same as the one on TV.

M4-MMC: It was the same.

M8-MMC: It was the same, yes.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Recall of radio advertisement content: Women 18-24y

Five of the six urban young women in Witbank (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) stated that they had heard the radio “Salon” advertisement. Based upon discussions regarding what the voiced gender they had heard the advertisement in (all men), the language (isiZulu, isiNdebele, Sepedi, and English), and their likes and dislikes of the advertisement (reported in a later section) it appeared that these five women had accurately recalled the correct advertisement, as well as various aspects of its' content.

F8: I've heard it in many languages. I have heard it in isiZulu. I have heard it in isiNdebele and also in English ... it was men [speaking].

F4: I have heard it in Sepedi.

F6: isiNdebele and it was men

F5: isiZulu in uKhozini and it was men

F2: isiZulu and it was men

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

One young urban woman recalled that the advertisement concerned two men speaking, one of which was describing 'Zing and all that ... [and] the other one ... doesn't want the Zing but in the end he realizes that it's a good thing to do'. Another woman recalled a similar scenario, except that she described the second male character as being 'kind of keen to know what that is all about', and that the first male character 'is actually telling him [all the] information about what Zing is all about' (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

F4: What I remember is... there was this guy he was actually telling his friends about Zing and all that. So the other one ... doesn't want the Zing but in the end he realizes that it's a good thing to do.

F8: What I remember about the advert is that this guy that's telling his friend about circumcision he's actually quite excited because he got a Zing and this other guy is kind of keen to know what that is all about. And this guy is actually telling him [all the] information about what Zing is all about.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Recall of radio advertisement content: Women 25-34y

Of the six women in the peri-urban group in Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) who reported having heard the radio advertisement in the pre-session survey, only one said she had heard it when asked the same question in the focus group itself. When this woman was asked what she recalled from the radio advertisement, she said that 'they were talking about the 30 minutes upgrade, six weeks for the wound to heal, and then the SMS numbers'. She did not mention the language or voice gender of the radio characters.

When four women from the peri-urban group in Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) described the radio advertisement, the discussion focused on the comparison of the impact of the radio and television versions of the advertisement (reported in a later section), not the content.

Overall views (including likes and dislikes)

In all groups, the data obtained from participants regarding the radio advertisement was less extensive than for the television advertisement. In the majority of focus groups only a few participants provided spontaneous feedback regarding their overall views, likes and dislikes.

One of the two most commonly discussed views expressed by both women and men concerned the clarity of the messaging in the radio advertisement, compared to the television advertisement, particularly that the radio advertisement explicitly states a condom needs to be used after circumcision, whereas the television advertisement does not state this verbally.

The second common area of discussion concerned the voice gender of the two versions of the radio advertisement: Although the two versions of the advertisement contained the same messages, some men preferred the male-voiced version because they could relate more to two men talking, while other men said that both versions were necessary to provide a balanced point of view. With several

women, it also appeared that the version of the radio advertisement – male or female voiced, and language (English or other languages) – were important factors in their liking or disliking the radio advertisement. For example, several women found the Zulu female-voiced version more humorous than the English female-voiced version, the latter which was described as boring.

Some men and women liked the references regarding the benefit of MMC for women regarding reducing the probability for cervical cancer, HIV and STIs. Two men liked the reference to improved sexual performance following MMC. Some young urban women thought that the radio advertisement was better than the television advertisement for rural people who did not have access to television, and that it promoted discussion about young boys and girls. One young urban woman also stated that it was less uncomfortable to the radio advertisement with other people, compared to the television advertisement.

Overall views: Men

According to two urban young men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), the radio advertisement was *'more in depth'* and clearer than the television advertisement regarding the use of condoms after circumcision, *'because they actually make it clear that hey, after the upgrade, use a condom'*.

M2-UC: ... [The] difference with this one and the one that you see on TV [is that] the words they are not clear [in the television advertisement], with the condom part they are not clear, like, they are not clear, they are not saying it.

M5-MMC: This one is more in depth with the whole condom ... part of it because they actually make it clear that hey, after the upgrade, use a condom. Like it's there [i.e., stated].

When asked whether they liked the male-voiced radio advertisement, three young men from peri-urban Emzinoni said that they liked the advert because *'it was specific'*, *'the message was clear'*, and *'the characters were men – it engaged men'*. Two of these men said they particularly liked the part of the radio advertisement referring to improved sexual performance following circumcision, where the male character in the radio advertisement said *'when you get to bed all goes well'* (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

M2-UC: I did like them ... It was specific.

M3-MMC: I liked them ... the message was clear; they said it clear they didn't just go as if they were hiding something they were just pointing out.

M5-UC: It was good ... Also the characters were men ... I prefer men because it engaged men.

Facilitator: What parts of that advert got your attention?

M2-UC: When he said when you get to bed all goes well [group laugh].

Facilitator: The part where they say when they get to bed then it is superb

M5-UC: Me too.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

In the group of rural young men (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal), it was apparent that some young men preferred the male-voiced version of the radio advertisement, while other men

in the group liked both versions. After listening to both versions (male-voiced and female-voiced) one uncircumcised man said he did not like the fact that the two versions ‘*are saying the same thing, why didn't they make [them] different ... [because] men should not say the same thing as women put it in another way*’. A second uncircumcised man supported this view, saying that the male-voiced version is ‘*the best advert because [it] focuses on the man's point of view*’, and ‘*he is told [to circumcise] by another man not a woman*’.

M1-UC: The adverts with women and another one with men is the same thing so why don't they combine it they are saying the same thing, why didn't they make another one different. The women say something and then the men are saying the same thing ... [Why] didn't they add other things maybe men should not say the same thing as women put it in another way. Women put it in their own way and men as well ...

M5 -UC: [In] the female advert the lady is telling her friend that her man got circumcised so she is satisfied and protected. The man as well is telling his friend about the same thing and his friend is encouraged to do it as well he is told by another man not a woman. [The male version] is the best advert because [it] ... focuses on the man's point of view.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

However, in the same group of rural young men, other participants said that they liked both the male-voiced and female-voiced radio advertisements because ‘*they balance*’: Some men will respond to the female-voiced version because it indicates that ‘*women need this circumcision*’, while other men will respond to the male-voiced version because ‘*[some] men don't want to listen to women – they take it as being controlled by a woman*’ (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

M8 -MMC: I believe [that having two versions of the radio advertisement] is fine there is nothing to be changed because they are both trying to send the message that says men should get circumcised, also telling us that our partners can encourage us to be circumcised.

M2-UC: I think the advert is good that it has two different versions done by men and women so that men can see that women need this circumcision, other men don't want to listen to women they take it as being controlled by a woman. As men are discussing it so he will see it differently, so he will have to do it because it doesn't come from a woman so it is fine when we have men and women versions.

Facilitator: So you like it because it has a balance?

M2-UC: Yes.

Facilitator: You wouldn't say that you prefer [one version more than the other version]?

Group: No ... they balance. [Group response]

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

The one older medically-circumcised urban man from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, Gauteng) who had recalled the female-voiced radio advertisement said he liked the radio advertisement because of the clarity of the message regarding the benefit of circumcision for women, specifically regarding reducing the probability of cervical cancer. However, he also indicated that he preferred the television advertisement because the absence of the visual aspect in

the radio advertisement results in *'just passing the message'*, which had less impact in terms of motivating change – *'you can't say change there and there'*.

M7-MMC: [What] I like about the radio advert is the way the lady is addressing it when she says she won't be exposed in getting cervical cancer. The way she speaks it's about herself it is clear.

Facilitator: How does it compare to the television advert?

M7-MMC: On radio it is not like something visual they are just passing the message you hear it you can't see it so you can't say change there and there.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Three medically-circumcised older rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) said that they were not enthused by the radio advertisement. One of these men said he did not relate to the radio advertisement because *'it didn't apply to me 'cos I've already done -MMC'*. The other two men said that *'it does not have the impact as the one on TV'*. One of these men also said that the radio advertisement commenced with information too abruptly, and that he would have preferred a longer introduction into the advertisement because listeners may be tired, and need to understand what the advertisement is about.

MM8-MMC: I felt it lacked a bit of introduction. The way they introduce, 'cos, um, most of us listen to the radio while very tired and exhausted, so when the advert pops up it just goes straight to the point. And when you're trying to understand what are they talking, the advert is already out. So I think they should give it a better, um, a much better introduction that this message is talking about this and this and this and that, ja.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga)

Overall views: Women

One young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) said the radio advertisement was 'okay' because *'it is very explanatory'*, but that *'it required you to use your imagination ... to understand what the ad is all about'*. As a result, she preferred the television advertisement. Another young woman said that *'it was good'* that in the radio advertisement you can *'hear that the guy really doesn't want to go and get circumcised ...'*. One other young woman thought that the radio advertisement was *'good because even if you are listening to it at home [with other people, including men] ... you won't be shy, unlike watching it on TV'*.

One young urban woman from Witbank (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) said that the radio advertisement was better than the television advertisement for rural people in villages because they don't have televisions, but they have radios. Also, radio chat shows regarding circumcision allowed young rural men and women to discuss the issue. Another woman from the same group said that the radio advertisement was *'better because it plays everywhere, where there is a radio you can hear it even if you are on the road driving'*.

F4: The radio one like is okay and it is very explanatory but it requires you to use your imagination ...so that you understand what the ad is all about.

Facilitator: So do you prefer the TV one?

F4: Yes.

F8: I also think it was good in using your imagination you can also hear that this other guy doesn't really want to go and get circumcised – it is ...something that he is not considering it ...

F6: I think the radio ad is okay because even if you are listening to it at home with people from home and men you won't be shy unlike watching it on TV.

F5: I think the radio is better because people in villages don't have TVs they have radios. On uKhozi [radio station] it happens that they open a slot for listeners to call and say their views about circumcision. People phone and say what is right about circumcision. Boys mostly and girls they talk.

F2: The radio ad is better because it plays everywhere, where there is a radio you can hear it even if you are on the road driving
(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

One peri-urban woman from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) said that, although the radio and television advertisement were the same, the one detail that is clearer in the radio advertisement is the message concerning use of condoms after MMC. Another woman from the same group also said that the radio advertisement was clearer regarding how the man felt after circumcision, and why he was using a condom after MMC, and that having this voiced was 'useful'. The same woman said that what she liked about the radio advertisement was that 'they also show us that guys are also cautioned about pregnancy, HIV', and also that 'it shows that the woman and the man, they work in hand, because he was able to listen to his woman when she told him that he must go for circumcision, and then afterwards he is happy about that'.

F1: I think they are the same. There is only one tiny detail, because in TV, they don't talk about condoms. They just show us the guy holding a condom. So here on radio, because we don't see the visuals, they talk about each and every detail, because we cannot see the visuals.

Facilitator: So the condom thing is clearer in the radio?

F1: Yes.

F5: Also, I think on the TV the guy doesn't say anything, but on the radio they are able to hear how the guy feels after the circumcision ...He is happy about the upgrade, and then again, he is able to speak up why he did the circumcision and why he is using the condom ... [This is] useful ... I think what I like about the radio [advertisement] is they also show us that guys are also cautioned about pregnancy, HIV. Also, it shows that the woman and the man, they work in hand, because he was able to listen to his woman when she told him that he must go for circumcision, and then afterwards he is happy about that.
(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Most of the women in the peri-urban Gamalakhe group (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) said that the radio and television advertisement contained the same messages, but that the radio advertisement was 'really boring', 'it doesn't give you the oomph you feel like switching off the radio', 'bland – there's something missing – a bit of salt or Aromat', and 'it doesn't attract you'. One of these women said that 'I don't think my man would listen to that and say to me as his woman 'ok I think I'll go because you told me and I have listened to it'', but that he

might say this after watching the television advertisement. According to some of these women, the voice actors in the radio advertisement ‘*sounds like ... they were just given something to read*’.

F3: Yes they say the very same thing but the problem is the voice on the radio ... maybe it's because I can't see them thing it sounds like it is people who are just doing their own thing it's like they were given something to read ...

F1: It is not the same, it doesn't attract you and you don't have the interest to listen ... It doesn't give you the oomph you feel like switching off the radio. There's something missing a bit of salt or Aromat.

F6: I want to say the same thing on radio it is not enticing, they are just doing an advert, it doesn't engage us as audience and it is just bland.

F4: I think the difference is that on TV we are watching and we see their reaction that's the thing, whereas here we are only listening.

F5: No, it is boring, I don't like it. I'd be like, I know the one from TV they are just copying it they saw the one on TV and they copied it but theirs is bad, I like the one on TV it is really boring.

F4: I don't think my man would listen to that and say to me as his woman ‘ok I think I'll go because you told me and I have listened to it’, but if he was watching it and the lady is explaining...

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

After listening to both the English and Zulu female-voiced and male-voiced radio advertisement, it was apparent that the version of the radio advertisement that they found unappealing was the female-voiced advertisement, specifically the English female-voiced version. One woman said that the English version of the female-voiced radio advertisement lacked the humour of the Zulu female-voiced advertisement. Another woman said that she liked the male-voiced version because ‘*it is guys only who are talking [and] advising each other*’ (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

F1: The first [female-voiced] advert because we know it on TV it is nice on TV only, on the radio it's boring - it doesn't give you that oomph. But number 2 on the radio [the male-voiced version] is clear and I can say I like it. Because it is guys only who are talking advising each other.

F4: I prefer [the Zulu version].

Facilitator: You prefer the Zulu one ...What is missing in the English version?

F6: Humour.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Characters

As described in the previous section, the radio advertisement was released in several languages and with two voiced gender versions, and both of these factors influenced participant’s overall views of the radio advertisement.

A few young men preferred the male-voiced version because ‘*it engaged men*’ (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga). In contrast, some rural young men felt that ‘*[having two versions of the radio advertisement] is fine*’ because some men will respond to the female-voiced version because it indicates that ‘*women need this circumcision*’, while other men will respond to the male-

voiced version because '*[some] men don't want to listen to women – they take it as being controlled by a woman*' (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Some peri-urban young men said that they related to the male characters in the radio advertisement, specifically '*when he said when you get to bed all goes well*' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

The group of older urban males (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) said that they found the radio advertisement realistic.

Facilitator: Is the advert realistic?

Group: Yes.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Two young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) said that the characters were 'good' because '*they made the advert very interesting [enough] for you to stop doing what [you are] doing [to] listen to it*', and because they did not withhold information about circumcision and were instead '*just free and explained [it] the way it is*' (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga). When this group asked whether the radio advertisement was speaking to people like themselves, the group responded that it did.

Some peri-urban older women found the English female-voiced radio advertisement '*boring*', but the Zulu female-voiced version had more humour (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Language and terms used

In all groups, the great majority of participants stated that the radio advertisement language was clear, without a single participant indicating any confusion regarding the content. It was also agreed in all groups that the language was the same as in the television advertisement.

Participants from various groups stated that the communication in the radio advertisement was '*clear*' (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga), and '*straight to the point*' (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga). Some participants also said that the radio advertisement was more '*specific*' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga), and '*more accurate*' (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) than the television advertisement, in terms of specific messages (discussed in the following section).

Only one man expressed confusion regarding the term '*umdlalo*' [play] in the radio advertisement narrative concerning 'where there is no condom there is no play', as he had misheard the term as '*umdlanla*' (energy) (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

One difference between the radio and television advertisement, in terms of communication, was that the television advertisement included non-verbal communications, such as the female character pointing toward the groin when saying her partner had an upgrade '*down there*' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

The understanding of the terms 'Zing' and 'Upgrade' in the radio advertisement were not probed in most groups, as these had already been discussed in the focus group when discussing the television advertisement.

Messages and information received

Prior to the focus group discussion regarding the radio advertisement, participants discussed the television advertisement, including unaided recall of messages received and new information learned. This was followed by participants viewing the television advertisement to ascertain whether participants noticed any additional information.

As a result, the most frequent response to the facilitator's question regarding messages and information received from the radio advertisement consisted of a comparison between the television and radio advertisements, with many participants making statements indicating sameness, such as 'it was the same' (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal), 'it was the same – but it was like they were saying it in Zulu' (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng), 'it's the very same advert, they just changed the language - but the very same characters, the very same everything' (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton Gauteng), and 'no, there was nothing new' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

The following results thus focus upon spontaneous mentions of specific aspects of the radio advertisement's messages and information, as well as instances where participants highlighted messages that were more clearly presented in the radio advertisement, compared to the television advertisement.

Messages and information received by men

The most common (spontaneously) mentioned message by men from the radio advertisement concerned the reduction of cervical cancer in the female partners of circumcised men, which was reported to be 'clear'. One older rural man from Kwaguqa (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) said that, in addition to the information regarding the reduction of cervical cancer in the female partners of circumcised men, the radio advertisement mentioned the reduction in HIV and STIs.

M2-UC: The lady was happy because after her man is circumcised it means they are protected from cervical cancer.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

Facilitator: And the messages are the same as the one on TV?

M7-MMC: Yes they are the same.

M7-MMC: There is something I like about the radio advert the way the lady is addressing it when she says she won't be exposed in getting cervical cancer. The way she speaks it's about herself it is clear.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

M1-MMC: Ja, it's the one of cervical cancer.

M8-MMC: ... They mention some of the things that are mentioned on the TV advert, like getting less chances of her getting cervical cancer, less chances of them getting, um, HIV and STIs.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

The second most commonly spontaneously reported message received by men from the radio advertisement concerned the use of condoms by circumcised men, which was reported to be 'more in-depth ... completely different' than the television advertisement's presentation of the same message, and that 'they actually make it clear ... after the upgrade, use a condom – like it's there' (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

M5-MMC: Like, um, [the radio advertisement] was more in depth, they spoke a lot about the things that they don't say on the TV one ... Like the No Glove, No Love, that's the first one I remember and then some of them I actually don't remember properly but I know that it was completely different ... This one is more in depth with the whole condom, the condom part of it because they, they actually make it clear that hey, after the upgrade, use a condom - like it's there.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

M5-UC: They also say even after you upgrade you can still use condoms.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

One young uncircumcised peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) said that the main message of the radio advertisement was 'go to circumcise ... visit your nearest clinic', which was supported by another uncircumcised man in the same group. The same two men said that the message from the radio advertisement that they grabbed their attention was 'when he said when you get to bed all goes well', referring to the message concerning improved sexual performance following MMC.

Facilitator: The main message of the radio advert? What was it?

M5-UC: Go to circumcise ... Yes, visit your nearest clinic.

M2-UC: I agree.

Facilitator: What parts of that advert got your attention?

M2-UC: When he said when you get to bed all goes well [group laugh].

M5-UC: Me too.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

When the rural male group from KwaGuqa Ext 2 (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) was asked whether they recalled the clinic locator SM number and any other information regarding MMC services in the radio advertisement, one man said the advertisement said nothing about services, while another man said that 'they just mention that, like you can go to a public hospital'. One man recalled the clinic locator SMS number – with the final digit incorrect – but did not know anyone who had used it. Another man said he had called the number but that this was unsuccessful because he had a problem with his telephone.

Facilitator: And in the radio advert did they say anything about the services?

M8-MMC: No, they didn't ...say where you can get the services, no, they didn't mention it.

M4-MMC: They just mentioned that, like that you can go to a public hospital.

M1-MMC: Ja, what he has said, ja.

Facilitator: Do you remember the SMS number?

*M5-UC: I think it's *120*664 [actual: *120*662#]*

Facilitator: Do you know anybody that used that SMS number?

M5-UC: No.

M1-MMC: I did try that SMS ... I didn't get any response ... No, maybe my phone... I was financially broke.

Facilitator: I think it was a free number.

M1-MMC: A free number? It went but it said pending ... Maybe the problem it's my phone.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga)

Apart from the preceding spontaneous responses, no other messages or new information (including slogan, clinic locator information, and website information) in the radio advertisement was spontaneously reported by men in the other groups.

Following unaided discussion of the radio advertisement messages and new information, the groups listened to the radio advertisement in various languages. Participants subsequently recalled the slogan, the clinic locator number (which no male participant reported using), information regarding the 30 minute MMC procedure duration, as well as the 6-week healing period. Several men also reported hearing about 'unwanted pregnancy' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga), and character saying 'I don't want kids' (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng), which was new to these men. One man noticed the message regarding the reduction of HIV and STIs following MMC for the first time (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Facilitator: Is there anything different you heard now? Anything new?

M4-UC: Ja, here I just hear anything new ... I hear someone talking about I don't want children. He says he don't want children and he won't get easily affected by HIV and AIDS.

M6-MMC: I also heard that girl say ... I don't want kids. It's new there.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

One young peri-urban man, after listening to the radio advertisement, said that the radio advertisement provided encouragement to other men to get circumcised because when a man hears a circumcised man boasting about experiencing more sexual pleasure than an uncircumcised man, he 'will also want to get an upgrade' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga).

M4-MMC: Now that I've heard the radio upgrade I think it [gives]more encouragement to others who have not yet circumcised. Because when someone is bragging about him being circumcised getting much pleasure [compared to] the other [uncircumcised one [the man] will also want to get an upgrade.

M2-UC: Yes I do agree.

M6-MMC: Yes I do [also agree].

Messages and information received by women

The only female group that spontaneously identified specific messages and new information from the radio advertisement was the group of young urban women from Witbank (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga). The most frequently stated message was that circumcised men should wear condoms after being circumcised. Individual women in this group also identified messages about men needing to get circumcised, that the male character didn't want children, that MMC reduces the chances of contracting HIV and STIs, and *'the importance of circumcision and that [people should not] look down upon it'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

F4: I think the radio ad was clear cause he was specific and said he doesn't want babies and HIV and all that. He just wants to get circumcised and use a condom all the time.

F2: It's that men should get circumcised and after they've circumcised they must continue and use a condom ... [and that] you won't contract diseases easily ...STIs and HIV.

F3: It's that we have to use a condom each and every day.

F5: I think that they are trying to show the importance of circumcision and that [people should not] look down upon it.

F8: It says even though you are circumcised you still need to use a condom.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

One of the urban young women (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) said that the new information she received from the radio advertisement was that some men didn't like to talk about sexual matters such as going for circumcision. Another woman stated that she did not know that some people are not embarrassed to talk to their friends about circumcision. A third woman said that, prior to the radio advertisement, she had been unaware that there were men who were not aware of circumcision or who did not want to get circumcised.

Facilitator: What new information did you learn from the radio advert?

F8: I didn't know that men don't like to talk about sexual things such as going to circumcise. I didn't know that.

F6: I didn't know that some people are not shy to talk to their friends about circumcision

F1: The thing I didn't know that like there are guys who are not aware of circumcision or who don't want to go and get circumcised. They are shy to go and get circumcised.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

The group of young urban women also recalled that the radio advertisement referred audiences to their local clinic for MMC, and some women mentioned the clinic locator SMS number, but they also stated that they did not know anyone who had used the SMS number. Following listening to the radio advertisement, individual women in the group noticed that the advertisement *'comes from the Department of Health'*, and that *'the message is given to both of us males and females'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Facilitator: What did you notice that you did not notice before?

F6: I noticed that the advert is from the Department of Health

*F3: What I've noticed that the message is given to both of us males and females men and women.
(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).*

When older peri-urban women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) heard the radio advertisement in the focus group session, they said that they noticed the there was more information about condoms (compared to the television advertisement), that the man was happy about being circumcised, the presence of cautionary information about unwanted pregnancy and HIV, and that the man and his partner worked together and he followed her advice to get circumcise. One woman also noticed the information about the clinic locator SMS number '*for more information, if you want them to tell you everything about the circumcision*', and the 30-minute MMC procedure and 6-week post-procedure duration.

F1: I think they [the radio and television advertisement] are the same. There is only one tiny detail, because in TV, they don't talk about condoms. They just show us the guy holding a condom. So here on radio, because we don't see the visuals, they talk about each and every detail ... Yes, I think it's clearer.

F5: Also, I think on the TV the guy doesn't say anything, but on the radio they are able to hear how the guy feels after the circumcision ... He is happy about the upgrade, and then again, he is able to speak up why he did the circumcision and why he is using the condom.

F5: I think what I like about the radio part is they also show us that guys are also cautioned about pregnancy, HIV ... Also, it shows that the woman and the man, they work in hand, because he was able to listen to his woman when she told him that he must go for circumcision, and then afterwards he is happy about that.

Facilitator: What info did you get from it?

*F4: They were also talking about the 30 minute upgrade, six weeks for the wound to heal, and then the SMS numbers ... for more information, if you want them to tell you everything about the circumcision.
(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng)*

Perceived target audience, and perceived call to action

Both younger peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) and younger urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) agreed that the radio advertisement was aimed at men. According to the younger peri-urban males, the radio advertisement targeted men aged 18 and older.

Two uncircumcised men stated that the advertisement is '*asking me to get circumcised*', and third (circumcised) man added '*also to use protection*' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga). One young women reiterated both these calls to action by stating that the advertisement was calling on men '*to get circumcised and use protection all the time*' (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Facilitator: Who would you say is the target audience for that particular ad?

M5-UC: I'd say men.

Facilitator: What age group?

M5-UC: Between 18-30.

M2-UC: Say 18 to 70.

M3-MMC: 18 to 30.

Facilitator: What is the advert asking you to do?

M5-UC: Asking me to go to circumcise.

M2-UC: I also agree.

M3-MMC: I agree with him, but also to use protection.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzini, Mpumalanga).

Facilitator: What is the advert asking you or other people to do?

F4: To get circumcised and use protection all the time

Facilitator: Who is being asked to do that?

Men [Group concurs]

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

An older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) said that he believed that the radio advertisement was targeting both male and female youth, but that this was ‘*a pity because the youth [don’t] listen to radio most of the time*’. Another man in the group supported this view, and added that ‘*the youth of today only like to watch TV and play music on DVD*’. A third rural man said that drivers and older people (aged 30 to 50 years) listen to radio. Finally, a fourth uncircumcised man said that the radio advertisement helped ‘*old people, like grandmas and grandpas [because] they usually use radio*’.

Facilitator: Who do you think that the radio advert is talking to, targeting the most?

M1-MMC: I think it's the youth.

Facilitator: The youth. Males or females?

M1-MMC: Both male and female but it's a pity because the youth doesn't listen to radio most of the time.

Facilitator: Does everybody agree with that? [Group says yes].

M2-UC: The youth these days only like to watch TV and play music on DVD, they don't listen radio.

Facilitator: So who does listen to the radio then?

M3-MMC: I think most people who listen to radio are drivers, people who drives 'cos most, in most of the time they're on the radio, the FM there when they're driving. And the older people who grew up listening to radio, they prefer it very much than the youth of nowadays.

Facilitator: Now when you say older people, how old are they?

M3-MMC: Say from age between 30 to 50, I can say.

M6-UC: Ja, I think it [the radio advertisement] is good 'cos some people don't have TV so radio it's better to others. And like old people, like grandmas and grandpas, they usually use radio than TV.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Interpersonal and social media communication stimulated

In both males and females, younger people aged 18-24 years reported more instances of interpersonal discussions emanating from hearing the radio advertisement, compared to older people aged 25-34 years. In the older group, no interpersonal discussions connected to the radio advertisement were reported.

In all groups, there were no reported social media discussions connected to the radio advertisement. The most frequently-reported stimulus for interpersonal discussions was hearing the catch-phrase 'Zing', followed by conversations regarding what it meant.

Communications stimulated: Men

A few young men aged 18 to 24 years reported discussing the radio advertisement with others. None reported using social media to discuss the advertisement. None of the older men aged 25 to 34 years reported any interpersonal or social media discussions emanating from the radio advertisement.

A young urban man from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) described how he had listened to a chat show about the content of the radio advertisement, after the radio station had played the advertisement.

*M7-MMC: ... They'd play that ad on the radio and then you'd find people calling in, commenting about that, ja, discussing like we are doing right now in the focus group.
(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).*

An uncircumcised young man from peri-urban Emzini (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzini, Mpumalanga), related that he had the radio playing in his room, and when the advertisement played, his friend – who knew he was not circumcised – said 'they are talking to you'. One other uncircumcised participant in the same group stated that he discussed the radio advertisement with a friend, without specifying the nature of the conversation.

M3-MMC: I did discuss it with my friend.

*M5-UC: I also did ... With my friend because it was playing in my room, and my friend knew that I am not circumcised he said they are talking to me.
(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzini, Gauteng).*

Two young rural men (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) described how the 'Zing' catch-phrase had grabbed attention – 'on radio what you hear is Zing'. In one case - an uncircumcised man - his friend's use of the term after hearing it on the radio had resulted in a conversation about MMC. In the latter case, the man said he did not go for MMC because 'I didn't [want to] feel any pain'.

M3-DNA: On radio what you hear is 'Zing'. [Laughter]

*M2-UC: My friend was telling me to go and get circumcised after he heard that 'Zing' when I asked him where did he get that name from he said from the radio, so I became interested in hearing that 'Zing' ... [but] I didn't [want to] feel any pain so I wouldn't go ...
(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).*

Communications stimulated: Women

Similar to male participants, only younger women aged 18-24 years reported having had conversations about the radio advertisement. No woman reported being aware of, or participating in, social media discussions about the radio advertisement.

A young urban woman described how she had discussed the radio advertisement with her younger brother, who was not pleased with the radio advertisement discussing circumcision because he said circumcision was *'private'*. The young woman responded that circumcision is *'not private – this is something everybody knows about – [the radio advertisement] is giving you more information about circumcision and the benefits of it'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Another young woman related hearing her grandfather asking a young male cousin of hers *'have you heard the advert on the radio talking about this 'Zing'?''* She said her cousin did not understand what his grandfather was talking about, so *'I explained to him and he started to talk to his friends about it as well'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

F4: I've heard my grandfather telling a younger ... cousin. Telling him that have you heard the advert on the radio talking about this 'Zing'? My cousin didn't understand at first. I explained to him and he started to talk to his friends about as well.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Attitudinal and behavioural impact of the radio advertisement

Unlike participant responses regarding attitudinal and behavioural changes emanating from watching the television advertisement, there were very few participant responses regarding the impact of the radio advertisement. As a result, these two areas of impact – attitudes, and behaviours – are presented in one section.

Attitudinal and behavioural impact: Men

None of the younger men aged 18-24y reported any attitudinal changes resulting from hearing the radio advertisement. For example, one uncircumcised young man (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzini, Mpumalanga), when asked whether the radio advertisement had led to him thinking or feeling any different about getting circumcised, simply stated *'no, it didn't'*.

One older medically circumcised rural male said that hearing the radio advertisement had *'made me more responsible'*, without elaboration. Another medically circumcised man in the same group said that he thought that there were people who had heard the call-in radio shows linked to the radio advertisement, who had might have been affected by the radio advertisement (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Facilitator: Do you know of anyone ... after listening to those radio adverts, they went and they changed something?

M8-MMC: No.

M4-MMC: Like, I used to listen to radio, like, there was this other guy who was from MMC. Like people were calling and asking for more information. I think some other people they did listen to the [call in shows] ...

Facilitator: And you think they might've done something about it?

M4-MMC: Yes, I think so.

M1-MMC: It made me to be more responsible.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

There were no reports by men concerning going for MMC as a result of hearing the radio advertisement.

Attitudinal and behavioural impact: Women

There were no reports from female participants of attitudinal changes emanating from the radio advertisement.

One young woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) reported that her cousin had gone for MMC as a result of hearing the radio advertisement. She said that, *'all this time he didn't care about going for circumcision, but after he heard the advert he wanted to know what it is really about'*.

Facilitator: Do you know anybody that went for circumcision because they heard the radio advert?

F7: Yes, my cousin ... All this time he didn't care about going for circumcision but after he heard the advert he wanted to know what it is really about.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Participant recommendations and suggestions

When participants in all the groups were asked whether they had any specific recommendations regarding the radio advertisement, all groups – except the rural young men from Betania (KwaZulu-Natal) – said they had no recommendations or suggestions.

In the rural group of young men (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal), the discussion focused on one uncircumcised man's suggestion to have different content for the male-voiced and female-voiced radio advertisements. According to this young man, the male-voiced radio advertisement should be different to the female-voiced radio advertisement because *'men should not say the same thing as women put it in another way'*, referring to his view that men and women would not discuss circumcision in the same manner. However, two other men in the group did not agree, and said that the two versions of the radio advertisement were *'fine – there is nothing to be changed because they are both trying to send the message that says men should get circumcised [and] also telling us our partners can encourage us [men] to be circumcised'*. A third (uncircumcised man) supported the latter view, and said that the female-voiced advertisement facilitated women encouraging their male partners to get circumcised, while the male-voiced version encouraged men who did not like being *'controlled by a woman'* to be circumcised

'because it doesn't come from a woman, so it is fine'. The group agreed that the two versions of the radio advertisement were *'balanced'*.

M1-UC: The adverts with women and another one with men is the same thing ... The women say something and then the men are saying the same thing. Why did they not make something that is saying something different? ... Why they didn't add other things ... men should not say the same thing as women ... Women put it in their own way and men as well.

M8 -MMC: I believe it is fine there is nothing to be changed because they are both trying to send the message that says men should get circumcised [and] also telling us that our partners can encourage us [men] to be circumcised.

M2-UC: I think the advert is good that it has two different versions done by men and women so that men can see that women [also] need this circumcision, other men don't want to listen to women they take it as being controlled by a woman. As men are discussing it so he will see it differently, so he will have to do it because it doesn't come from a woman so it is fine when we have men and women versions.

Facilitator: They are fine the way they are?

Yes they balance. [Group response].

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Evaluation of the MMC “Salon” billboards and posters

The following results were obtained from participants' responses to questions regarding “Salon” billboards and posters. A separate evaluation of the “Salon” posters placed in taverns was conducted with groups of tavern clients, as is reported upon in the document *'Evaluation of the Brothers for Life medical male circumcision campaign: Tavern Posters'* (CADRE, November 2016).

Exposure to the MMC “Salon” billboards and posters & Recall of contents

Participants in all groups were asked whether they had seen the “Salon” posters or billboards, prior to being shown the poster, and what they recalled of the contents.

Overall, few participants reported seeing the posters or billboards. Of those that reported seeing the poster or billboard, the most frequently-reported recalled contents included the B4L logo and that there was a couple on the poster. One person recalled seeing a condom. Only one participant recalled the slogan *'get the upgrade that counts'*, and the rest of the participants who had seen the poster or billboard could not recall specific details of printed words, which was explained as due to the fact that these posters and billboards were seen very briefly as people drove past them.

Billboard and poster exposure: Men 18-24y

One young urban man said he thought he had seen the billboard *'in Melville, or near Helen Joseph [Hospital, in Johannesburg] ... but I was intoxicated [at the time]'*, and could therefore not recall the content of the billboard (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng). No other participant in the same group could recall seeing a “Salon” billboard.

A young peri-urban male from Emzinoni (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Mpumalanga) said that he had seen the billboard in ‘written cars’, which presumably meant vehicles with advertising. He did not elaborate. All the other men in the group said that they had ‘*never seen them*’.

Two young rural males (Rural males 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) reported having seen B4L billboards near Isipingo, and the Civic Centre in Port Shepstone: ‘*What was visible were the hands [the B4L logo]*’. However, these billboards were seen in 2011 (Isipingo), and 2013 (Civic Centre), and were thus not the “Salon” billboards. In response to the question whether they had seen the “Salon” poster in taverns, the answer was ‘*no*’. One man also said that taxi drivers ‘*don't want ...something [posters/media] that will make them go to the clinic*’. I.e., none of the young rural men in this group reported having seen a “Salon” poster or billboard at any location. This was confirmed after showing the participants the poster.

Billboard and poster exposure: Men 25-34y

One older uncircumcised urban man (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) recalled a poster ‘*that says if you circumcised you are 100% safe*’, although he could not confirm that this was the “Salon” poster. None of the other participants in the group spontaneously recalled seeing the “Salon” poster or billboard, including in taverns. After being shown the poster, one medically circumcised man said that he had seen the “Salon” billboard near a taxi rank. When asked why they had not seen the billboard, two men said that this was because when people drive past the billboards they ‘*don't see properly what's on that poster*’ because ‘*you are concentrating on getting where you need to go*’.

M7-MMC: When you ... [are] just passing by in a car you don't actually see properly what's on that poster, so it's possible that I may have seen some posters without realising what are they about.

M1-MMC: ... When you pass [the billboards] by you can't read them ... We see them but because you are concentrating on getting where you need to go so you're not really concentrating ...

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

One older peri-urban male (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) recalled seeing a B4L poster ‘*with the emblem [B4L logo]*’ at a clinic but could not recall the contents of the poster he saw. Another man recalled seeing a B4L poster concerning stopping violence and abuse. None of the men in this group spontaneously specifically recalled the “Salon” poster or billboard, and this was confirmed following being shown the poster.

In a similar manner, one older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) though he had seen the “Salon” poster at the LoveLife centre in KwaGuqa, but upon inquiry, all he could remember was that the poster said ‘*I choose life*’, indicating this was not the “Salon” poster. However, after seeing the poster, three men in the group reported having seen the poster, and described details indicating that they had seen one of the two versions of the “Salon” poster. One man recalled seeing two versions of the poster, with the first being ‘*a guy with a t-shirt off, lying, and there's a woman*’, and the second poster having ‘*the guy who is riding like a horse, with the*

same woman, they are holding each other with his hat, [and] then there are words written ... [that I] can't remember'. Another man added that he recalled seeing the poster at a tavern (Kenny's Tavern), and recalled the B4L logo: '[The] guy cuddling that lady ... and then there were words written down there ... and ... shaking hands on the corner side ...'. A third man recalled seeing the man in the poster holding a condom, on a poster in a street.

M7-MMC: I think I've seen 2 different posters, one, I've seen it, if I'm not mistaken, last year. It was a guy with a t-shirt off, lying, and there's a woman if I'm not mistaken. And also the other one is with the guy who is like riding a horse, with the same woman, they are holding each other with his hat then there are words written there but I can't remember [the words].

M3-MMC: I saw it on Kenny's Tavern ... Ja, it was on a big poster ... I remember the guy cuddling that lady there and then there were words written down there, I think the slogan, I don't know about the motto and then, ja, and the hands there, shaking hands on the corner side there ...

M4-MMC: I've seen it when I was passing by these, like, I don't know the name of the street but from Soweto to Jozi, like there's, there's these people, like the guy is holding this lady and he's holding a condom, yes.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Billboard and poster exposure: Women 18-24y

Four young women recalled (prior to seeing the poster in the focus group) seeing the "Salon" poster (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga). One woman said she saw the poster in Middelburg, and described the poster as stating that '*it is written male circumcision, Get circumcision. Better what what*'. Another woman said she saw the poster at a clinic in Mooi River, and a third woman saw the in a clinic in Limpopo.

Billboard and poster exposure: Women 25-34y

In the group of peri-urban older women from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng), four women reported having seen the "Salon" billboard, prior to seeing the poster in the focus group. One woman said that she saw it '*when you go on the Barra [Barragwanath Hospital] side ... it's written Brothers for Life, then circumcision*'. Another women said she saw the billboard '*around Soweto – I saw a billboard that says 'get the upgrade that counts*'. Two other women reported seeing the billboard in Vereeniging and Johannesburg, without specifying the actual location.

Two peri-urban women from Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) recalled seeing the billboard, and one recalled seeing the poster on Facebook. The first woman said she had seen the billboard '*on your way to Durban*', and described the billboard as depicting '*those girls photos at the salon and then on the sides they wrote the messages what they are saying, not necessarily their conversation. But what was important on the advert*'. The second women did not say where she saw the billboard, but said the billboard '*shows this advert, it is the pictures of these people and they are clean. The words are bright and clear and you are able to read the message.*

Just that I haven't read it or look at the details because of traffic'. A third woman said that she had seen the poster on Facebook, but *'it was just a picture'*. None of the other women in the group recalled seeing the poster or billboard.

Overall response & messages received

Based on the dearth of detailed information spontaneously recalled by participants regarding the posters and billboard, and that so few participants reported having seen these media, this section – and subsequent sections - focuses primarily upon participant discussions after being shown the poster in the focus group.

Overall, men liked the posters and billboard mainly because the messages were simple and easy to understand, and also that the poster/billboard provided information (e.g., clinic locator number; website; organisations promoting the campaign) that are not as easily observed in the television and radio versions of the “Salon” advertisements. Some men also said they liked the boldness and colours of the text, which made the poster attractive.

Overall views of women included that the posters/billboard were clear and easy to explain the posters to young people – but that older people would not be comfortable with the image of a shirtless man – and that the posters and billboards served as a reminder to people of the television and radio advertisements. One woman said she liked the fact that the poster (one version) showed that the couple were still using condoms after circumcision.

The messages contained in the posters and billboards were stated to be simple and clear: Circumcise (*'upgrade'*), condomise, use condoms after being circumcised, and finally, that circumcision improves sexual relationships.

Overall responses: Men

A young urban man from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that he liked the poster because it was *'straightforward – it says what it needs to - and I like the fact that it says circumcise and condomise'*. A second man in the same group said the poster provided useful information that is not contained in the television advert, such as the clinic locator number, and the organisations that are participating in the campaign. This man also liked the fact that the text was *'just a simple sentence - not too long'*, which was easy to read. A third man said he liked the *'boldness of the words because they ... attract you'*. A fourth man also commented on the colours of the words *'circumcise'* and *'condomise'*, and said he like these colours because they differentiate between these two messages.

M5-MMC: It's straightforward, it's straightforward. It says what it needs to. And I like the fact that it says circumcise and condomise. So it's straightforward.

M7-MMC: It's also giving, ja, it's like giving, like we said, because the advert that plays on TV doesn't give that much of information where to get what. Radio gives more information like the poster where they tell you what to dial, where and what we talked about earlier, people or companies that are

participating in the project ... And it's not too long, you're not going to be like jo, I have to read this, it's just a simple one sentence so you're just going to ja, want to read it quick.

M6-MMC: I like the boldness of the words because they are the ones that attract you and the message is straightforward, you see, because if the words they were written not in bold, ah, we'd just look at it and pass, you wouldn't have that interest of reading it.

M2-UC: I like the colours which they used for the bold statements, get the upgrade that counts and circumcise and condomise. because it's talking of two different things, the upgrade and circumcise and condomise ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

A young rural man (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) said that the messages on the billboards were clear, and *'the way they are colouring them makes you interested'*.

M1-UC: I think the messages on the billboards and posters are clear and the way they are colouring them makes you interested.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

A medically circumcised older urban man (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) also liked that the messages of *'get upgrade, get circumcised, and condomise'* were clearly stated because *'it encourages you that even after circumcision you must continue condomising to protect yourself'*. An uncircumcised man in the same group also reiterated the statement by a young man in Protea North that *'I like the fact that they mention the companies they work with, numbers we can SMS and website as well'*.

Overall responses: Women

In response to a question regarding whether young people would be comfortable seeing the poster, one young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) believed that the advertisement was *'fine'* for younger audiences, and that *'even if a child was to [ask] you what was going on [in the poster], you can be able to explain in a very light way'*. However, she added, *'older people become embarrassed if they see things like this – they think sex is to exploit people'*.

The central message of the poster and billboard, according to two young women in Witbank (Urban young women, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) was to use condoms to protect oneself, to get circumcised, that *'if you get an upgrade you'll become a happy couple'*, and also to use a condom

F4: The message that I get from this poster tells us that you have to be protected when it comes sexual activities and all that and it tells us about circumcisions.

F8: I think the message says if you get an upgrade you'll become a happy couple and use a condom as well.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

A peri-urban woman from Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) liked the poster because *'both [characters] are happy and it shows he's holding a condom and the message is clear ... they are still using protection'*.

Perceptions of images and text messages

There were two versions of the poster: In one version, a man wears a shirt and does not hold a condom. In the second, the man does not wear a shirt, wears a cowboy hat, and holds a condom.

Men, without exception, preferred the shirtless ‘cowboy’ version of the poster, largely because of the indication of impending sexual activity, and that both the male and female characters appeared happy. Several men focused upon the absence of a condom in the version of the poster where the man wore a short, indicating that this absence did not make sense. Other men said that the poster served as a reminder of the television advertisement.

A few women stated the opposite view: That the version of the poster with the man wearing a shirt was preferred because it was more easily viewed by older people, and was not overtly promoting sex.

Several participants – both male and female – commented on the happiness of characters.

There were both men and women who believed that prior exposure to the television advertisement was necessary to understand the messages – specifically ‘*get the upgrade that counts*’ - of the posters and billboards.

Regarding the text messages, some participants commented on the boldness and colour of the text, stating that this indicated the importance of the printed messages. However, there were also several participants – mainly men – who felt that the imagery dominated the text messages.

One young man explained that by seeing the clinical locator SMS number and the names of organisations supporting the campaign on the poster, this showed people that the MMC procedure was a free service.

Two versions of the poster

One medically circumcised man from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said he preferred the version of the poster where the man is wearing no shirt, and holding a condom – which he described as ‘*more powerful*’- because it ‘*gives more information because it shows the condom, that you need to condomise*’. Another young man in the same group said that the other version of the poster ‘*you can just look and just pass there*’, because its visual impact depended on only the ‘*colour*’.

Another young man (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, Gauteng) stated that the poster showing the man holding a condom indicated that condoms – not chocolate - are important in relationships.

M2-UC: There is another one I don't know if it was a billboard or poster I can see the condom which means it is important in their relationship, condom is important not chocolate. This means it is important in your relationship.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

One man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that the version of the poster where the man wears a hat reminded him of the television advertisement.

M2-UC: The hat there on that picture it reminds me of the one I saw on TV, by the hat I remember the advert I saw on TV.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

One older peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) voiced the opinion of most of the men in the group that they preferred the 'cowboy hat' version (shirtless, holding a condom) because 'it is straight – not jumbled up like the other one' and 'it is attractive because it shows a couple in a very intimate moment, before they go to the bedroom'. Another (uncircumcised) man in the group said the 'cowboy hat' version 'is more attractive, he's circumcised, then he's got his condom and his hands and his wife is happy that maybe he got circumcised'. A third man was perplexed that in the version of the poster/billboard of the man wearing a shirt (and not holding a condom), the message said 'condomise, [but] how can you condomise without showing a condom?'

In contrast, an older peri-urban woman from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) thought that the version of the poster where the man is shirtless and wearing a cowboy hat was 'too dull' because the background was black, 'so its not that much attracting'. In contrast, the other version with the 'maroon and blue t-shirt – it's a bit catchy'. Another woman in the same group stated that the version with the man wearing a shirt was 'more appropriate because some people might feel offended by the guy not wearing anything, especially ... old people – they will think you are promoting sex, and they are travelling with their kids', and in contrast, the other (shirtless) version was 'promoting sexuality ... like oh, go on and have sex'.

Visual imagery

A medically circumcised man from urban Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) said that the images 'shows that they are happy and comfortable – you can see the woman is free [and] the game is going to be fun'.

A similar view was stated by a young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga), referring to the shirtless 'cowboy' version of the poster:

F8: What I see is a very happy couple, they are very happy and their holding the condom. The guy is not wearing anything and the girl is wearing nighties very sexy ones.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

For one young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), the visual image of the couple, with the man not wearing a shirt and wearing a cowboy hat, dominated the poster, because these images implied that they were going to have sex, and this resulted in him not paying attention to the printed message. He qualified this by saying that did not need to read the text because he could see that the man has been circumcised and it was 'better'. He also said that when someone drives past such a billboard, the image would be noticed but the text messages would not be noticed. Several other men in the group agreed with this view.

M5-MMC: Ja, this one, this one is straightforward, it's like hey, we are going down to business ... bedroom business ... You can even see by the way they're looking at each other that, mmm, it's getting serious. In this sense you don't even see everything else, the get the upgrade that counts, you don't see all of that, you're just seeing ... the picture itself is the representation of the ad, so to me, when I see that guy with the cowboy hat, I know what happened in the ad. So to me I don't even need to read everything else because I know this ad is talking about this guy getting a circumcision and it being better. So just by the [unclear], that hat, that hat itself says a lot because that's when he dances there at the door, so, I just get that whole thing ... [but if] you were driving past ...you wouldn't see that.
Facilitator: So for M5-MMC, who agrees? M4-MMC, M8-MMC, M6-MMC, M3-MMC. So you're saying you don't even see the circumcised message.
(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

An older peri-urban woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) also said that the version of the image where the man wears a cowboy hat indicated sexuality because *'the cowboy seems like he wanted sex, like immediately'*.

A young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that, even if there was no text messages, he'd understand that he needs to use a condom because of the man holding the condom in one version of the poster.

M7-MMC: Okay, on that scene it's also, even if you don't really know that, okay, the guy is holding a condom so I have to have a condom with me, you have to condomise and all that.
(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Exposure to the television advertisement to understand 'get the upgrade that counts'

A young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that if someone had not seen the television advert, they would not fully understand the poster. Another man in the same group added that if someone did not see words *'circumcise and condomise'* they would not know what the poster communicated because the viewer would be *'passing by quickly'*. A third man in the group commented on the slogan *'get the upgrade that counts'*, and said that the television advertisement *'gave the word meaning'*, and in the absence of that understanding, the slogan on the poster would not make sense to some people.

M6-MMC: And what I can say is, like, in order for you to understand this [poster] you have to know the [television] ad because if you don't know the [television] ad you won't understand the poster, you won't understand it totally.

M7-MMC: I can add on that ...you wouldn't understand it if, okay, you're just passing by quickly but then when you're going to read the circumcise and condomise that's when you're going to get, okay, I need to circumcise and also condomise and all that.

M5-MMC: And this whole thing about the upgrade, that's, we got it from the ad, like, before that we didn't know anything about getting an upgrade down there. So the [television] ad itself is the one that gave us that word meaning ...So if I didn't see the advert and I saw that, I'd be confused, saying, get the upgrade that counts, like, what is the upgrade? ... Without the knowledge of the [television] ad, I don't think anyone would understand that.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

A similar view was stated by a peri-urban older woman from Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, Gauteng). She said that if someone had not seen the television advertisement, they would think the poster or billboard concerned HIV, and not circumcision.

F5: For someone who haven't seen it on TV or heard it on radio and sees a condom he may not think this has something to do with circumcision, he may think maybe HIV and not aware that it is circumcision. Until he has read it - and [some]people are not very fond of reading - he'll just look and say they talking about HIV and leave it like that.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, Gauteng).

Text information

A young rural man said that the colour red used to state 'condomise and circumcise' indicated that this was important information, and 'your attention will go straight to those words and you can't forget that ... condomise ... circumcise' (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

M4-MMC: There was this one that was written in red that condomise and circumcise that was the important message. There is other things written but they wrote those 3 words, your attention will go straight to those words and you can't forget that ... condomise... circumcise

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

One man young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that the poster showed people that the MMC procedure was free because it did not state that the procedure was 'private', and by seeing the telephone numbers and reference to government clinics they would realize it is free.

M7-MMC: Ja, the numbers, ja, and the clinics ...because some people would think that for you to get the circumcision you have to go to private hospitals, pay for that and all that. Now you know that it's free, it's for everyone, it's open for everyone ... [because] they didn't say it's private or anything. So I know that when it's the government [clinics] included it's public, for everyone.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Interpersonal communications stimulated by the billboards and posters

Only one man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) reported an interpersonal communication stimulated by either the billboard or poster. He said that he was in a tavern and another man pointed to the poster and started talking to him about it. The participant said he was inebriated at the tavern, so did not recall the content of the discussion.

Impact of billboards and posters on the community

Several men and women commented on the value of the posters and billboards for people who did not have access to television and radio, and for reminding people about the importance of circumcision and condoms. One man said that the posters placed in taverns are important to reach men who are intending to get traditionally circumcised. There were two young urban women who

felt that the billboards and posters did not reach ‘stereotyped’ men who did not want to be told how to treat their wives, because the posters and billboards did not provide any information about the benefits of circumcision or condoms.

Impact: Men

An urban man from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said that billboard and posters were important because some people did not have radio or television, or live on the streets, and these posters and billboards made them aware of circumcision.

M7-MMC: It ... has a great impact to everyone because [there are] ... people who even don't have TVs or radios [and] ...people who live in the street ... they see from the ad, from the billboards ... if they were not circumcised ... So it would, it [circumcision] being also on the billboard it reaches to everyone.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Two older urban men (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) said that the billboards and posters were useful to the community because ‘they teach us you can get upgrade if you look at the billboards [and] you realize you have seen this somewhere’, and ‘they are useful because [some] people don’t like TV or radio – they like to walk around so [they see] some billboards as they walk’. In response to the question about who the billboards appeal to, the second man said that it depends on whether ‘they see the information helps them’.

The value of billboards and posters for people who do not have televisions was reiterated by an older peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng): ‘Most of the people here in the township they don’t have televisions, they don’t have social medias, cell phones, so by the use of a billboard they could see that there’s ... circumcision [and that] in order to get it you must go [do] this and that’.

Another man in the Evaton group (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that he thought the display of the “Salon” poster in taverns because many men who go to traditional circumcision school frequent the taverns, and that ‘its necessary’ for these men to see the poster about MMC. This view was supported by an uncircumcised man in the same group, who said that ‘I think by the tavern it’s the place where the men mostly ... negotiate about ... something like this’.

One older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) believed that the billboards were useful to the community because everyone can see them, and they learn something even though they were not intending to. A second rural man disagreed, and said that people who cannot read do not benefit from the billboards. He also said that some billboards and posters are not ‘catchy – they don’t draw attention’.

M3-MMC: Yes, I think they're useful to the community because these billboards are on the road ... [where] everyone can see them. And then when you're ... looking on the billboards ... you learn something even though your intention was not to ...

M7-MMC: I feel like the billboards are not very useful. No, reason being that not all of us can read and most of them are not catchy. They don't draw attention. A billboard has to actually, like, by looking at it I have to have all the information without reading the words ...
(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Impact: Women

According to one young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga), the billboards and posters did not have an impact on the community because some men are 'stereotyped' and believe that 'it's my wife – I'll do what I want to'. A second woman in the group agreed, and added that the billboards and posters 'are not writing the ...the reason and benefits of circumcision'. A third young woman countered these views, and said that the posters and billboards showed that 'if you want to have sex you must get along as partners both of you'.

One older peri-urban woman from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) liked the billboards because 'some people don't find time to watch television ... so those billboards, at least they work as a reminder'. A second woman in the same group said that 'when you see something on TV and then tomorrow you forget about it ... when you are busy travelling, when you pass the billboards, it kind of remind you'.

One older woman from peri-urban Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) said that the billboards were useful because 'it reaches those who do not have TV or radio – you are able to see and read the messages whilst on the road – everything is clear'. Another woman in the same group said that when people 'see it [the message about circumcision] on posters and billboards they see the importance'.

Participant recommendations regarding the billboards and posters

The most common suggestion from male groups was that the billboards and posters be placed in more places, not just along roads, and not only in a few places. The purpose of this would be to ensure more people see the billboards. There were only two suggestions from women, both of whom suggested the removal of the condom from the poster because it is associated with HIV, and because it might embarrass viewers.

Young urban men provided the majority of the detailed feedback concerning how to improve the posters and billboards. They said the poster/billboard was dull in terms of colour, and suggested that the size and colour of the text be changed. They also said that the term 'get the upgrade that counts' would not make sense to people who had not seen the television advertisement. They suggested that the poster and billboard explicitly state that MMC is free. One suggestion from rural young men was that the poster and billboard be released in various languages, including isiZulu.

Recommendations: Men

Young urban men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) provided several suggestions regarding how to improve the posters and billboards. One man suggested that

billboards and posters are placed in or near taverns, clinics, and schools. Another man said that a billboard should be placed next to schools, with the school's name on it, plus the relevant clinic information and other information. He also said that a campaign should include handing out pamphlets at schools.

A third young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) referred to the *'Flying Fish'* (alcohol brand) poster, and said that the MMC poster *'must be attractive, more colourful, like this one'*. According to a fourth (uncircumcised) man, the "Salon" poster was dull in comparison to the *'Flying Fish'* poster: *'It's dull, that one ... they use white colours'*, referring to the white colour of the *'get the upgrade that counts'* text. According to this uncircumcised man, *'the red colour means a lot'*, referring to the greater visual impact of the *'circumcise and condomise'* text. Another circumcised man agreed with this view, saying that *'it's alive with that red colour'*. Several men discussed how the poster/billboard would be improved if the *'get the upgrade that counts'* text was presented in bright red, and the *'circumcise & condomise'* was in white.

Another young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) suggested that the *'get the upgrade that counts'* text should be removed because, unless someone had seen the television advertisement, they would not know what it meant. He suggested that the only text on the poster/billboard should be the *'circumcise and condomise'* text. Four other men in the group agreed with this recommendation.

M5-MMC: I think that should be the main one because as I said, like, that whole thing about the person who didn't see the ad, let's say for instance, wouldn't know what upgrade is. So if it just said circumcise and condomise it would make sense for that person that doesn't have access to television, they wouldn't know what get the upgrade that counts thing, means. So I think that one should be the bold statement in that whole poster, saying, circumcise and condomise. That's it.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Two young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) said the poster/billboard would be improved by making the font of the clinic locator SMS number larger and bolder, as it is not easy to read, and *'it is dull'*.

M6-MMC: I think also with the, the SMS number or what, the one to get the place, they also should make it a bit bold, a bit bolder because ... after reading circumcise and condomise, I won't even read that, it's dull.

M6-MMC: He also didn't see it ...so also it must be also a bit bigger, also bold.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Three young urban men from Protea North (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) suggested that the poster/billboard should state that the MMC procedure is free, and that using the clinic locator SMS is also free, as costs are a factor when considering whether to use these services. The group agreed that they would use the clinic locator SMS number if they knew it was free.

M7-MMC: *And then they also need to ... add that free circumcision or something, that you don't need [to pay], it's not going to cost you anything because you know people these days like I'm going to use my money, I'm going to neh, it's just free.*

M6-MMC: *Like even with the dial part, *120*, already I'm thinking of my data or airtime.*

M5-MMC: *Or maybe they mention how much it's going to cost, maybe there at the bottom, maybe they say 20 cents.*

Facilitator: *Would you call, will you call a free number, if it's a free number? [Group says yes if it's toll free].*

M6-MMC: *Because like yes, I'm thinking of my data, airtime, jo.*

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

According to the group of young rural men from Betania (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaZulu-Natal), the design of the posters and billboards were *'fine'*. They suggested that the billboards and posters should be *'more accessible'*, referring specifically to the placement of more billboards in places other than Harding, Port Shepstone and Durban because *'everyone must see them wherever they go – they shouldn't be limited [about] getting information about health'*. One man also suggested that the billboards and posters were presented in different languages (including isiZulu) according to the area they are placed, particularly in rural areas.

Older urban men from Umlazi (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) also suggested that more billboards were placed in townships because *'they should be in a place where we can all see it'*. They said that there were only two billboards in Umlazi: One outside Umlazi near Mega City, and another at 'GG' (undefined location).

An older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) proposed that billboards were placed within townships – i.e., not only along roads – *'cos not everyone has a car, not everyone can, even if you are driving you cannot look on the side and check the cell phone numbers'*. He also suggested that posters and billboards should be placed near schools and shops.

A circumcised peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) suggested that the posters and billboards included a younger and older man to *'normalise'* MMC, referring to his suggestion that an effort should be made to address age discrepancies in men going for MMC, *'so that [people] realise that it's normal for young men and older men to be circumcised at the same time, at the same clinic'*. Several men in the group concurred with this suggestion.

Recommendations: Women

In the group of young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga), one woman suggested that the condom be removed from the one version of the poster because *'the younger children... they will try... immediately they find it in the house... they will tell everyone what they've seen in their parents room and parents would be embarrassed'*.

An older woman from Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, Mpumalanga) said that the condom should be removed from the poster and billboard because *'someone may think it is*

about HIV awareness or awareness about protection and won't think it is circumcision'. She added that people are used to seeing condoms in HIV advertisements, so 'they must think of something that will attract people to the awareness [of circumcision].

Way forward

This section presents the results of discussions with participants concerning future MMC campaigns, including what participants said would work for such campaigns and how they would present such a new campaign. Participants proposed general approaches as well as specific elements (characters, settings, messages, and information) they felt would work to promote MMC.

Proposed general approach for a new MMC campaign

Participants provided several suggestions regarding the overall approach of a new MMC campaign, sometimes referring to the approach of the “Salon” advertisement.

Overall, younger men placed a great deal of attention upon a new campaign representing a wide range of languages, cultures, and including explicit messaging about MMC being free, and that government clinics providing MMC services that were as good as private service providers. They also focused on the distribution of messages through various mediums. Only the rural young men mentioned community activities to promote MMC. Young urban women did not propose many new ideas for a new MMC campaign, apart from the current messages of promoting circumcision, using a condom, and using a condom after circumcision. The only new messages mentioned included preventing unwanted pregnancy, and being faithful to your partner.

Overall, older men and women placed great emphasis upon direct community campaigning, with less focus upon television and other media. These older groups of men and women also emphasised messaging that reached people who were more traditional in their beliefs regarding circumcision, and also reaching vulnerable groups such as sexually active school-going youth, and those who use alcohol.

It was also notable that, for older participants, several men believed that the emphasis of messaging to men about getting circumcised should be on manhood, while for several older women, the emphasis should be on circumcision as a health issue, not manhood.

In several groups – particularly younger and older men – there was concern that rural people would be omitted from the campaign due to the language used in the MMC media advertisements.

Proposed general approach: Men 18-24y

The group of young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) made several suggestions regarding how a new MMC campaign should approach the target population. These suggestions were:

- Use a multi-cultural approach
- Use different characters and different advertisement than the “Salon” advertisement

- Use the same messages as the “Salon” advertisement
- The campaign needs to be multilingual (including sign language)
- Explicitly state that MMC is free
- Show that public health service MMC is as good as private health service MMC
- Continue to use women to talk about MMC

M6-MMC: ... Include each and every culture and different races in that campaign ...

M2-UC: By not using the same ... advert ... using different characters, but giving the same... [messages] ... [and] different languages and different cultures ...and mix cultures.

M5-MMC: ... Different languages ... that would show that there's unity amongst us men ...

M2-UC: Yes, some people don't understand English ... [and] some people don't understand English, they didn't go to school.

M6-MMC: ... There's no sign language ...

M5-MMC: With the blind I think radio is doing its job.

M7-MMC: ... Show the people that it's free and ...there mustn't be a difference between the public and the private [health service for MMC].

Facilitator: Would you still use women to talk about circumcision? [Group agrees].

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

One young peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga) suggested that the advertisement be shown during soap operas, such as *Generations the Legacy* and *Sewende Laan*, because then ‘*half of South Africa will see it*’. Another man from the same group suggested that the advertisement is located in a church because ‘*church is where a lot of people go*’, and people listen to pastors.

Young rural men (Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) proposed the following elements of a future MMC campaign:

- More billboards and posters, including in local newspapers;
- Hand out pamphlets at shopping centres;
- The circumcision message must be there;
- Emphasise health benefits and disease prevention;
- Community meetings and gatherings to discuss MMC and to accustom people to the idea of MMC.
- At community meetings, tell people it is about HIV, then introduce MMC when they arrive;
- Include police, teachers, health professionals, with B4L.

M1 [UC]: I think they should just have more billboards and posters everywhere so people can get used to the idea, not something big it can be smaller but this message of circumcision message must be there. It doesn't have to be big, it can be small and just write the message to get circumcised.

M6-MMC: Maybe they should have meetings or gatherings in a community hall where people can talk about this topic all together as a community.

M3-DNA: The more they advertise this campaign the more people will get used to it and comfortable with the idea because it is good for you especially when it comes to preventing diseases. If they see that Brothers for Life, teachers, police and Department of health and the police are involved they will come so schools and the community will be there as well ... You don't tell them but when they arrive there you ask them what do they know and understand about HIV then he will tell you then you introduce the topic.

M8 [MMC]: Maybe they could add posters in the local newspapers which are free in the community so they can put this information there and have flyers as well hand it to people at the shopping centre maybe.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Proposed general approach: Men 24-35y

Older urban men (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) did not focus on advertisements, and instead discussed other means of ensuring that messages concerning circumcision reached their community: *'I think it can be done differently to be more realistic to convince people ... because most people are traditional'*. They made the following suggestions regarding community outreach:

- Do live advertising:
 - Bring celebrities to the area – but not the 'Zing' male character.
 - Use well-known music artists (e.g., Mtee and Hlengiwe Mhlaba) who would attract people.
 - Have dance competitions.
 - Do these events on weekends, not Fridays.
 - Don't do these events at month-end because people are drunk, and women are collecting child-care grants.
- Focus on information about circumcision – what can we do?
- Target places such as schools, taverns, and hostels, where men and women meet or live together.
- Enrol traditional leaders.
- Address traditional beliefs regarding circumcision in a way that traditional beliefs are not made wrong.
- Recognise that many people do not have a background in biology, and explain circumcision and the benefits of circumcision in a way that people can understand.

M3 UC: You can do a promotion at the taverns bring celebrities and forget about Zing because we saw that on TV we need something live.

M7 MMC: If I come here to the location I will leave Zing on the side even if you can come with that Zing guy we don't care about him. What we want to see or hear is what we can do? We need more information about circumcision I think there are ways you can attract people like what my brother said if you could bring celebrities. In the location we are more about fun not something big but something small to attract people to come, because the aim would be attracting people to come and hear

about circumcision. When they hear that Mtee is coming they will also come, after he performed then you talk to people about the campaign.

M7 UC: People like music in locations they will come in numbers.

M5 UC: Not only celebrities maybe a competition here in Umlazi you can collect dance groups because we have a lot of those. When we arrive there Brothers for Life is also there to teach us then the competition continues and maybe you bring some small prizes to makes people interested.

Facilitator: Last question I promise, if people are called to say come we are going to teach you about medical male circumcision without celebrities would that work in this community?

No ways. [Group response]

M7 MMC: If a pastor is placing a tent he is going to say I am bringing Hlengiwe Mhlaba then people will come in numbers. Then Hlengiwe come, sing and leave then the pastor starts preaching his gospel because his aim is to draw people so you can do the same.

M3 UC: We need entertainment to be there not just Brothers for Life. [Laughter]

M1 MMC: I don't mean to interrupt but I think the right time would be month end or weekend people are drunk it would be better if you can come on Sunday maybe where everybody is there. Maybe a Saturday because Friday people are at work but there are a lot of unemployed people as well because month end women are getting [iqolo] child support grant.

M5 UC: I think bringing the information about benefits explaining the importance of circumcision because we are not the same in accepting things, we need a lot of information to understand so if you can explain more that can help.

M3 UC: And also if you are going to do that campaign you need to target places like Seventeen hostel for instance, you tell them that it protects your partner from getting cervical cancer; they won't take that serious. So before coming to them you need to plan and find out what they like, if they like Maskandi music you bring Ndlamanzi to perform then you give them the message that could really work.

M5 UC: As M3 is talking about target you need to go to places where women and guys stays tell them about circumcision that is just a good idea.

M5 UC: Schools as well.

M3 UC: Taverns.

M7 UC: In the location we have a lot of taverns around.

Facilitator: Okay earlier on you mentioned culture and belief as thing that are standing on the way of people getting circumcised, how would we address that?

M7 MMC: I think with this thing of beliefs needs some real work you need to be more convincing when you come to that person. When you answer him it must be in a way that makes him see that his belief is not wrong but he needs to do things in a certain way.

M5 UC: I think they lack information what I can say Jesus Christ was circumcised it doesn't mean it is illegal and most people did. So Christians can get information that Jesus also did it which means it is not wrong because in the end there is a belief one Man upstairs is there; ancestors are there through God. If He wasn't there we wouldn't have ancestors.

M7 MMC: I think what confuses us you come and talk about more biological things which educated people understand. So if you can be more realistic, talk about something that everyone can understand

explain why we cut off the foreskin, that you do that so that diseases can't be stored in it and make you sick. It is hard to take the belief out of a person but if you give him facts, the disadvantage of his beliefs and advantages that you come with I think that can work.

M3 UC: Can I add on what my brother is saying that you need to talk to their cultural leaders first because that will make it easier to talk to the community.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that a new campaign should address the following issues:

- Emphasise 'manhood' as the primary reason for men to get circumcised, including teaching young men values;
- Emphasise the individual's choice to get either medically or traditionally circumcised, referring to conflict between those who promote traditional and medical circumcision, and the 'gangsterism' of proponents of traditional circumcision forcing young men to get traditionally circumcised against their will.

M4-UC: No, to encourage people [proponents of traditional circumcision] not to fight against the one who come from the medical circumcision and the one who comes from initiation school. Maybe advertisement like that.

M6-MMC: Because you can also be a gangster even if you come from MMC, you can also be a gangster, you see. It's your choice actually.

M4-UC: Is come from the choice.

M4-UC: .. About the advert. The advert is advertising there, is showing the manhood, the advert, you don't advertise the circumcision ... the circumcision is the manhood ... It's not about the procedure, it's about the manhood ... There is no difference there because we're going to take one thing, a manhood.

M3 [MMC]: Medical circumcision and traditional circumcision, I think there is a difference ... medically they just do those things and they leave you there. Traditionally, they do those things and then they teach you the values of manhood ... If we start teach the young kids, if you go to the clinically one then after that you can go to the mountain ... Then there they teach you the values for manhood. I think that will be much better.

M4-UC: It's an individual choice.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Older rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) said that alcohol was a major problem in their area, as well as conflicts between people with traditional and non-traditional views of circumcision. As a result, several of their recommendations regarding a new MMC campaign focused on these topics:

- Locate the advertisement in a tavern;
- Use dance and music to target people who drink;
- Dialogue between traditional and non-traditional men about circumcision;
- Accommodate diversity in the campaign, in terms of people from different provinces and ethnic groups, to avoid the impression that MMC is only for some groups.

M4 MMC: ... Witbank is mostly influenced by alcohol. So my story will, like my story will be with people who drinks ...

M6 UC: I would use a dance that has music, something like the production. I mean, okay, in this area it is likely that most people like to jive and drink so I would use that as my advantage. So I will use music and dance to teach these people.

M4 MMC: Older men who is traditional and older men who is, who's not traditional and maybe two younger boys. Like, the boy maybe he's not circumcised but he will hear both suggestion from... And then he will see, he will see the difference, if there's any.

M3 MMC: ... They should restructure it and since it's a national television so it should be one advert that will accommodate the rest of South Africa ... because if we check we have 9 provinces if I'm not mistaken and on those provinces we have, like what can I say, this thing of circumcision is all over. We need to do it like, it's not about Mpumalanga or about Gauteng or something. It's about the rest of us here in South Africa to, because we need to fight this thing together. ... So if we accommodate the rest of South Africa we will avoid those things of saying if you are from Free State you're not allowed in Mpumalanga. So we must avoid those things, so we must accommodate everyone, rural and urban.

M4 MMC: I think they should add maybe races, other races. Like maybe, eish, you know as black we have these beliefs, if you are doing something and you use blacks... like we think, we have many cultures, neh, as blacks, so this advert it does not specify if those people there are Zulus or what, what. (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Proposed general approach: Women 18-24y

One young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) said that she would include information or conversation directed at men that *'they'll easily get infected if they are not circumcised and they'll have unplanned pregnancies'*. Another woman in the same group said she would have a story to tell men that they *'must get circumcised so that they can decrease the chances of diseases'*. A third woman said that the messages in the new advertisement should include *'everyone who is sexually active must use a condom all the time and be faithful to his or her partner'*.

Proposed general approach: Women 24-35y

Older peri-urban women from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) made several suggestions regarding the overall approach of a new MMC campaign, particularly concerning addressing sexually active school children and youth, and dealing with illegal traditional circumcision in their area, where young boys are kidnapped for traditional circumcision. The following suggestions were presented to deal with these – and other – circumcision-related issues:

- Focus on sexually active school children, especially young girls using contraceptives who believe contraceptive adequately protect them. Promote condom use and circumcision in this group.
- Tell young men to circumcise and use condoms, even after circumcision.
- Highlight the dangers of 'fake' (illegal) traditional circumcision, and also the legal right to do (or not do) circumcision.

F1: My campaign will involve like the youth ... between 14 to 23, because those are the ones who are very sexually active, and are still in school, they are still immature, some of them are still immature. I would focus more on them, because they prevent birth - contraception, they take contraceptives - the girls. I'm focusing on the girls, so I would tell them the importance of using condoms, because I think they avoid the fact that they should be condomising because they think they are on birth control so they can do whatever they want. So I will focus more on them, and also discuss the circumcision part. So it will be schoolkids, I will be like literally talking to the kids. ... To the boys. I would be telling them that even though they are circumcised and stuff, they should protect themselves by using condoms and stuff.

F7: I am concerned ... [Here] in Orange Farm, we have a problem of illegal initiation schools, so how about in that advert, as you were talking about that Heineken and the original, like if you make it like there is original, there is fake, you understand? Many people in these illegal initiation schools, some boys went there and they don't come back. They will come, the leaders, and just throw a blanket on your gate that shows that your son is dead. So if maybe through those adverts there will be something showing about illegal initiation schools. ... Traditional, there are those ones that are recommended. If my son wants to go to the mountain ones, I will go to the police station and fill in a consent form, and then go to that man who is going to be leading the initiation. That one is legal. But if they will abduct my son without my consent, that is illegal ... that's kidnapping. That's what I'm talking about.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

The peri-urban women from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) also highlighted community and male-only interventions to address barriers to MMC, such as men's fears of the pain of the MMC procedure and the healing period. They also noted that although the "Salon" campaign had made it easier to talk about circumcision one-on-one with men, it was still difficult to talk to men as a group, hence the suggestion for male-only forums.

Facilitator: So, what's the best way of dealing with those [barriers to MMC in men]?

F5: Advising them.

F4: Educational [community] talks.

F7: I think that's where Brothers for Life should come in ... because as a woman like me, if I come to men, it's a group of men, 10 of them, and I come and talk about circumcision, they will tell me, what do you know about circumcision, you are a woman. So, if Brothers for Life come and address them like in our community, each and every community and go there and talk, have talks with them, I think it would sink in to them.

F7: It is easier to talk like with one person, but with many men, it's not easy. They come with that mentality that it's a man's thing, and you can't tell us, you know nothing about circumcision, more especially those who went to the mountains, the traditional ones. They will tell you it's a man's field, what do you know about initiation. So that's where I'm saying Brothers for Life then should go to the communities ... If we could have forums like those in each and every community, we know that there is a men's forum. Maybe every Tuesday they meet at the local community centre, they talk about these things and go maybe door to door campaigns, do the talking.

Facilitator: Is it okay for women to talk to maybe their partner?

F5: Yes, it is.

Facilitator: Whereas before it wasn't?

F6: Yes, before it was very hard, because sometimes if you talk to him, and then he will be ignorant, you know.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

The group of older peri-urban woman from Gamalakhe (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal) focused upon how the new campaign could engage the community directly, as well as shifting beliefs that circumcision is a cultural practice towards it being a health issues. The following are the proposed aspects of the new campaign, as suggested by these women:

- The campaign should the entire community, from youth to older people.
- The campaign must be exciting for the youth to be engaged, so that they can discuss it with their parents.
- Use celebrities that are well known, such as musicians and actors.
- Use the actors from the “Salon” advertisement as ambassadors to address the community directly, such as in a large stadium.
- Promote the message that being circumcised does not eliminate the chances of getting HIV or other illnesses, and that circumcised men should continue to use condoms.
- Promote the message that circumcision (esp. traditional) is not about being a boy or man, but is rather a health issue.
- Emphasise that circumcision is for your personal benefit, and that a man should not wait for approval from his friends before he does it.

F6: My suggestion is that let's involve the community at large, the campaign should be big and in public for everyone to see. And I'd emphasise that it must be exciting and attract youth because we are very opinionated, we are able to sit down and talk to our parents. They must attract us and we'll get there and even if my mother was unable to make it I can go back and say mom you see that campaign at that place maybe at the stadium, they were talking about this and this ... She will get information through me as much as I may be young ...

F1: I think they should bring people who are well known ...musicians or actors ...

F4: ... Maybe meeting in a stadium they should bring Thandi and crew ... we'll say we want to hear them properly saying their Zing ...

Facilitator: Use the characters in the advert as ambassadors?

F4: Yes.

Facilitator: And what messages will they need to share with the community?

F3: ... Emphasise that even though he's circumcised he must continue to use protection; circumcision doesn't protect you from HIV.

F4: ... [Some people – like Xhosas] have that idea that you have to go to the mountain there's no need to go to the clinic, if you go to the clinic they will still call you inkwenkwe [uncircumcised boy] ... [they must] lose this idea, [and realize] that this thing has nothing to do with being a boy or a man but it is for protecting their lives from certain things.

F6: They must also emphasise that guys must do away with fear, stop this thing of saying I must first wait for someone, if that someone is not doing it then I won't either. They must do it for themselves

because at the end of the day it is not about your friend it's about you, so I think they should see it is about you.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

Proposed design of a campaign to promote MMC

Participants were asked what they would include in a new advertisement campaign to promote MMC, both locally and nationally. In some groups, specific scenarios, characters and dialogue were presented by participants. In other groups, general suggestions – without specific scenarios – were suggested. The latter are presented in the previous section, while specific scenarios as presented in this section.

Overall, most groups agreed that a new campaign should be national, not regional or local. However, when asked to identify characters and describe scenarios for such a national campaign, there were clear indications that such characters and scenarios were targeting specific groups (e.g., rural people, older people, specific ethnic groups), and that there was concern that these groups would be addressed in a new campaign. For example, although many participants suggested national celebrities (mostly actors and singers, and some soccer players), some suggested local celebrities (e.g., DJs, singers) and politicians or leaders who would appeal to specific groups (especially rural groups). Only older women appeared to prefer ‘ordinary’ (not famous) actors for the new campaign, largely because they felt they could relate more easily to such actors.

It was also notable that both younger and older men proposed scenarios involving older and younger male characters conversing about circumcision.

A wide range of settings and scenarios were proposed. These included scenarios set in townships, at a party, a barbeque, in a church, standing in an MMC queue, returning from a clinic, and in a tavern. The two most frequently described scenarios presented by men involved an older man advising a younger man about MMC, and scenarios of a man being rejected by a woman because he was not circumcised. A similar scenario of a man being rejected because he was not circumcised was suggested by one woman. Another woman proposed a scenario of school-children discussing MMC.

The most commonly suggested dialogue proposed by men involved an older man (or men) advising a younger man (or men) about the importance of MMC, why the young man did not need fear MMC, and also providing information about the MMC procedure itself. Other dialogues suggested by men involved a family discussion (a husband and wife disagreeing about whether the son should be medically circumcised), a pastor speaking about MMC, and a young rural man saying he had been to the clinic and relating what he learned about MMC. A notable characteristic of most of the dialogues proposed by men was the absence of women in the dialogue, and that MMC was for both older and younger men.

National or local campaign

When asked whether a future MMC campaign should be national or localised, young men (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng; Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga; Rural males 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) stated that they would suggest an advertisement campaign that was appropriate for all South Africans, versus a localised approach.

Older urban males (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) focused upon local 'live' campaigns. Peri-urban older males (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that the campaign should be '*not [only] for the whole of South Africa, for the whole of the world*', while older rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) said that the new campaign should be national, but that it should incorporate differences between different groups regarding circumcision traditions: '*So if we accommodate the rest of South Africa we will avoid those things of saying if you are from Free State you're not allowed in Mpumalanga*'.

Actors / Presenters

Young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) made several suggestions regarding the characters for a new MMC campaign. These included:

- Use region-specific characters, such as both Zulu and Indian characters for KwaZulu-Natal:

M6-MMC: The one for KZN I would mix it with Indians also, [and] Zulus ... because in KZN they are most who stay that side.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

- Accommodate rural people by recognising that they would probably not know hip-hop stars, but they would recognise respected politicians, traditional leaders, and soap opera actors:

M1-MMC: People from the rural areas won't know about [hip hop stars].

M6-MMC: Ja, for the people in the rural areas I think if we put our president for the advertise the whole KZN, they will go for the medical circumcision ... If we put Zuma.

M2-UM: Someone who's respected, someone who have power ... the president, obviously.

M1 [MMC]: Not the president, Gatsha Buthelezi ...

M5 [MMC]: According to me we'll put the chief of that area because they know him, they respect him.

M3 [MMC]: For nationwide I think we can select some of the CONTRALESA leaders, those who, traditional ones from, you know, all of them.

M5 [MMC] Let's say maybe take the chief, the chief, if the chief talks, they'll listen, you see. And they'll have to follow up what the chief said.

M4-UC: They will listen to [King Goodwill Zwelethini] more than Zuma.

M2 [UC]: Or a guy like Cosmo ...

M4-UC: Cosmo is the guy that act in Generations. To make advertisement to me you're gonna put famous people, obviously.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

- Use a famous person – such as a soccer player, musician or actor – to give a personal testimonial regarding having been circumcised:

M6-MMC: In most cases people listen to famous people ...

M3-MMC: You must use a famous person ... and tell [them], you go act there and tell the people they must go [get circumcised].

M3-MMC: Ja, like a actor or a musician or a soccer player, something like that.

M6-MMC: Or a person who's like, most, in most cases, [unclear] maybe he's in a show on TV like on Generations, the people who are mostly seen on TV ...

M6-MMC: You must take someone from Sibaya [television show].

M7-MMC: ... [For example,] I'm a famous soccer player and then I'd just be like, ah, I'll play better when I'm circumcised or something. And then ja, the kids who're playing soccer will see that, okay, and you also need to, if I'm not circumcised I also need to circumcise for me to be in that way.

M6-MMC: Different actors, there are a lot, even DJs, like Black Coffee or Gadaffi ... from Generations.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

M5 UC: Firstly I'd want to use people who are celebrities ... Yes, maybe DJs and soccer players that are males.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzisoni, Mpumalanga)

- Address the needs of those who are traditionally circumcised in rural areas:

M7 MMC: Then from the rural part you use the people ...[such as] the Eastern Cape we ...could also bring in some of the ... traditional part, someone from the Eastern Cape where they ... don't do it medically, [but do circumcision] in the mountains ...Also ... help the people in the traditional part.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

- Use English in urban areas such as Soweto:

M2-UC: You're going to use English, obviously, English. Most of the people here are educated, here in Soweto. You can talk English.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

- Mix racial and ethnic characters and clothing, such as a white person wearing Zulu clothing (with reference to the Assupol advertisements):

M6-MMC: You can put a white person wearing a Zulu traditional clothing to ... make mixed cultures with different people, different people in the advert, maybe 3 different adverts with 3 dividing those cultures ... The Assupol [advertisements] they mix, it's interesting.

Facilitator: So you're saying they got white people, black people talking about [circumcision]?

M5-MMC: Different actors. And it's always appealing ...

Older peri-urban females (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) suggested using ordinary local people in the advertisement. Another woman added that the female character in the “Salon”

advertisement was known to act in various shows (Generations, Scandal), and 'so it becomes boring because it seems like this person is paid to pass the message', and hence she would also prefer an ordinary (unknown) person in the new advertisement.

F6: For the next campaign, maybe if you can, as you are here at Drieziek, maybe you can take one of us and then the other, you know, like as you rotate, maybe you take one person, one person, like it will be more exciting if people from Orange Farm, they will see [me] on TV.

Facilitator: Is that a general feeling? [General agreement - yes]

F5: I think again what we can change about this ad, like sometimes for us, I don't know whether it's me or what, but if we still, maybe like they used this girl Thandi, we know Thandi from Generations, Scandal and whatsoever, so it becomes boring, because to us it seems like this person is paid to pass the message.

Facilitator: Okay, so you want someone...?

F5: Ordinary, an ordinary person.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Scenarios, specific characters, and settings

Young men aged 18-24 years suggested several scenarios for a future MMC television campaign:

- Create an advert that appeals to older men, with statements such as 'it's never too late to upgrade', that contains humour. The proposed advert would include conversations about how an older man could not talk to his wife about MMC, or that he wanted something to change in their sex life.

M9-MMC: Get an old man and do like, 'it's never too late to upgrade'.

M5-MMC: The funnier the better.

M7-MMC: And also the caption would be like 'whoever, those whoever, however or what age you are', or anything. And we would bring also in that ... maybe we wouldn't talk about [MMC with] my wife or we want something better in bed ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

- Create an advertisement depicting an older man advising a younger man to 'man up' and get circumcised:

M7-MMC: [It] could be a story like, 'let's man up', even [the older man] encouraging the younger ones to 'man up' ... because younger ones would want to be like the adults and will be like man up and all that.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

- Create an advertisement located at a party, where a woman convinces a man to use a condom:

M5 UC: For the DJs they will play a part that maybe after a party, let's say there must be also one lady because you know after a party people are drunk and they are not thinking straight and don't want to use condoms, condoms will also be there ... The man would want to have sex without a condom, then

the lady would want the man to use a condom ... The man will say he is not feeling good to use a condom; the lady still must fight for the guy to use a condom.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga)

- Create an advertisement located in a township, in a bedroom where sex occurs, and where the female character is angry because she did not enjoy the sex with the uncircumcised man. The man subsequently speaks to his friends, and gets circumcised:

M4 MMC: I'll make a scenario in a room where there's a male and a female [21 to 24 years of age] ... Yes, in a bedroom having intercourse. After intercourse the female is angry that she didn't get that satisfaction, the following day ... the male notice that the female is angry. Then the following day the male goes and talks to his friends and say "guys eish my woman was angry after intercourse I don't know what's the problem". Or talking to a doctor, I don't know what's the problem and the doctor tells the man that he needs to upgrade, to be circumcised maybe she will enjoy much more. Then he goes to circumcise and after 6 weeks he goes back have sex and all smiles to the woman.

M4 MMC: It would be in a township because obviously we are sending a message to the township people so the scenario being in the township will be more understandable.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga)

- Locate the advertisement in a church, with a pastor preaching about circumcision:

M2 UC: I think it must be at church, and the pastor is preaching about circumcision, and let the sermon be a revival ... People from young ones from age of 18 to 30/70.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga)

- Locate the advertisement in a rural setting, with a man discussing going to the clinic where he obtained information about MMC:

M6-MMC: ...I would like to see another setting maybe in rural areas...away from the town, because other people might think it's people who lives in urban areas if it can be in a rural area. Maybe they say I was at the clinic with my grandmother then I saw Brothers for Life message that made me decide to get circumcised, like if it can be more appealing to most people.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

The group of older urban men (Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal) did not propose any television advertisement scenarios, and focused on community events instead.

The older men from peri-urban and rural groups (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng; Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) proposed the following advertisement scenarios:

- An older and younger male standing in a queue for MMC, with the older man telling the younger man about the importance and benefits of MMC, and that MMC is for both young and older men:

M3[MMC]: ... [An] older man and young boy talking to each other ... The older guy is talking to the young guy about how important it is to do it and it's not only for him, he is on the queue to do it ... The young one can ask the older man about what is happening in there [circumcision room], and the older

man will explain to him that circumcision is for both young and older men. It does not have any age restrictions ... [and that the older man explains that] on that side they are doing circumcision and this is only, is not only for older people, you can do it 'cos it's going to save you from other diseases and help you. When you grow up, let's say for your girlfriend not to get [cervical] cancer.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

- An advertisement located in a tavern:

M4 MMC: ... Witbank is mostly influenced by alcohol. So my story will, like my story will be with people who drinks ...

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

An older peri-urban woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) said she would locate the future MMC advertisement in a township street, with 'normal school kids talking about circumcision and safe sex'.

Another woman from the same group (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) said her advertisement would be about a well-known womaniser and different women, located in a club. She felt that alcohol was a big problem in South Africa, and that is why she chose the club setting. The male character starts to get rejected by the women because he is not circumcised. When he realizes this, he decides to get circumcised.

F5: I think mine will be about a guy and different ladies. I think the setting will be set in the club. This guy is well-known as a womaniser ... and then he changes women, and then it happens to a point where he knows himself as a player, and then silently, because maybe he has been with two or three women, and then these women, they are spreading the word to other women, and then he starts to feel rejected when he goes to approach a woman, and then they all say ah, like buzz off. Like they are ignoring him, and then he starts to ask himself what is wrong about me, and then he goes and approaches this woman, he is new in the club. The ones that have been with this guy, they go and tell this woman, and then this woman, she had the courage to tell this guy.

F5: She says you need to stop behaving as if you know everything. You need to start doing self-inspection and look at what is wrong with you, and I will tell you exactly what that is - go and get circumcised, and be a man [laughter]... I think after that, he will go back to his room and think and think and think, and then when the advert comes, 'You need to get circumcised', and then he takes the numbers and calls them.

F5: ... Nowadays alcohol is a problem to the whole South Africa, and then people, that's where they get vulnerable, when they drink alcohol, they do things, in the morning they regret. So that's whereby the message will be passed, because nowadays you can get a person who is 15 years old in a shebeen, a person who is 60 years in a club. So, I think for my setting, it will be the right place to pass the message, because especially on weekends, or even not only on weekends.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Dialogue

Several young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) discussed a possible future MMC advertisement. They suggested that the content would concern two men, with opening

statements such as *'life is not happy'* and *'my woman needs me to upgrade'*. When asked why they would use the term 'upgrade' (when they had previously stated they would prefer a different term), they said that *'we're going to use some of that because that just appeals to people'*, and they therefore proposed that a new campaign was created *'around that upgrade – let it be the focus ... and the main reason why guys [need to be circumcised]'*.

M5-MMC: No, obviously the conversation is going to start somewhere, it will start somewhere ... Maybe there'll be that one that says, hey...

M2-UC: Hey, but life is not happy whatsoever, you understand.

M5-MMC: Okay, like M2-UC said, it would be one of those things where probably the conversation will start with him saying, eish, my woman needs me to upgrade, you know, because...

Facilitator: So are we still saying we're going to use some...?

M5-MMC: We're going to use some of that [Salon terminology] because that just appeals to people. That's what people have found to be relevant because it's been hash tagged even, you know, hash tag upgrade, so it will just be a language on its own. Create a campaign around that upgrade, like, let it be the focus, the main reason why guys...

M2-UC: Social networks.

M5-MMC: ...Why guys circumcise, upgrade.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Two young urban males (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) also described a suggested advertisement centred around a conversation between an older and younger man, with the younger man saying he was afraid of MMC, and the older man saying that he had gone for MMC and it wasn't painful.

M7-MMC: [It] could be a story like, 'let's man up', even [the older man] encouraging the younger ones to 'man up' ... because younger ones would want to be like the adults and will be like man up and all that.

M5-MMC: He [a young man] comes up [to an older man, and says] ... 'I'm scared of going to go circumcise' and [the older man says] ... 'My young man, you don't have to be scared, you know, A, B and C'. And probably the middle aged one ... will [say] 'I went, it wasn't painful, it was, it's the right thing to do' or something like that.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

An older peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) also proposed an advertisement where an older man advises a younger man - who are both standing in a queue for MMC - to get circumcised *'because it is important'*. The older man would also explain what happens during circumcision, that MMC is not just for older men – it is also for younger men – and the benefits of MMC.

M3[MMC]: I think what we can put in the advert, I think an older man and young boy talking to each other ... The older guy is talking to the young guy about how important it is to do it and it's not only for him, he is on the queue to do it ... The young one can ask the older man about what is happening in there [circumcision room], and the older man will explain to him that circumcision is for both young

and older men. It does not have any age restrictions ... [and that the older man explains that] on that side they are doing circumcision and this is only, is not only for older people, you can do it 'cos it's going to save you from other diseases and help you. When you grow up, let's say for your girlfriend not to get [cervical] cancer.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

When asked whether they would include a woman – such as a girlfriend – in a proposed advertisement promoting MMC, one older circumcised peri-urban man from Evaton (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that he would not have a woman talking in his proposed advert, but that a female character could be present ‘*as support*’. Another uncircumcised man in the same group reiterated that ‘*she can be there, but not talk ... just keep quiet*’.

One older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) proposed a discussion between two older men and two younger men who are listening, concerning the difference between traditional circumcision and MMC:

M4 MMC: Older men who is traditional and older men who is, who's not traditional and maybe two younger boys. Like, the boy maybe he's not circumcised but he will hear both suggestion from... And then he will see, he will see the difference, if there's any.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Another older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) suggested a discussion within a family, where they discuss differences in culture regarding circumcision, and both parents are trying to convince the child regarding whether he should do MMC or not :

M3 MMC: Myself I would use a woman and a man like a family, a couple and a child. But that woman comes from a culture whereby they practice this traditional circumcision. And that man, the husband, comes from a culture whereby they don't practice medical, er, cultural. So they have two ideas which are not the same so now they have to convince that child to get circumcised, so the production would be based on that. So who is right, who is wrong or if they are both right so the child must take that thing with them.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

A third older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) said that, in the new advertisement, the male character should discuss the details of the MMC procedure.

Facilitator: What do you want him to tell you?

M5 UC: To tell me, the procedures, everything that it's happening when you going to circumcision.

Facilitator: So the actual procedure?

M4 MMC: Yes.

(Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga).

Build on the “Salon” advertisement

Participants were asked whether they would retain the “Salon” campaign, and what they would change about it.

Overall, the majority view was that the “Salon” advert was a good campaign because it was educational, was humorous, and it allowed viewers to have a conversation about MMC. There were relatively few participants who did not like the “Salon” advertisement, overall.

However, there were a few participants who believed that certain changes to the “Salon” advertisement would have made it better, such as being more specific in its messages regarding the reduction of risk for HIV and STIs, and using a less-known actor to portray the main female character.

Young urban men in particular felt that a new MMC campaign could be a continuation of the “Salon” advertisement, such as advertisements where the main male “Salon” character had conversations with a friend about MMC at a cash wash, or at a barbeque. Other suggestions includes the “Salon” couple encouraging their son to get circumcised, and a client in the hair salon – who had overheard the original conversation – reporting that he had been circumcised as a result.

Men

According to young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng), the new campaign could build on the “Salon” advertisement, with the humour retained. Scenarios included:

- The man discussing that his partner came back from the hair salon with more than a new hairstyle, with additional languages, and a humorous style.
- The couple had children, and they encouraged their sons to get circumcised.
- A client who had overheard the original discussion reported that they had done MMC as a result.
- The male character discussing MMC with a friend at a car wash.
- A discussion around a braai [barbeque].

Facilitator: Can we build on [the Salon advertisement]?

M5-MMC: Yes. From that salon that lady goes home, like that guy, exactly what he said, my woman came back from the saloon with more than a hairstyle. So it will be a continuation from that and then there'll be maybe another language that's added a bit there just to make us laugh because everybody is now laughing at that whole upgrade, you know. It was a whole, it was a big thing around that so maybe there could be something else that's added there.

Facilitator: Okay, who would agree that we build on upgrade? [Group agrees].

M4-MMC: I think how about from now they have kids, after having kids they maybe circumcise their kids. So the message now when they have kids is to encourage parents to circumcise their kids whilst they are still young ... Then ... let the kids continue with the whole advert ...

Facilitator: Okay, so there's a one option.

M7-MMC: Ja, they can also be like, maybe the next day they come back to the saloon and then there was someone who was listening and he's like, jo, I also heard this and I also want to try this. And then maybe they came after 2 weeks or something and they're like, I heard you talking about this and then I also tried it and it actually worked, it's now better and all that. Bring in someone different, maybe it was a priest who was just sitting there.

M5-MMC: Yeah, you keep the humour ...

M5-MMC: ... Like that whole transaction will be, that guy, him and his buddy at a car wash, let's say for instance, just a continuation of the ad. But now there'll be probably maybe that one girl that's [unclear] and passing and [unclear], upgrade baba, you know, something like that.

M5-MMC: There will probably be a braai stand there under a thatched, a thatched enclosure ... Ja, like, sitting like this, exactly how we are all sitting.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Other young men (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzini, Mpumalanga; Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal) felt that the “Salon” advertisement should be continued unchanged.

M2 UC: I think they are supposed to use it [the Salon advertisement] a little bit longer.

M1 UC: I support him.

M6 MMC: They should use it.

M5 UC: Use it.

(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzini, Mpumalanga).

M2 [UC]: I won't be against the salon setting because that is where ladies get the chance to talk about many things. That's where girls talk a lot so I see it appropriate.

(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

Some older rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, KwaGuqa Ext 2, Mpumalanga) felt that the “Salon” advertisement should continue, while others disagreed. One of the men who believed it should continue said that *‘I think it should continue because it's funny at the same time it's educational’*. Another man said it should not continue unless it was restructured so that it *‘communicates the message to both the urban and rural areas’*.

Women

Two young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) also disagreed regarding whether the “Salon” advertisement should continue or not. One of these women said that the advertisement should continue because *‘it educates ... [and] most people are used to it – it is easy that they can talk about it and communicate about it’*. The other young woman disagreed, and said that *‘they need to change it because this Zing is so confusing ... [parents] don't understand and I have to explain [and this is embarrassing]’*.

Another young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga) said she would not change the “Salon” advertisement too much, but she would change one thing, namely adding specific information regarding MMC not being 100% effective in preventing HIV, and that it only lowers the risk of HIV and STIs.

F8: If I had done my own advert I think it wouldn't be much different. But I would actually specify certain things like you know about the fact that it reduces the chance of males not getting HIV, STIs getting all those sexual diseases. I'd actually specify and tell them that it's not actually a hundred percent but it just lowers the risk, not hundred percent. I would just do that ... Yeah that's the only thing.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

Most of the participants in the group of older peri-urban women from Drieziek (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng) agreed that they would not change anything about the “Salon” advertisement. However, one woman said she would prefer that an unknown (‘ordinary’) actor was used to portray the main female character because the female character in the “Salon” advertisement was known to act in various shows (Generations, Scandal), and ‘*so it becomes boring because it seems like this person is paid to pass the message*’.

F5: I think again what we can change about this ad, like sometimes for us, I don't know whether it's me or what, but if we still, maybe like they used this girl Thandi, we know Thandi from Generations, Scandal and whatsoever, so it becomes boring, because to us it seems like this person is paid to pass the message.

Facilitator: Okay, so you want someone...?

F5: Ordinary, an ordinary person.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Drieziek, Gauteng).

Develop a new slogan

Some young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng) did not like the ‘Zing’ catchphrase, and suggested that the new campaign should develop a catchphrase and slogan specifically for men, such as ‘*man up*’ or ‘*slice*’ or ‘*cut*’ that men could hashtag, to replace ‘Zing’ and ‘*get an upgrade*’:

Facilitator: Would you use Zing?

M2-UC: No, no Zing.

M5-MMC: If there's men ...I don't think the Zing should be included. Like the radio one, when those men said Zing ...that was off. ... Maybe we can find a different word us men can use.

M5-MMC: Maybe that one, maybe there'll be that one thing that we can all hash tag, you know, because we wanna hash tag things. Maybe it will be ‘man up’ or something, you know, because this whole hash tag thing is becoming a big thing and very used.

Facilitator: So we wouldn't use upgrade anymore, we'd have to find another thing?

M5-MMC: Maybe it will be hash tag upgrade or something else.

M7-MMC: Or hash tag, man up ...

M5-MMC: Or hash tag, slice.

M2-UC: Hash tag, cut.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Exploratory research to inform the campaign

A formative study with uncircumcised men (aged 18-24y, and 25-34y) from four sites (2 peri-urban sites in Gauteng, 1 peri-urban site in KwaZulu-Natal, and 1 rural site in KwaZulu-Natal) concerning the barriers and enablers of MMC, community perceptions, information requested regarding MMC, and participant recommendations, was conducted in October 2016, in parallel to the post-broadcast evaluation (PBE) reported in the current document. The full results of this formative study are reported in the document *'MMC Formative Research with Uncircumcised Men'* (CADRE, October 2016).

In the formative study, data from participants in the post-broadcast evaluation was utilised as supplementary data. In both processes, participants were asked the same questions. The purpose of including the PBE participant data in the formative study was to report on any additional data or differences found in the PBE study, with respect to the formative participants. No such differences were found. The reader is thus referred to the formative study report for a full understanding of the barriers and enablers of MMC, community perceptions of MMC, information requested regarding MMC, and participant recommendations to promote MMC.

Most frequently-stated barriers to MMC

In both the PBE (current report) and formative study, the most common barrier to MMC was men's fear of the pain of the MMC procedure, and the post-procedure healing period:

M5-UC: Hai! I worry about the pain man!
(Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzisoni, Mpumalanga).

M7-UC: I don't have a problem with the waiting period I was just scared of doing the procedure.
(Rural males, 18-24y, Betania, KwaZulu-Natal).

M7-MMC: The pain ... Ja, and then maybe others they won't handle the duration of the healing, 6 [weeks] maybe is something which is a lot to him.

Facilitator: So it's too long to wait for what?

M7-MMC: For healing pain.
(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

F5: One sees that the other went, you see my elder brother went he came back and said be free and go there, it is not painful. So the others followed suite because they wanted to be like him. That's how they influence each other, the other will say just go there's nothing to it, you'll see all will be well the following day. And the other will go to feel for themselves whether it is painful or not.
(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Gamalakhe, KwaZulu-Natal).

F2: Others are scared. You find that they hear others saying, ey no, its painful. Then they end up being scared. Than others end up saying they are not going cause they are afraid of the pain.
(Urban females, 18-24y, Witbank, Mpumalanga).

A common misconception amongst men in both the formative and PBE participants was that an HIV test was mandatory prior to the MMC procedure, which caused several uncircumcised men to avoid MMC. Another common finding was that specific cultural groups who do not have a tradition of circumcision – such as Zulus – did not see the value of removing the foreskin, with statements referring to the removal of the foreskin as being unnatural, or antipathetic to ancestral and religious values:

M5 UC: Okay I have this attitude about going to the hospital there's this thing that becomes a problem.....testing....when you want to be circumcised at the hospital you need to get tested first. Some people don't like to get tested

Facilitator: Is that has a fact, that people don't want to get tested?

Yes. [Group response]

M5 UC: People don't want to know their status ... you just go there [to the clinic] because you want to be circumcised [but] they won't do it unless I get tested first ...

(Urban males, 25-34y, Umlazi, KwaZulu-Natal).

M2-UC: You know what Zulu persons ... say, they say what's the use of getting circumcised if you were born uncircumcised? ... So there's no answer for that ... [and] what Zulu people are scared of [is] going to test, you understand. Ja, they don't like to get tested for their status.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng).

Another message-related barrier was the lack of clarity regarding whether the MMC procedure was free, resulting in several participants requesting clarity in this regard for future campaigns (as reported in the main body of this report).

It was also reported that older men (older than 25 years) are less likely to go for MMC because 'he will be more embarrassed by having someone holding their penis and doing that thing' (Peri-urban males, 18-24y, Emzinoni, Mpumalanga). Two older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) described an older man feeling ashamed to be standing in a queue with young boys of 12 or 14, and thus would not go for MMC, even if he wanted to.

M6-MMC: ... I make an example: I am 14 years old, I am standing in a queue with someone 55 years old. He will think, haai [what?!], and me too I'll also think, huh uh, this guy at this age, haai, something like that. Something [like] that [will] stop other [older]guys from going to the MMC.

M4 [UC]: [The older man] will have a skaam [shame]

M6 [MMC]: Ja, you see, I am in the queue with the 12 year old boy, we're going to do the same thing at the same day, haai, haai ... Even if [the older man]wants to go to the initiation he won't go because of the age. He wants to go to medical, [but] he wouldn't go because of the age ...

M4 [UC]: Truly speaking, school children are most who focus of circumcision than the adults.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Enablers of MMC

The primary enabler of MMC in the PBE groups - both male and female participants – was that there was a broad awareness of the nature of MMC (e.g., the difference between MMC and

traditional circumcision; That MMC involved the removal of the foreskin; That MMC produced specific health benefits for both the circumcised man and his sexual partner; That MMC produced improved sexual pleasure for both the man and his sexual partner).

There were no reports or indications that participants were unaware of where to access free MMC services within their community.

Women's awareness and understanding of circumcision – previously a male-only area of knowledge – was also common, and had facilitated conversations that encouraged MMC with male family members, friends, and partners. In several cases, this resulted in MMC, as reported in the main body of this report.

Summary of formative evaluation results

The following is a summary of the main findings of the formative study:

Barriers to MMC

- **Attitudes, beliefs and norms that are antipathetic to MMC:**
 - Lack of support from communities, particularly among men 25-34y;
 - Lack of family support from family members who did not see the value of circumcision;
 - Confusion regarding whether other partial-circumcision practices (ukugweda and isiveto) were circumcision or not;
 - Older men (25-34y) believing they are too old for circumcision because they were already regarded as men, and had families and children;
 - Religious beliefs that circumcision is not 'natural';
 - Low risk perception for HIV and STIs;
 - Existing behaviours (e.g., condoms) to reduce risk for HIV and STIs, thus believing that MMC was unnecessary;
 - Why bother if you already have HIV or STIs?
 - Don't have a problem with sexual pleasure;
 - Not knowing what happens to the severed foreskin (cultural consideration).
- **Health system barriers:**
 - Distrust of free service (quality and safety concerns);
 - Lack of MMC service provider/health facility follow-up on appointments;
 - Long queues;
 - Older men uncomfortable with younger men and nurses in MMC queues and facilities.
- **Logistics and time barriers:**
 - Work schedules and lack of planning (time-related), related to finding time for the procedure itself, and the time it takes to heal after the procedure;
 - Belief that one needs to stay at home during the post-procedure healing period.
- **Anticipatory fear of post-procedure pain, discomfort, and wound care:**
 - Anticipated pain over several weeks after the procedure (*most frequently stated barrier*);

- Fear of infection, damage to the penis, and death.
- **Pre-procedure medical examination and HIV testing:**
 - Fear of the HIV test and result;
 - Being denied MMC due to CD4 count and being HIV-positive.
- **Protracted post-procedural healing period:**
 - Lack of certainty regarding the post-procedure healing period
 - Must have sex – 6 weeks is too long; Erections

Enablers of MMC

Paradox: Uncircumcised men with support and awareness of MMC benefits

Many uncircumcised men said they have family support for MMC, have knowledge and awareness of MMC benefits, have discussed MMC with partners, and yet have not actually done MMC.

The nature of MMC

Participants were asked whether they know what MMC was. In all groups, there was broad understanding that MMC was a medical procedure to remove the foreskin, conducted in a clinic and hospital, as opposed to ‘the mountain’ (traditional circumcision).

Access to information about MMC

Many uncircumcised men reported access to information regarding MMC.

Awareness of the benefits of MMC

Most uncircumcised men said they were aware of the health benefits of MMC for both men and women (e.g., reduced incidence of HIV, STIs, and cervical cancer), and the majority of these men were also aware of messaging regarding improved sexual performance and pleasure resulting from MMC, for both men and women.

Women’s awareness of MMC

Although some men were not pleased with the reality that women were now aware of MMC and discussing this previously-taboo subject, it was apparent that such awareness and knowledge of circumcision among women had resulted in discussions with male partners that encouraged MMC.

Community perceptions of MMC

According to some men, community perceptions of MMC are largely positive, and include perceptions that circumcision increases sexual pleasure, reduces disease transmission (e.g., STIs and HIV), and that the penis looks more attractive when circumcised. However, according to one man, one reason for community discrimination against medically circumcised men is that becoming medically circumcised in ‘taking a shortcut’, referring to avoiding the rigours of traditional circumcision. Cultural differences were also reported in terms of the importance of circumcision,

especially for those men who had not been circumcised. For example, Zulu culture does not include traditional circumcision, while Xhosa culture does.

In all peri-urban groups, participants stated that their community is aware of MMC and its benefits due to having been exposed to multiple source of information about MMC.

Reports of interpersonal communications yielded mixed results: Some men reported dialogues with parents and partners that supported MMC, while one man reported negative discussions with fathers and uncles regarding MMC.

There were indications that some uncircumcised men feel pressurised to be circumcised and are discriminated against for not being circumcised, which necessitates lying about being uncircumcised and avoiding talking about it with friends. Furthermore, these men stated that the general acceptance of being more sexually capable due to being circumcised has resulted in uncircumcised men being teased or ridiculed as *'not being man enough'*:

Participants were asked to describe the kind man who does not do MMC. In one group (Peri-urban uncircumcised males, 25-34y, Inanda, KwaZulu-Natal), most participants emphasised that *'It is not like they do not want to ... they are just afraid of the pain'*. Other fears included fears of needles. In the same group, another characteristic of a man who does not do MMC concerned Zulu cultural beliefs about maintaining the integrity of the penis.

When participants were asked what kind of man is likely to go for MMC, responses focused upon self-love and reducing the risks associated with multiple sexual partners.

There were no indications of the lack of MMC services within the sites evaluated.

Additional information requested about MMC

Participants were asked whether they wanted any additional information about MMC. The questions raised were:

- I want to know the MMC procedure from A to Z – What happens? Is it painful?
- The foreskin – where does it go?
- Is it mandatory to have an HIV test before getting circumcised?
- They say it reduces chances of getting HIV – how?
- Why is there no after-MMC support for those who cannot travel to the clinic?
- Is the procedure 100% safe?
- Besides health reasons, what other benefits are there to MMC?
- How does MMC affect having healthy children?
- How does being circumcised affect sexual pleasure in a woman?
- How does the MMC procedure affect substance use?

Participant recommendations for increasing MMC

Participants made the following recommendations:

- Removing (perceived) mandatory HIV testing before the MMC procedure.
- Provision of information and advice on how to deal with erections during the post-procedure healing process.
- One stable referral person at the health centre that a man can get help from if there is a post-procedure complication problem.
- The option of receiving the foreskin after circumcision so that he can dispose of it according to cultural traditions.
- Counselling and information for HIV-positive men on ART regarding how they can proceed with MMC, and whether there are any interactions.
- Anaesthetic so that you do not see the cutting.
- Guarantee of effective pain control post-MMC.
- Help to remove the dressing.
- Remaining in care at the health centre until he is able to walk properly.
- More people from *Brothers for Life* should speak to communities to encourage them to do MMC.
- *Brothers for Life* offices in towns could be a central point for rural men to get advice regarding the closest clinic is to go for MMC, as well as to provide information and advice to men seeking MMC.
- People should be invited to schools, via posters, and that MMC could be explained to the community at such meetings. Dramas (plays) could be presented to explain MMC to the community at such events, followed by signing men up to do MMC.
- Television adverts are not enough to convince uncircumcised men to do MMC. *Brothers for Life* should target specific groups and locations to convince men to get circumcised.
- Organise sports, musical and dance events that will attract men to discuss MMC.
- Target hostels, and other places where men and women live together, after identifying what kind of activities and music they like.
- Explain that Jesus was circumcised, and that it is not wrong, even from the perspective of belief in ancestors.
- Promote MMC through churches and religious revival events.

Conclusions and recommendations

Although the “Salon” advertising campaign to promote MMC occurred over only an 18-month period, it was evident that the campaign succeeded in contributing significantly towards a shift in social norms regarding men and women discussing MMC, in the groups evaluated. A notable theme throughout all focus group discussions regarded the impact of seeing and listening to women openly discussing intimate details of their sexual experiences, connected to their partner being medically circumcised. The women in the focus groups expressed a range of positive attitudes and emotions revolving around the empowerment that this campaign had provided to women, by opening a discussion to women that had previously been restricted to men. Although some men expressed discomfort in this shift in social norms, there was no doubt expressed by men that this was effective in providing motivation to men to get circumcised, either directly through the messaging regarding the benefits of MMC, or indirectly via female partners (and potential partners) expressing their preference for a circumcised man, via discussions between partners regarding MMC, and also broader social pressure from friends and family regarding MMC improving a man’s sexual performance and sexual health. It is therefore recommended that the general approach of using female characters advocating MMC in future campaigns is maintained.

Overall, the characters and dialogue of the “Salon” advertisement were viewed as realistic, and effective in promoting MMC in audiences.

There were, however, indications from several participants that specific groups of people, specifically rural audiences (male and female), older men, and more traditional men, were excluded from the full impact of the “Salon” advertisements. For example, although participants found the language used in the advertisements to be understandable, humorous, and informative, concern was expressed that rural audiences would not understand the ‘Zinglish’ (Zulu and English) used in the advertisements. It is recommended that future campaigns consider rural audiences in terms of language use, with all terms (*e.g.*, ‘*Get an upgrade*’) translated within the advertisement.

Another common theme concerned some men’s request for male-only scenarios, or scenarios that involved discussions between men, particularly dialogues between older men and younger men. For those men and women proposing such future advertisements, the sentiment was that more traditional men would find this more comfortable to see or listen to, as the female-only “Salon” scenario suggested that men could be manipulated into MMC by women. These sentiments were mainly reported by peri-urban and rural males in both age groups. It is therefore recommended that future campaigns consist of dual gender advertisements, with a man-only scenario run in parallel to a female-only scenario.

A prominent theme through all groups was that the ‘*Zing*’ catch-phrase was a key factor in making the “Salon” advertisement memorable, distinctive from other MMC campaigns (*e.g.*, Men’s Clinic), and it also provided the main entry point to conversations with family, friends, and partners.

In comparison, the slogan '*get the upgrade that counts*' was less remembered, understood, and used. Men in particular did not fully understand the term '*upgrade*', and this term was also associated with other MMC campaigns. For example, some men believed that '*upgrade*' referred to penis enlargement, and there were several statements by men using the term '*upgrade*' to refer to Men's Clinic advertisements. It is thus recommended that future slogans are clearer in their meaning, and less sophisticated in terms of the vocabulary required to interpret correctly. Suggestions in this regard were made by young men aged 18-24 years (e.g., '*man up*' and '*cut*'), indicating that future slogans should be stated in more basic language, and be expressive of MMC as resulting in manhood.

It was evident that men in general were more focused upon the sexual performance aspects of the "Salon" advertisement, and that they paid less attention to the health benefits of MMC messages contained in the advertisement. In contrast, women paid attention to both the dialogue concerning sexual matters, and the health benefits of MMC. Of all these health messages, both men and women noticed the reduction in cervical cancer message. Women clearly saw the connection between MMC and subsequent condom use, while several men stated that post-MMC condom use was not explicitly stated, except in the radio advertisements. It is recommended that health messaging is more explicit in future advertisements, such as the use of condoms following MMC, that the procedure is free, and the health benefits of MMC.

The majority of participants had cell phones with internet access, and there was a high level of usage of social media and internet. Therefore, a notable finding was that the printed information – the clinic locator SMS number, social media hashtag, and the B4L website address – were poorly received, with very few participants stating that they had noticed or used this information. It is unclear why these social and website portals were poorly received: Based upon reports that all participants knew where to go for MMC in their community, it can be assumed that the clinic locator information was simply viewed as redundant. Regarding the social media information (Facebook/Twitter and website), it was apparent that participants did use WhatsApp and Facebook to discuss MMC, but that the provided portals were not considered in these activities. It is recommended that a survey is conducted to determine the reasons for why this information is either not noticed, or not used when noticed.

The radio advertisements were generally well-received, and the fact that they were both male and female-voices was stated to be a good approach to engage men who were both comfortable and uncomfortable with MMC being discussed publicly. A common statement regarding the radio advertisements was that the messages regarding condom use by circumcised men and the health benefits of MMC were more clearly and explicitly stated in the radio advertisements, compared to the television advertisement. However, it was also evident that younger men and women do not listen to radio as much as older people. It appears that radio advertisements be continued as an integral component of a new MMC campaign, but that it needs to be recognised that there are age limitations in terms of the target audiences reached by such media.

Billboards were seen by few participants. The main recommendation by participants is that there should be more of these billboards, not only on main roads, but also within communities. Also, it was suggested that billboards and posters – including in taverns – contain more explicit and detailed information, particularly regarding condom use and the health benefits of MMC because the television and radio advertisements are perceived briefly, and the posters and billboards can be accessed and scrutinised for detailed information.

It is also recommended that future MMC campaigns take participants' stated barriers to MMC into consideration. Most prominently are:

- The fear of pain of the procedure and the post-procedure period;
- That older men feel inhibited to seek MMC in common queues with young boys and men, and
- That the benefits of MMC be inculcated into communities that do not have a tradition of circumcision via community activities so that family support can be obtained by men seeking MMC in those communities.

It is evident that any future campaign addresses the concerns that many uncircumcised men have regarding the pain of MMC (procedural and post-procedure), such as how it is managed, for example with testimonies of men that the pain is tolerable. It is also recommended that greater prominence is given to older men accessing MMC in future campaigns, such as assigning specific days at MMC services for these men, and that this is advertised widely. The need for community activities – specifically, engaging the community in events and meetings – is evident, particularly in rural areas and peri-urban areas with populations holding traditional views.

In both this evaluation and the more comprehensive *'MMC Formative Research with Uncircumcised Men'* (CADRE, October 2016) study, it was clear that many uncircumcised men have specific concerns and questions, such as the exact nature of the MMC procedure, how to avoid sex and arousal during the healing period, and what happens to the severed foreskin. It is recommended that a FAQ brochure is developed answering these questions, distributed, and prominently displayed on the B4L website. It is also recommended that reference to this information is made in future B4L campaigns.

B4L branding of the MMC 'Salon' campaign was not impactful and often times, participants were not sure of the 'Salon' brand, frequently labelling the campaign as the Men's Clinic campaign; It is recommended that B4L branding, be incorporated both visually and with audio into mass media materials, in order that audiences can clearly identify the campaign and its products. Given there are several brands advertising MMC, it is important that the *Brothers for Life* campaign use its well established brand equity boldly within its campaigns, as it is a well-recognised and respected brand among target and secondary audiences.

Appendix 1: Participant Demographics

Table A1-1 : Participant Demographics

Table Key of Sites :

- Group 1 :** *Protea North* (Gauteng Province / City of Johannesburg / Region D / Soweto)
Group 2 : *Evaton* (Gauteng Province / Sedibeng District / Emfuleni Municipality / Sebokeng)
Group 3 : *Drieziek* (Gauteng Province / City of Johannesburg / Region D / Orange Farm)
Group 4 : *KwaGuqa Ext2* (Mpumalanga Province / Nkangala District / Emalahleni Municipality)
Group 5 : *Emzimoni* (Mpumalanga Province / Govan Mbeki District / Bethal)
Group 6 : *Witbank* (Mpumalanga Province / Nkangala District / Emalahleni Municipality)
Group 7 : *Umlazi* (KwaZulu-Natal Province / eThekweni District / Umlazi Municipality)
Group 8 : *Betania* (KwaZulu-Natal Province / Ugu District / Hibiscus Coast Municipality)
Group 9 : *Gamalakhe* (KwaZulu-Natal Province / Ugu District / Hibiscus Coast Municipality)

	Groups									
Province :	Gauteng Province			Mpumalanga Province			KwaZulu-Natal Province			
Group # :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	All
Site :	<i>Protea North</i>	<i>Evaton</i>	<i>Drieziek</i>	<i>KwaGuqa Ext2</i>	<i>Emzimoni</i>	<i>Witbank</i>	<i>Umlazi</i>	<i>Betania</i>	<i>Gamalakhe</i>	9 Sites
Site type :	Urban	Peri-urban	Peri-urban	Rural	Peri-urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Peri-urban	3 Urban 4 Peri-urban 2 Rural
Group Gender :	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	6 Males (67%) 3 Females (33%)
Age group :	18-24y	25-34y	25-34y	25-34y	18-24y	18-24y	25-34y	18-24y	25-34y	4 x 18-24 (44%) 5 x 25-34 (56%)
# Participants :	9	7	8	8	6	8	8	8	6	68 Total 22 Fem (32%) 46 Male (68%)
Employment Status (N=68)										
Employed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 (00%)
Unemployed	7	7	8	7	5	8	8	8	1	59 (87%)
Student	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5	9 (13%)
Highest Education Level Achieved (N=68)										
< Grade 10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2 (03%)
Grade 10	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	6 (09%)
Grade 11	3	0	3	2	1	0	1	1	0	11 (16%)
Grade 12	4	6	4	5	4	8	7	3	3	44 (65%)
> Grade 12	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	5 (07%)

Group # :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	All
Site :	<i>Protea North</i>	<i>Evaton</i>	<i>Drieziek</i>	<i>KwaGuga Ext2</i>	<i>Emzihoni</i>	<i>Witbank</i>	<i>Umtazi</i>	<i>Betania</i>	<i>Gamalakhle</i>	
Site type :	Urban	Peri-urban	Peri-urban	Rural	Peri-urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Peri-urban	3 Urban 4 Peri-urban 2 Rural
Group Gender :	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	6 Males 3 Females
Age group :	18-24y	25-34y	25-34y	25-34y	18-24y	18-24y	25-34y	18-24y	25-34y	4 x 18-24y 5 x 25-34y
# Participants :	9	7	8	8	6	8	8	8	6	68 Total 22 Females 46 Males
Self-reported Relationship Status (N=68)										
Single	8	6	8	5	6	8	2	0	3	46 (68%)
Casual	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	2	9 (13%)
Long-term	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	7 (10%)
Multiple	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	4 (06%)
Married	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (01%)
Did not answer	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1 (01%)
Has Children (N=68)										
# Participant who have children	0	3	7	3	1	0	5	3	0	22 (32%)
Self-reported Languages Spoken (N=68)										
isiZulu	6	3	5	5	6	6	8	8	6	53 (78%)
English	2	5	3	3	5	3	8	6	6	41 (60%)
Sesotho	2	6	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	15 (22%)
isiXhosa	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	4	0	9 (13%)
Setswana	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2 (03%)
isiSwati	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2 (03%)
Xitsonga	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2 (03%)
Sepedi	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2 (03%)
Afrikaans	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (01%)

Table A1-2 : Participant Cellular Phone Ownership & Usage

Table Key of Sites : Refer Table A1-1

Group # :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	All
Site :	<i>Protea North</i>	<i>Evaton</i>	<i>Drieziek</i>	<i>KwaGauqa Ext2</i>	<i>Emzinoni</i>	<i>Witbank</i>	<i>Umlazi</i>	<i>Betania</i>	<i>Gamalakhe</i>	9 Sites
Site type :	Urban	Peri-urban	Peri-urban	Rural	Peri-urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Peri-urban	3 Urban 4 Peri-urban 2 Rural
Group Gender :	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	6 Males 3 Females
Age group :	18-24y	25-34y	25-34y	25-34y	18-24y	18-24y	25-34y	18-24y	25-34y	4 x 18-24y 5 x 25-34y
# Participants :	9	7	8	8	6	8	8	8	6	68 Total 22 Females 46 Males
Owns a Cellular Phone (N=68)										
Owns a cellular phone	9	6	8	8	6	8	8	7	6	66 (97%)
Does not own a cellphone, but has access								1		1 (01%)
Does not own a cellphone, and has no access.		1								1 (01%)
Cellular Phone has Internet (N=67)										
Cell has internet	8	3	7	5	6	8	6	8	6	57 (85%)
No internet	1	3	1	3			2			10 (15%)
Functions Cellular Phone Used For (N=67)										
Phone calls	7	6	7	8	6	8	8	8	5	63 (94%)
SMS-es	7	5	6	8	5	8	7	7	5	58 (87%)
WhatsApp	7	4	8	3	4	6	6	6	4	48 (72%)
Facebook	6	2	7	3	4	6	5	7	3	43 (64%)
Google	7	1	6	3	6	7	5	6	2	43 (64%)
Download Apps	5	2	6	3	4	7	4	5	3	39 (58%)
Email	5	0	7	4	2	4	2	5	0	29 (43%)
Twitter	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	6 (09%)
Instagram	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2 (03%)
Music	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2 (03%)
Shazam	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (2%)
YouTube	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (2%)
Videos	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (2%)
Research	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (2%)

Table A1-3 : Participant Circumcision Status & Intentions

Table Key of Sites : Refer Table A1-1

Group # :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	All
Site :	<i>Protea North</i>	<i>Evaton</i>	<i>Driteziek</i>	<i>KwaGaqqa Ext2</i>	<i>Enzinoni</i>	<i>Witbank</i>	<i>Umlazi</i>	<i>Betania</i>	<i>Gamatlakhe</i>	6 Sites
Site type :	Urban	Peri-urban	Peri-urban	Rural	Peri-urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Peri-urban	2 Urban 2 Peri-urban 2 Rural
Group Gender :	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	6 Male groups
Age group :	18-24y	25-34y		25-34y	18-24y		25-34y	18-24y		3 x 18-24y 3 x 25-34y
# Participants :	9	7		8	6		8	8		46 Males
<p>Circumcision Status (N=45) (Did not answer: N = 1) MMC = Medical male Circumcision; TC = Traditional Circumcision)</p>										
Circumcised (Total)	8	5		5	3		3	3		27 (60%)
a. MMC	8	5		5	3		3	3		27 (100%)
b. TC										0 (00%)
Uncircumcised (Total)	1	2		3	3		5	4		18 (40%)
Not planning to circumcise				1	1					2 (11%)
Did not answer					1					1 (06%)
Planning MMC	1	2		2	1		5	4		15 (83%)
Planning TC										0 (00%)

Table A1-4 : Participant Exposure to "Salon" Advertisements

Table Key of Sites : Refer Table A1-1

Group # :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	All
Site :	<i>Protea North</i>	<i>Evaton</i>	<i>Driteziek</i>	<i>KwaGugqa Ext2</i>	<i>Enzinoni</i>	<i>Witbank</i>	<i>Umlazi</i>	<i>Betania</i>	<i>Gamatlache</i>	9 Sites
Site type :	Urban	Peri-urban	Peri-urban	Rural	Peri-urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Peri-urban	3 Urban 4 Peri-urban 2 Rural
Group Gender :	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	Males	Males	Females	6 Males 3 Females
Age group :	18-24y	25-34y	25-34y	25-34y	18-24y	18-24y	25-34y	18-24y	25-34y	4 x 18-24y 5 x 25-34y
# Participants :	9	7	8	8	6	8	8	8	6	68 Total 22 Females 46 Males
Participant has seen the "Salon" advertisement on television (N=65) (Did not answer: N=3)										
Yes	8	7	7	7	5	8	7	7	6	62 (95%)
No	1			1				1		3 (05%)
Participant has heard the "Salon" advertisement on radio (N=63) (Did not answer: N=5)										
Yes	6	7	6	8	3	5	5	4	5	49 (78%)
No	3		1		3	1	2	3	1	14 (22%)