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How is HIV/AIDS communicated as a risk for society?

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Abstract:

Nowadays, the number of people infected with HIV/AIDS keeps rising in many countries. How can this risk be managed in society is an issue that gains on relevance. This paper focuses on the topic, how risk is communicated to society in the case of HIV/AIDS in Germany. It also looks at what aspects are emphasized and if different social groups are represented. Two nation-wide campaigns in Germany from 2009 and 2010 are analyzed. The key organizations are the Federal Centre for Health Education, in cooperation with the non-governmental organization German AIDS Aid. The problems are analyzed by using discourse analysis. Therefore the main posters of every campaign were chosen as material. Risk communication theory offers an ideal theoretical foundation for this study. Different aspects, like trustworthiness, amount of information, narratives and models of risk communication are critically introduced. Relating this to the campaigns, the discourse analysis shows that HIV/AIDS is communicated in different ways. In both cases risk is at first place communicated as risk of discrimination and stigmatization. It is concentrated on values rather than safety or health issues. The first campaigns points towards awareness of the theme in society and reinforces passive support, whereas the second one aims towards solidarity and generates sympathy, tolerance, active support, respect and compassion. In both campaigns it is difficult to identify social groups with high prevalence of HIV/AIDS who are clearly targeted. Instead the society as a whole is targeted.

Key words: AIDS, HIV, campaigns, risk communication, Germany, social groups

Word count: 19 676

Abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BMG	Ministry of Health / Bundesministerium für Gesundheit
BZgA	Federal Centre for Health Education / Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung /
DAH	German AIDS Aid / Deutsche AIDS Hilfe
DAS	German AIDS foundation / Deutsche AIDS-Stiftung
FAW	Association for outdoor advertising / Fachverband für Aussenwerbung e. V.
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MSM	Men Seeking Men
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
WHO	World Health Organisation

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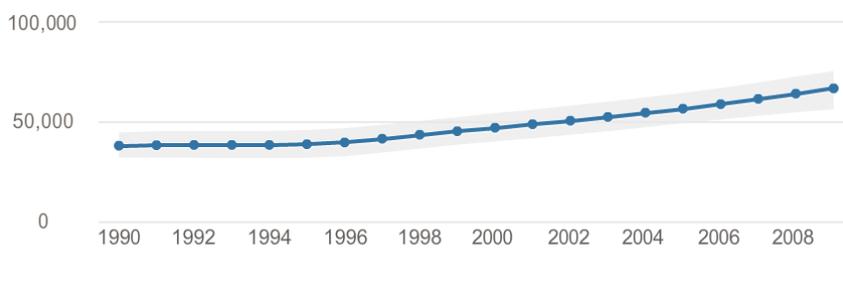
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1. Introduction

Nowadays, modern welfare states face many difficulties. Different health issues such as bird flue, cancer or HIV just as their prevention, treatment and risk patterns have to be considered as serious challenges. In these cases usually services and information are provided by the state, which may exert pressure on health budgets and creates financial and organizational problems for the state. Unexpected health issues can emerge among the population as well as the ones that are constantly prevalent and need to be taken seriously. In order to deal with these issues, different public, private and third sector organizations launch a huge number of different programs and campaigns promising better services and wider coverage; see e. g. Whitfield (Whitfield, 2010). Considering health awareness campaigns, many questions arise at the first sight. Are they successful in changing human behaviour towards the desired outcomes? Who is better in launching health campaigns – public institutions or third sector organizations? Do they also consider different social groups in their targeting? If they do not target correctly, what can be changed in order to succeed? Are there ethical responsibilities to consider different marginal groups in the campaigns? Are these campaigns biased?

In the situation where the state minimizes its functions, many third sector organizations step up and seize the opportunity to be main stakeholders in different sectors. The state is no longer monopolist in providing infrastructure, education or health care as it was during the period after World War II to the 70's, the Golden Ages of the Welfare State. Nowadays, the New Public Management takes away what once used to be an entirely state area and transforms it fundamentally (Whitefield, 2001). It is interesting to see if there are differences in managing and communicating risk within different health programs or campaigns, because a lack of representation of different groups or risks might lead to a greater, increasing risk. The ways people are represented might affect their choice to follow a certain campaign or not. The campaign's success depends on the way people are connected and presented. If somebody does not feel addressed, but he/she is in

a risk group, this would lead to spreading the risk among others. Also this would probably mean that the program or campaign has failed at this point. During the last decades, a few global campaigns were launched in order to inform people about deadly and fast spreading diseases such as bird flu, swine flu or mad cow disease. While these illnesses are temporal and curable, there is another global health problem that is constant and beyond remedy - HIV and AIDS. Many programs and campaigns are launched continuously concerning this issue. This thesis is concerned with HIV/AIDS campaigns launched in Germany in 2009 and 2010 just as the risk communication strategies applied in them. Today, this topic is relevant in my point of view because the percent of adults that live with HIV virus is rising not only in Africa, but also in many developed countries. Germany is among the countries that experience these trends and will be discussed as an example here in order to outline possible trends regarding the research question (WHO, 2010). At present, there are around 73 000 people who live with HIV/AIDS in Germany (Robert Koch Institut, 2011). As Graph 1 below shows, the number of people that have to live with an HIV infection is constantly increasing over the last past decades.



Graph 1: Number of people living with HIV in Germany (WHO, 2010).

Among the most affected groups are men seeking men [MSM], people originating from HIV high prevalence regions and injecting drug users. Heterosexual contact is ranked second as a way of transmitting the disease. Separated by gender, women with HIV refer to men as 1 to 4.5 (UNAIDS, 2010). Over the last ten years, the number of new infections has increased among MSM and heterosexuals, and decreased among drug users and people coming from countries with high prevalence of HIV (Robert Koch Institut, 2011). This data comes to show the complexity of the topic. Therefore, an increasing number of HIV cases points out the high relevance of the theme. Representations of

different social groups is an interesting topic, which can be discussed under different angles and light up specific problems in certain risk communication strategies. In my thesis, I will look at the problem from the perspectives of risk management and emphasize specifically the role of the campaigns and how risk information is communicated among certain social groups. On one hand, risk communication is a broad topic that finds place for discussion among many disciplines, yet I will discuss it from a social science perspective. The main issues here are transparency, amount of information, trustworthiness, technologies, uncertainty, and narratives. On the other hand, latest research shows that publications about certain social groups in certain newspapers usually refer to different social issues (Atuel et al 2007, p. 561). Mahtani argues that different social groups are very often stereotyped in mass media and this leads to prejudice within the society, which result in fear and negativity (Mahtani 2001). If the media presents information in this way, what can be expected from different campaign runners? These examples are directly connected with media representation of different social groups, but they could be also applied to the risk management theory. As the analysis will show, the campaigns use different media in order to promote their ideas and attract attention. According to some authors, media messages connected with different risks can be paid or independent. Although the paid messages control the content, timing and the audience that they reach, they also can be biased and may not target the population at risk (Lundgren et al, 1998, p. 249). This research will aim to give an answer, if this also applies to the case of HIV and AIDS. It is interesting to see if social groups are adequately represented and targeted or if campaigns neglect those groups. Here, I will concentrate on the HIV/AIDS campaigns that are sponsored and launched by certain public actors in cooperation with third sector organizations. The goal is to see how they perform regarding risk communication and social group representation. My interest here is, *how HIV/AIDS is communicated as a risk for society? What aspects of HIV/AIDS are highlighted in nationwide communication? What social groups, if any, are represented?* These notions are directly linked to the ideas of risk management and risk communication. It is a question of present interest because inappropriate communication as well as non-representativeness of certain groups in a health problem could lead to greater risk for the whole society. Exchange of information and communication among campaign runners and the public is

crucial for the success of the entire program. By analyzing visual data within a discourse analysis I will outline how risk is conceptualized, what aspects of HIV are highlighted and how these campaigns present different social groups. Are there differences between them? Afterwards, I will look at the above-mentioned aspects concerning risk management – like transparency, amount of information, narratives and trustworthiness and see how these campaigns cover these issues. The differentiation here is based on how risk information is communicated to different groups in society. According to the latest released data, in 2009 the HIV epidemic in Germany is quite concentrated among three groups. These are MSM (around 41 500), migrants originating from HIV high prevalence regions (7 500 persons) and injecting drug users (8 200 persons) (UNAIDS, 2010). These three groups will be in focus during my research. I will search for different elements that represent these social groups and how they are portrayed within two HIV campaigns.

Different data from governmental and third sector organizations such as posters, which are accessible online will be used during my research. I have been granted permission from the launching organizations to use this information for scientific purposes. These are different campaigns and campaign materials regarding HIV/AIDS. Initially, I had the idea to compare governmental institutions and third sector organizations and see how they run campaigns and thus picture different social groups. However, it turned out to be that in the case of Germany, they cooperate closely and usually the campaigns are a product of the combined efforts of public and third sector organizations. Therefore, I will put a stress on campaigns run by The Federal Centre for Health Education (German: Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung), which is a governmental institution, and German AIDS Aid (German: Deutsche AIDS Hilfe), which is a non-profit association of autonomous member organizations. Two different seasons of two campaigns and the way they are presented will help me to analyze how risk is conceptualized, what aspects are taken into consideration and how different social groups are recently represented within the fight against HIV/AIDS.

First, I will present a literature overview and set up a theoretical framework for the topics of risk communication and risk communication strategy, as this is the core for the

analysis. After making the methodological considerations explicit, the campaigns will be introduced and analysed one by one. I will start out with the first campaign and discuss the material itself (like the meaning of text, symbols, etc.), embracing also the way different social groups are represented. The analysis of risk communication strategy elements in order to identify the respective strategy will follow up. Subsequently, the second campaign will be discussed in the same manner. In the end, a comparative view is presented, giving way to the conclusion.

2. Risk Communication Overview

Risk communication is a critical set of efforts to prevent, prepare and make people aware of who is affected by a certain health issue. There are many definitions in the literature today on what exactly risk is. From a sociological perspective, risk is a societal phenomenon, while anthropology defines it as a cultural phenomenon, psychology as a behavioural and cognitive phenomenon, etc. In social science, the main definition of risk is formulated as an event or consequence of an event (Althaus, 2005, p. 567-88). It follows from here that there are certain conditions of risk: First, events and consequences are uncertain and second, something of human value is at stake (Aven et al, 2011, p. 1074). The authors of this concept outline as an example smoking, but I will explain the risk concept in light of my topic – HIV/AIDS. Human health and well-being are values that are under threat if the immune system is weakened by an infection with HIV that could result in AIDS – even with the consequence of death. Another side of this problem is that though the medicine today has developed medication that could prolong people's life, these people are neglected or discriminated by the society. Stigmatizing people with HIV and exposing them to discrimination are also risks for society. I would argue that HIV-campaigns face two challenges: to make people aware of the risks of getting infected and living with HIV/AIDS, and b) to address solidarity and tolerance for people living with HIV/AIDS. Though both issues are important and deserve attention and further analysis, I focus on the second one because it is very important and have not been researched in great detail. By certain campaigns, different organizations aim to promote specific values in the society such as solidarity, awareness etc. Though they aim to change the public opinion based on a signal problem, in this case HIV/AIDS, by promoting values common to all mankind, they might also change the public opinion on other important issues, such as starvation, war etc. If the public could be taught to be understanding of the issues of the HIV affected, then these feelings and expressions of sympathy can be transferred to other problems and people as well, such as refugees or people suffering from different diseases.

Many organizations, involved in the fight against HIV/AIDS, define risk communication in different ways. For my thesis, I will use the definition of risk and risk communication by World Health Organization [WHO], which applies best to the field of social science and especially to the subject of welfare policies. WHO defines risk communication as...

[...] an interactive process of exchange of information and opinion on risk among risk assessors, risk managers and other interested parties. Risk communication is an integral and ongoing part of the risk analysis exercise, and ideally all stakeholder groups should be involved from the start. Risk communication makes stakeholders aware of the process at each stage of the Risk Assessment.

(WHO, 2012)

Risk communication strategies are discussed and mainly focused on issues like health, safety and environment. An expert in risk communication, Vincent T. Covello, outlines very clearly seven steps that should be part of any risk management strategy. These guidelines cover the whole process from involvement and communication with different stakeholders, through open and frank coordination and collaboration, considering the media factor to careful planning and assessment (Covello, 2003). People involved in this field should be aware that their work could negatively or positively affect the life of many people. The decision-makers in the field of risk communication are usually responsible for the whole community or initiate national policies that affect the entire population of a certain country. These are the reasons why previous research among different stakeholders is a must. The theory has developed in the last 15 years, and today risk is seen not only as a factor at the working place but also as a phenomenon that could affect every aspect of human life (Palenchar & Heath, 2002, p. 127–58). I outlined so far what exactly risk is in this case. I also gave a short description of what risk communication is and its role in society. Furthermore, I will continue my research overview with main issues within the field of risk communication.

2.1 Transparency and Amount of information

Transparency is a major topic when risk communication is at stake. The notion that it should be based on direct and honest dialogue has been a matter of discussion for many years. Many researchers share the idea that more transparency leads to better communication and risk management (Palenchar & Heath, 2007, p. 120-9). However, the amount of information also matters. Gower suggests that some stakeholders are interested only in certain types of information and increasing the amount of what is conveyed or represented will not lead to more trust among different stakeholders (Gower, 2006, p. 89-105). Sometimes, for example, different health campaigns aim to present an issue by printing brochures and distributing them in certain places. Depending on the information, some brochures contain a page or two while others require certain periods of time in order to read everything. This could eventually result in ignoring the problem and encountering specific risk in future. I will elaborate again on this topic further in my thesis.

2.2 Trustworthiness

When talking about transparency, another important issue that arises is the level of trust upon the organization that runs a clearly defined campaign or program. Who is trustworthy? Can I trust the government and/or the third sector organizations? Are there differences in risk management of specific issues? Palenchar and Heath state that:

An organizational culture of transparency acknowledges and respects the information, communication and decision-making expectations and demands of all its stakeholders and stakeholders, and does not stage-manage them by limiting access to, propagandizing information about or manipulating decision-making regarding risk.

(Palenchar & Heath, 2007, p. 124)

This definition outlines how the perfect transparent organization would want to be portrayed. Another factor that could enable transparency and help an organization to earn

credibility is the Internet. According to Gower, the Internet promotes transparency and could be considered as a condition for social accountability (Gower, 2006, p. 89–105). But due to the amount of information that can be found online, the role of the Internet might be overestimated. How exactly do you choose which source to trust and which one to ignore? Is it up to date in the topic? Here, I come back to the question of trustworthiness and quantity of information. According to research from Palenchar and Heath, government officials, industry sector managers, media and public relations spokespersons are not among the most trusted sources of risk information (Palenchar & Heath, 2006). That points out that building trust is a main concern for every organization that aims to deal with risk management and communication. It seems like building trust can be a very interest-guided process and could differ greatly based on the type of risk (environmental, health or safety), organization or country. The organizations, which are interested in building good relationships with the public, need to be honest and trustworthy. It is in their interest to do so in order to keep profiting and developing. However, profit and public responsibility often contradict each other. In this case, building trust by benefitting part of the society is nothing but well-organized profit action. For example, if a chemical company wants to operate freely and keep making profit, though it pollutes the environment, it could organize activities for the local communities or run a media campaign.

2.3 Uncertainty and Narratives

Another topic that follows straight from the discussion above is uncertainty. On one hand, according to some authors, uncertainty is a great motivator for seeking information and being updated (Berger & Calabrese, 1975, p. 99–112). On the other hand, seeking information in some cases could lead to contradictions in certain areas. For example, if a state wants to get investments in certain regions and stimulate the local economy, it can decide to give a private company the right to use land or other property for obtaining shale oil. In this situation, there are usually government officials and environmentalists or local committees who defend different ideas presenting “the truth”. In the case of HIV/AIDS, many prejudices are held in society about the ways of infection.

The nation wide campaigns aim to inform the people and correct, update or expand their knowledge. The most important thing, according to Heath & Preacher, is “understanding the issue”. Both researchers describe risk communication not only as scientific or knowledge-based activity (Heath & Palenchar, 2007, p. 125). Heath goes further and sees a crisis situation as a battlefield for different groups within the society. Here he brings the narratives as a weapon:

Narratives are used to create, maintain and continue the interpretation and stabilization the distribution of power within a society. In the marketplace of ideas there are many different stories interpreting any one event. The acceptance of one narrative or interpretation leads to the elimination or muting of the alternatives. This in turn also leads to the conclusion that a group can rise to power when its interpretations or narratives are accepted in the wrangle of the marketplace of ideas.

(Heath & Palenchar, 2007, p. 125)

It is important to point out the role of narratives here, because they are a main factor in forming public opinion. A wrong interpretation of narratives could lead to poor decision and cause problems.

From the overall discussions so far it can be concluded that successful risk communication can add value to society. However, no one is insured against organizations that only pretend to defend the interests of their employees or the community in which they operate (Heath & Palenchar, 2007, p. 127). If a certain risk communication is conducted correctly it will enable exchange of information between different stakeholders, decrease uncertainty and increase transparency. In the last two pages I outlined main issues within the field of risk communication. These elements will be discussed further in the analysis where I will argue about their role within two different health campaigns. It will be revealed how these major cornerstones of risk communication are implemented in the visual data that I will review. Nevertheless, the factors outlined so far can be discussed in connection with different social groups.

2.4 Theoretical Risk Communication Models

These models outline main parts of risk communication process and how different decisions can affect certain strategies (Covello, 1998, p. 179-214; 2001, p. 164-178). The first model to be described is the Risk Perception Model. Thus, the way of communication and the consequent perception of the issue is a communication strategy. There are fifteen factors, which can be recognized that play a crucial role in how people judge risk.¹ Furthermore “outrage” is important in this context, as if feelings are generated or addressed, the *risk perception* can be intensified and carried on towards a higher level (Slovic, 1987, p. 280-285; Sandman, 1989, p. 45-49). Another important characteristic of this communications strategy is the use of empirical data in presentation, whereas it is adapted to the target group in order to present adequately (Johnson, 1993, p. 5-8). In this case, I will review my material on the generation of feelings and use of data. To exemplify this model: In the case of AIDS, if people understand that their health is at a high risk with a certain behaviour (such as not using prevention while having intercourse), they identify a high risk; yet if people do not have this information and the respective understanding, they will judge differently. Especially when pictures, songs, situations create a feeling – like anxiety for the disease – in combination with the information about the mortality rate (resembling outrage and hazard) then the perception of risk can be extensively higher. *Mental noise model* pays particular attention to how people react to different information and what the consequences are of such a type of communication. This model is interesting in order to see to what threatening or inadequate information could lead to (Baron et al, 2000, p. 413-428). In this case, I will review the campaign materials in order to see if such an effect is what the creators of the campaigns were looking for. Do they really want to cause mental or emotional strain or tension among the population and provoke some reactions? However, the consequences of such a model and provocations are often unexpected (Neuwirth et al, 2000, p. 721-733). For instance, the straightforward information and reminder that AIDS is a deadly disease can lead to a number of different

¹ The following 15 perception factors are relevant to any risk communication strategy: voluntariness, controllability, familiarity, equality, benefits, understanding, uncertainty, dread, trust in institution, reversibility, personal stake, moral nature, human vs. natural origin, victim identity, catastrophic potential (Slovic, 1987, p. 280-285; Sandman, 1989, p. 45-49).

reactions in the audience. *Negative dominance model* focuses on the effect of negative or positive information over the public in risk. It has been proven that negative messages attract more attention in situations of high relevance (Maslow, 1970). The main challenge here is to find a composition of positive messages, which should neutralize the negative ones (Covello, 1998, p. 179-214). In this case, I will seek and analyze the negative messages in the campaigns, if there are any. Negative messages usually contain such words as no, nothing, never, none, not etc (ibid). For example, AIDS campaigns might advertise, “never do it without a condom”. Campaigns presented in that way deserve special attention and usually focus on what is done in order to balance the risk. The fourth model is based on an issue which I discussed above – trust. *The trust determination model* plays an important role when certain goals need to be achieved (Peters et al, 1997, p. 43-54). It is based on four determination factor groups such as: caring and empathy, competence and expertise, dedication and commitment, as well as honesty and openness (Slovic, 1998, p. 689-701). Applied to the field of AIDS/HIV, this means that if the campaign is perceived e.g. as empathic and honest, then people will trust the information more. That model also proves that some special groups such as scientists, professionals and educators are more trustworthy than others (EPA, 1990). Level of trust plays a crucial role in the decision-making process. In this case, it is interesting to see what personalities are represented in the campaigns and how trustworthy they are. Usually, individuals are more trustworthy than organizations. The trust in individuals is more significant than the one in organizations. Therefore trust is dependent on the communication of the individual that work for an organization (National Research Council, 1989).

To sum up, I will check on seven major points, which have been mentioned above in the data analysis in order to identify a certain risk communication strategy:

- Generation of feelings
- Use of empirical data
- Negative and positive messages
- Elements that point towards caring and empathy
- Competence and expertise of organizations or persons
- Dedication and commitment

- Honesty and openness, which is closely connected to transparency

I have outlined so far what has been discussed within the field of risk management and presented four different risk communication models. This will help my analysis to show what exactly stands behind certain HIV/AIDS campaigns, how risk is conceptualized, what aspects are discussed and how these issues reflect on different social groups. Based on that, it can be concluded that a certain campaign is successful if it incorporates parts of different risk communication models and is clear in its risk group targeting.

3. Methodology

A discourse analysis will be most helpful in answering the research question in my case. This qualitative approach allows contextual understanding and gives meaning to the data. Considering the research question and its focus towards risk communication these are crucial aspects. Quantitative research would focus on generalization and also avoid diverse discussed validity and reliability questions, but does not fit the research question (Bryman, 2008, p. 391-395). The discourse analysis will be used in order to analyze visual data and see how it constructs the social world (Rose, 2001, p.140). Interviews and focus groups could do this only limited and entail the problematic of representativeness of gained data. These social constructions will help me to outline how HIV/AIDS is communicated as a risk for the society, what aspects are emphasized and the ways different social groups are portrayed in certain health campaigns. As these campaigns are part of different risk management strategies, I use different elements from risk communication theories in order to portray the campaigns. My underlying original hypothesis is that inappropriate picturing could lead to bigger risks and problems. Therefore, discourse analysis could help to understand the issue and take into consideration the ways of risk communication and its role. Yet, it also has its issues.

The limitations of discourse analysis arise from the methodology on which it is based. Since no claim is made for the absolute truth of the claims made in a discourse analysis, one of the limitations is that other, competing claims are possible regarding the same discourse. This seems like a serious limitation until one considers that the same limitation applies to other methods of inquiry as well.

(Powers, 2001, p. 64)

Therefore it is important to note here in order to critically approach the data, three requirements need to be considered: First, the posters need to be taken seriously. Many social scientists criticize this approach because they consider pictures just as a reflection to specific social contexts (Rose, 2001, p. 15). However, I support the idea that visual data is much more than that and could be very helpful. Second, different social conditions and effects play a crucial role on visual objects. Cultural practices, which are visualized, depend on and produce social inclusion and exclusion. That's why these cultural meanings

are so important. Third, while analyzing visual data, the personal way of looking at it should be taken into consideration (Rose, 2001, p. 15-16). These requirements are important in order to see the advantages and disadvantages of this method. I will elaborate on these a little bit more in the next lines. While interpreting visual images, there are three parts that need to be taken into consideration: production, the image itself and the audience (ibid). Different circumstances of production might affect the way a certain picture is seen. Technology, composition and social background have an influence on the production of visual data. The image itself is dependent again on the technology, but also on the author. By reviewing who the author is and his/her previous work, it can be seen why certain visual data is presented in one way or another (ibid, p. 23). Third, a not less important element of the interpretation of visual data is the audience. Every picture, poster or painting is created for some audience and it is important to see how different groups of people accept certain visual data. Here, the influencing elements are the same as in the production – technology, composition and social background of the audience (ibid, p. 24-28). For instance, considering technology, there is a big difference in how the audience perceives a novel or a movie based on the novel. Different ways of visualization could lead to different perceptions and reactions. Taking into consideration the social element, it depends on the social practices of the audience. For example, campaign materials and their messages could be perceived differently due to the different source of information – a magazine, newspaper, Internet, or a billboard on the highway. A campaign in a favourite weekly magazine probably might attract more attention and action than billboards on a highway, at which a driver could catch a glimpse of for a few seconds. Also, the audience social background and class positioning matter when perceiving visual data. Due to the limitation and focus of the thesis and the approach of analyzing the data, these last features will not be discussed further.

For my thesis, I will analyze multimodal texts from certain posters, which are composed from combinations of words, images and other modalities. These materials will help me to give an answer to my research question. Language, as an essential part of multimodal texts, is an important tool when it comes to risk communication. According to Gee, it aims to change behaviour and “is always ‘political’ in a deep sense” (Gee, 2011, p.

7). The usage of specific language when dealing with certain issues could interact with people's lives dramatically. For example, in the 80's HIV and AIDS were mostly considered as diseases specific for MSM and thus led to marginalization and exclusion of this social group in the society. However, the notion behind the language usage could be positive. The idea behind the health campaigns – to initiate an action in order to understand something or teach somebody will be brought again to discussion while analyzing the health campaign. These campaigns could be designed to reach certain niches or demographic groups in terms of lifestyle and thus create a sense of relation to certain interests. Another essential part of multimodal texts could be images. The boom of technology in the last two decades enables the usage of photographs, films and videos as genuine forms and sources of data (Flick, 2009, p. 240). The multimodal text analysis is appropriate in this case because very often communication is based on mixing language with other symbol systems or pictures (Gee, 2011, p. 194). I will analyse materials that use the same models. By combining text and pictures, certain organizations (in this case BZgA and Deutsche AIDS-Hilfe) present problems such as HIV/AIDS to target audiences. Visual data is an appropriate approach for my research because it provides new ways of documenting the visual side of social settings and practices (Flick, 2009, p. 252). The materials that I will analyze portrayed how exactly certain organizations think about the HIV/AIDS problem and how they communicate this issue to different social groups. Misinterpretation or lack of information can result in spreading the risk. A major limitation about this approach is that some photos can be arranged in order to represent a certain picture and thus construct a different social reality (Flick, 2009, p. 245). I will take this into consideration during my analysis, as I am particularly interested in how exactly different social groups are portrayed and presented by different organizations in society. I am also completely aware that in order to reach certain goals in their campaigns, these organizations use different techniques for manipulating their target audiences. This will be taken into consideration during my analysis as well.

Qualitative approaches are often in critique for being too subjective or for having problems of validity, reliability and generalization. In order to reach a sufficient level of objectivity, theory is extensively discussed and then used in the analysis. External

reliability is obtained as data material and theory is given prior and separate to the analysis. Moreover, research design and practice here as well as logic shall account for internal validity – as high as possible within this paper. Generalization is not an objective here at the first place and certain limitations of generalization may have to be accepted, but comparison can certainly help improving (Bryman, 2008, p. 391-392).

For my thesis, I will analyze two seasons of two different HIV/AIDS campaigns launched in the 2009 and 2010 by BZgA, which is governmental institution, and Deutsche AIDS-Hilfe, which is a non-profit association of autonomous member organizations. The campaigns were launched in cooperation of both. The biggest and a very famous one is the umbrella campaign “GIB AIDS KEINE CHANCE”, running since 1987 (BZgA, 2012). Within this one, campaigns are released within the world-AIDS-day every year in December. However, campaigns are often launched for several years, even though they will be presented with a new season and topics each year. As stated before, I picked two seasons out of the two most recent campaigns.

My analysis is based on four posters from one campaign and three from the other. Those are the official main posters that were “advertised” and used extensively in communication for the respective campaigns. As I am using multimodal texts, language in the posters will be analyzed once as only words (language), and also as a part of the image. This will better illustrate the problem and picture clearly how risk is conceptualized, what aspects of HIV are highlighted and what social groups are represented. Different elements of the posters such as images, colours, shapes will be taken into consideration in this research and I will outline what exactly they constitute.

From Graph 2, it follows that I am going to analyze two seasons – one for each campaign. The chosen campaigns are: “Together against AIDS” (in German: “Gemeinsam gegen AIDS”), referring to the Red Ribbon – a symbol of AIDS – is the topic that started in 2007 and ran until 2009. Introduced and still running since 2010 is the campaign topic “Live together positive – but safe” (in German: “Positiv zusammen leben – aber sicher”). Out of those I picked the seasons 2009 and 2010.



Graph 2: Illustration in a timeline-set up for structure of AIDS campaigns in Germany.

Though the latter campaign is still running, the last season is already over and offers access to a full and closed material set. By analyzing these seasons I will see how risk is communicated to the society, what are the main feature of it and which and how groups are presented within these seasons. First, these seasons were chosen because they have different concepts, but they are part of the general policy of BZgA considering AIDS and HIV. Both campaigns also aim to affect people with HIV and society in general. The “Together against AIDS” campaign is based on four popular public figures put on poster format. Those famous people present the AIDS problem and are central figures within the campaigns - Anni Friesinger (speed skater), Christiane Paul (actress), Samy Deluxe (rapper and hip-hop artist) and Philipp Lahm (football player). These people played main roles in all three editions of the campaign (BZgA, 2012). The campaign is nationally represented and is recognized due to its symbol – a Red Ribbon. Based on these features, it could be assumed that the main campaign objectives are to show that AIDS is no longer a taboo topic and to initiate awareness and solidarity within society. However, this will be discussed further in the analysis. In contrast, the “Live together positive – but safe” campaign present as main figures people with HIV. These people are presented in their workplace or with their friends. A main idea behind this campaign again is solidarity and acceptance, promoted with three posters. I will analyze the main posters for both campaigns. The number differs for each project because these are the main posters released for the certain season. However, this will not affect the data and analysis. The posters are chosen among other methods because they are official

documents that represent the campaign all over. They contain plenty of information for analysis such as pictures, colours, text, print and characters. The posters are preferred in this situation because they give more direct information than videos and brochures. Usually, people see these posters more often compared with other visual data sources. The material including the text translation into English can be found in the appendix.

4. The launching organisations

First, I will start with a brief overview of the organizations that run the campaigns. As I already mentioned before, I initially planned to compare how governmental institutions and the third sector represent social groups in their risk communication campaigns. However, it turned out to be that both work closely together and their actions are initiated in close cooperation, as public and third sector cooperation is rather common in Germany.

The third sector organization German AIDS Aid [DAH] was established in 1983 in Berlin and from 1985 received financial help for their work from the governmental institution BZgA. Here is the direct connection between the state and the third sector. Nowadays, the DAH has around 130 branches all over Germany, moving to local level work at large parts. DAH focuses on certain groups at risk such as homosexuals, drug users, prisoners, women in high-risk environment and immigrants from countries with high levels of HIV/AIDS sufferers. DAH bases his initiatives and actions on a strictly followed concept called “structural prevention”, which is reflecting a rather societal approach. The third sector organization believes that people’s behaviour and society structure could help reduce certain risks. Therefore, DAH concentrates on projects within certain risk groups by promoting self-help and self-organization (DAH, 2011). In contrast, BZgA runs project and campaigns only on a national level and also addresses the overall population. Thus, communication is directed to different levels. DAH overall favours communication that is more direct in contact with the people, and uses partly brochures, leaflets, postcards, posters, adverts, banner, web pages or books. The latter ones, however, are the main concern of BZgA and they use them to largely spread their ideas. As both are engaged in the field of HIV and AIDS, the nation-wide campaigns are launched together (ibid.) As it will be shown in the description of the campaign-set up, it is a profitable collaboration. The campaign has two experts on communication incorporating different approaches (direct and nation-wide) that are both relevant for the

campaign. Other organisations involved are the German AIDS foundation (German: Deutsche AIDS Stiftung), which is the largest AIDS organization in Germany focusing on the local as well as international level, especially in Namibia, South Africa and Mozambique and the Federal Ministry for Health (German: Bundesministerium für Gesundheit) (DAS, 2011).

The promotional materials produced also take into consideration specific needs of certain groups and pay attention to specific elements such as content, style, clearness, motives and design (DAH, 2011, p. 2).

5. Analyzing the Campaign “Together Against AIDS”

The campaign “Together against AIDS” started in 2007 and ran until 2009. Different popular head “ambassadors” were promoting this campaign and raised their voice in the fight against AIDS and HIV. The main four of them are Anni Friesinger (speed skater), Christiane Paul (actress), Samy Deluxe (rapper and hip-hop artist) and Philipp Lahm (football player) who all participated in the launching of the first edition. These ambassadors were writing a statement of the online webpage, giving voice to the topic in their personal environment or/and setting up activities on local level. The head ambassadors were involved in interviews, public relations or within other performances. People were also invited to become a follow up ambassador. Though only 3 000 people followed that call in the same year, it had a successful turn with about 10 000 people to join into the campaign in 2008 – promoted with the slogan “show ribbon”. Moreover, cities and regions became part of it (BZgA, 2012). This shows the combination of a nation-wide campaign with directly addressing the people on a face-to-face level.

Considering that the campaign aims to recruit ambassadors, a large part of face-to-face communication was made, but it is not accessible. This part would be for sure interesting to incorporate, but access in general to representative data as well as bias problems makes this a difficult encounter, going beyond the possibilities in this paper. However, as the campaigns recruit people, I would like to underline the relevance of this communication. Thus it is even more essential if they address certain social groups adequately, as if they fail, the follow up recruiting might be at risk. Unfortunately, no data is available.

“Together Against AIDS” has been a major slogan of both campaigns between 2005 and 2009. However, only between 2007 and 2009 was this is a single motto (please see also Graph 2). The campaign between 2005 and 2006 carries the name “Together

Against AIDS: We take responsibility – for us and for the others” (German: "Gemeinsam gegen Aids: Wir übernehmen Verantwortung - für uns selbst und andere") (BZgA, 2012).

5.1 A first look at the material

In the subsequent chapters I will discuss certain issues that appear relevant in connection to the data material. I will focus on the modalities that are the same and that differ between the four campaign posters that I use. Commonalities are for instance the Red Ribbon and the main slogan “show ribbon”. All texts on the posters are the same for this year in the campaign. Also, the analysis will incorporate the way risk is conceptualized, its aspects and which social groups are represented. Though I recognize each picture singly, I will not proceed by discussing them separately. It does add more value to the discussion to look at the whole set, as there are many similarities. Also, differences can be illustrated clearer in this way. As mentioned earlier, the material can be found in the appendix.

5.1.1 The Red Ribbon

Red Ribbon is a major part of all posters. It is considered a symbol of the fight against AIDS for decades and it aims to show awareness and compassion (Moore, 2008, p. 58-63). The idea in this campaign is the same – by finding a common symbol, we are aware that we share the same ideas and promote trustworthiness among the people who are involved. The Red Ribbon is a “product” of AIDS activism in the eighties. As during this decade the infection was mainly related to homosexuals and drug users, among these groups were the most energetic change seekers (ibid). Thus, a first connection and approach towards this group can be anticipated within the campaign material. But further, we see that though the Red Ribbon and the culture and meaning around it developed a lot during the last three decades, its roots are strongly connected with the fight of two social groups against prejudice in society. During the 90s, the Red Ribbon was a centre of many discussions. It was more or less accepted as a fashion symbol and was involved in many

advertisements with commercial objectives behind it. Today, though the Red Ribbon is still recognized as a symbol of the fight against AIDS, it is also a fashion symbol with commercial meaning (ibid). In this situation, it is interesting to reveal if this applies everywhere. Moore (2008) analyzes the ribbon culture from his birthplace in USA to its present meaning in the UK. Does this apply for Germany? Has the Red Ribbon also turned into “kitschy fashion accessory” as Moore calls it, or is it a symbol of solidarity in Germany? In order to answer this question, the role of the Red Ribbon in different commercial campaigns should be analyzed. Has the Red Ribbon been part of different fashion campaigns or any product promotions at all? Also in this case, it would be helpful to have single interviews or focus group discussion with ribbon wearers to find out more about the real meaning of the Red Ribbon today. Due to the limitations of this thesis, this topic cannot be discussed or researched any further. However, the Red Ribbon was chosen and has developed as a main part of the campaign. It is known respectively as a symbol for the fight against HIV and AIDS.

On all posters, the Red Ribbon is pictured as a “&” sign, bringing double meaning to the whole text. First as a Red Ribbon itself and all interpretations connected with this and second as connection between the people who show support for the campaign on the poster and the person who looks at the poster – “&Du”(English: “and you”). The idea here can be analysed further as the Red Ribbon is the connection between all people who fight against HIV/AIDS and promote solidarity and awareness in the society on this topic. By showing the Red Ribbon you associate yourself with the campaign. This is the main idea here, but it is important to notice the way it is implemented. The Red Ribbon is more than a symbol of the fight against AIDS. The way it is presented in the posters suggests a connection between the people who are actively involved in the process and the person who watches or looks at it on the other side. That thus has a double meaning: First, the connection between people who are not affected by AIDS and the ones infected, but second also a connection between people who promote solidarity for infected and the calling for more people (&you!) to get active as well as for more people (&you!) to show solidarity. However, considering only this element, it is obvious that the Red Ribbon does not target a specific group in this case. It is used as a universal symbol that is not

connected with race, sexual orientation or other social groups. Another important point linked with the Red Ribbon is the way people on the posters wear it. It is always attached to their clothes on the left side right next to the heart. This leads to associations with the heart as a symbol considering that the ribbon and usually the heart are pictured in red colour. The red heart is usually used as a symbol for love, emotional and spiritual attachment. It is worthwhile mentioning that, the way people in the campaign wear the Red Ribbon – close to their hearts, aims to show that they take the problem seriously and are dedicated to the campaign. Speaking this, it's a matter of the heart.

5.1.2 Colours

Proceeding further with the discussion, I would like to pay attention to the colours on the posters. First, all people on the posters wear clothes coloured with different nuances of mainly blue, grey and white. The colours are used as signifiers and are an essential part of the discourse. I would argue that, these colours are chosen for the actors in the campaign in order to underline the Red Ribbon attached on their left side. Warm colours such as red, orange and pink would not attract so much attention to the Red Ribbon and would distract the audience they are aimed for. However, this is not the only notion behind these colours. Each one of them carries its own ideas and has its meaning. Blue is often considered a conservative colour symbol of purity. Grey is seen as modesty, reliability and dignity. Major meanings of white colour are purity, peace and cleanliness. However, there are many interpretations of what a certain colour could mean. In today's globalized world, colours have more than one meaning and the ideas of what they symbolize assume different interpretations. In this case, I assume what the notions could be behind these colours considering a certain situation – an AIDS campaign, which promote awareness and solidarity.

Considering characteristics like colour and the red ribbon symbol, I cannot see any specific way or constructions that depict specific social groups in a certain way. Though the Red Ribbon is a symbol inspired by homosexual struggles against societal prejudice during the 80s, today it is more or less a fashion attribute and commercial

element. The colours are also neutral and cannot be interpreted as specific social groups' markers.

Proceeding further with the discussion, I already outlined the ideas behind the Red Ribbon and how it appeared as a symbol. However, the red colour is also used in the text (“& Du” and “Zeig Schleife”) and also in outlining a blurry red line. The elements that are in red play a central role in the composition of the poster together with the leading actor. The red colour in the posters aims to determine the most important elements of the campaign: First, solidarity by showing the Red Ribbon (“Zeig Schleife”); and second, participation (“& Du”). The blurry red line aims to underline and bring even more attention to the elements mentioned above. The background colour, which is a mixture of blue and grey, aims not to attract any attention and let the other poster composite parts shine. Further I continue with analyzing the text and actors and of the posters.

5.1.3 Text

All four official posters for the campaign contain the same texts. The clearer print is “&You” (German: “&Du”) with “&” shaped as the Red Ribbon. After that follows “Show ribbon” (German: “Zeig Schleife”), written with a smaller font and right under it there is another print making reference to the world AIDS day date and the name of the campaign (“Welt AIDS Tag 1.12” and “Gemeinsam gegen AIDS”). Additional prints on the posters are the webpage of the campaign and the organizations involved in the project down in the right corner. Each one of these described prints will be analyzed further separately.

“Zeig Schleife” invites the audience to join the cause by showing the red ribbon. “&Du” before could be considered as a personal message to everyone who sees the poster. The personal aspect of the campaign is very important. By adding this personal appeal, the authors of the campaign want the person, who looks at the poster to be part of it. They do not aim to generalize their audience. My analysis shows that, they try to

personalize and let everyone be part of the campaign. Right after the personal appeal with “&You” the authors of the campaign even show one of the ways to be part of the action – showing the ribbon. It is important to mention here that the word “zeigen” in German has different meanings such as “to demonstrate something”, “to exhibit”, “to indicate”, “to present” and so on. These words could lead to different interpretations and give different ideas of how a certain person could become part of the campaign. Showing the Red Ribbon attached to the cloths is not the only way. The Red Ribbon could be shared on a facebook profile, be part of an exhibition or presented in any other way that make it visible to a broader audience and attract attention to the problem. Further, the word could also indicate a calling and address the people in a way of asking: and where is your ribbon? This follows an imperative of caring about the issue. It very much points out to an active element of the campaign.

The World AIDS Day date is the same date on which every year a new campaign or a new season of a campaign is released. What raises attention here is the way the word “AIDS” is written. The letter “A” is shaped as a ribbon and the entire word is in red. As a whole the word AIDS shows up six times on the poster and in four different colours – red, white, black and blue. The idea here could be that the disease affects everyone or that the audience should make common cause with everyone affected by the disease regardless of their skin colour, race or sexual orientation. This is the first moment in the analysis so far when a vague reference to certain social groups can be seen; yet no certain group, like MSM in particular, is addressed.

“Gemeinsam gegen AIDS” (“Together against AIDS”) is the next print which attracts attention. What is interesting here is the size of the print, which is a lot smaller than the main slogan of the campaign (“&Du”). This only confirms that the creators aim to personalize the responsibility and the risk of discrimination in the society. The promotion of solidarity and awareness with the people who are affected by HIV/AIDS depends only on one person – “you” (the one who watch the poster). However, though the main message is personalized, it does not refer to any social group in particular. Furthermore, there are two additional informative texts. The first one refers to a website

where more information could be found – “join in: www.World-Aids-Day.de” (German: “mach mit auf: www.Welt-AIDS-Tag.de”). The second one is framed in a small white box down in the right corner of the poster. It contains the names and logos of all organizations involved in the creation of the campaign – “Don’t give AIDS any chance” (the umbrella campaign), Ministry of Health (German: Bundesministerium für Gesundheit), BZgA, DAS and DAH. Though these participants are outlined in the down right corner, their names are readable on big posters, magazine ads or billboards all over the country. Their role and the way there are brought to the audience are very important. By using these names and logos, the authors of the campaign aim to increase trustworthiness within it and attract more people to their cause.

5.1.4 Actors

It is important to emphasize once again that this campaign aims to promote solidarity and awareness in society about HIV/AIDS. Proceeding further from this assumption, the authors of the campaign aimed to present nationally the population than the affected from the disease. There are two men and two women as leading actors on the posters - Anni Friesinger (32 years old speed skater), Christiane Paul (35 years old actress), Samy Deluxe (32 years old rapper and hip-hop artist) and Philipp Lahm (at that time 26 years old football player). All of them are popular and well-known “celebrities”. On two of the posters there are 10 people, one has 11 and the other 9. Women prevail on those with an unequal number of persons. This actually does in fact represent the total population of Germany, where women are higher in number than men – 41.6 millions against 40.1 millions in 2009 (Statistische Ämter, 2009). The authors search for national representation when they promote the campaign.

Proceeding further with the analysis, I will divide the leading characters from the ones in the background and analyze them separately. The leading persons are currently very successful sport and show business figures. Philip Lahm is a football player and captain of Bayern Munich and the German national team. He is involved in many charity actions and events. Anni Friesinger is a former speed skater. She ended her career in

2010 and has 5 Olympic medals as well as many World - and European championships titles. She has success individually as well as part of a team. Christiane Paul is a very famous German actress, who started her career as a model for teenage magazines such as Bravo. She has had roles in tens of German movies and also participates in different social initiatives. Samy Deluxe is one of the most popular German hip-hop artists. He has had success as a musician individually as well as part of different groups.² Looking at the common features between all four characters, they are all successful and gained popularity. However, what is interesting in this case is that they all have success individually as well as in cooperation with somebody else or as part of a team. This is a very important feature, which has been used in the campaign and especially in the last season, when the stars are central figures in the posters and play roles of leaders. The actors on each one of the posters look like a crowd, which are lead by a certain star and look strong as a team. This shows that the risk of discrimination and stigmatization should be shared in the society. But do these stars promote solidarity and awareness also among different social groups? Do they represent any social group at all? Based on their sexual orientation, all four characters are heterosexual and married with kids (Samy Delux is currently divorced). Also, neither of them is presently known to have HIV or AIDS. However, two of the actors have immigrant backgrounds - Anni Friesinger's parents are a German-polish couple, while Samy Deluxe's parents are Sudanese, though they both are born in Germany. Giving successful people with immigrant backgrounds as an example and engaging them in the campaign could help attract more attention among this part of the population, who have the same or similar background. Another important perspective, which could be looked at, is the actors' age. In 2009, they cover the ages between 26 and 35. However, the higher risk groups are teenagers 15-19 years old and 20-24 years old (WHO, 2010). In order to promote solidarity and awareness, the authors of the campaign use the other people on the picture. Most of them cover exactly the mentioned ages for both genders - 15-24 years olds. Most of the people on every poster are within this age range. However, there are also people (not only the ambassadors) who represent different age groups over 24. There are two interesting moments here based on

² All data for the main actors can be found on their own web pages - <http://www.samy-deluxe.de/>, <http://www.anni-friesinger.de/>, <http://www.christianepaul.de/> and <http://www.philippplahm.de/>

the way these actors should be perceived. First, these people should be recognized as the ones who promote solidarity and awareness in the society. This is clear because they wear the symbol of the campaign – the Red Ribbon. Second, these actors could also cover the groups that are most affected by the problem. In this case, the authors not only promote certain values, but also point out exactly to what groups these values should be applied most. Additionally, on all four pictures there are four people out of forty (including Sami Deluxe) who are black. All of the rest are white. According to UNAIDS around 10 percent of the infected with HIV are immigrants originating from HIV high prevalence regions (UNAIDS, 2010). This means that the authors of the campaign have represented these 10 percent very precisely. However, the same question arises here. Does the campaign only aim to show who is supposed to be compassionate with HIV infected people (i.e. the people on the poster – representing the population – show solidarity with the ones infected) or it also shows with whom to be compassionate (i.e. to show solidarity for the infected on the poster)? Therefore, it stays unclear what affected social groups are represented in the pictures.

5.2 Risk communication

Within this part I would like to discuss where exactly the third season of the HIV/AIDS campaign “Together against AIDS” finds its place in the risk management theory and how different aspects of this theory are presented here. As I mentioned earlier, the HIV-campaigns face two major challenges. First, they aim to make people in certain risk-groups aware of HIV and unprotected intercourse. And second, they aim to make the public aware that people with HIV are equally worth everyone else. In this case, the campaigns belong to the second type. Here, of course, the question arises: Are these campaigns really a risk communication strategy or are they something different? Stigmatizing people with HIV and AIDS and exposing them to discrimination are also risks for society, which require relevant risk communication strategy. Why is that? In order to defend my point of view I would like to go back to the definition of risk communication as per WHO (see page 11). First, there is an issue in focus that is in the sphere of health, safety and environment - HIV/AIDS. Second, there are different risk

assessors like BZgA, BMG, DAH and DAS who consider that there is not enough solidarity and awareness in society for people directly affected by HIV/AIDS. These risk assessors exchange information between each other and also third parties such as the society and HIV/AIDS infected people. Third, this one season of the campaign is an integral and ongoing part of a huge risk communication strategy called “Don’t give AIDS any chance” (See Graph 2). And at last, the campaign “Together against AIDS” makes the stakeholders aware of the process at certain parts of the risk assessment. Based on these characteristics I would say that the campaign in focus could be considered a risk communication strategy and analysed further.

5.2.1 Transparency and Amount of Information

Transparency is a major topic in every risk communication strategy. In the cases here, this topic could be discussed from two different angles. First, if the campaign promotes solidarity and awareness in the society for HIV/AIDS infected people, how would the society know who these people are? It is important to emphasize that, the campaign could be more transparent and point out directly who these groups are in society that are most affected by the issue. However, it should be taken into consideration that the organizations responsible for the campaign have other initiatives and release additional materials and information in which they target specific groups in the society. As a major campaign, there could be more information included directly in the posters about the people affected by HIV/AIDS. Though the amount of information included in the posters is insufficient, there are further connections (like the e-mail of the campaign) where whoever is interested can find more information about the issue. These references actually make the issue very transparent and give enough facts outside the campaign in order to make it appear transparent.

5.2.2 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is an issue, which depends on the parties that participate in the project. Major contributors here are two governmental organizations like BMG and BZgA, as well as two third sector organizations such as DAH and DAS. Yet, there are several factors that make the campaign trustworthy and reliable. First, the combination of third sector and governmental organizations' cooperation could lead to the conclusion that the campaign has been built on the basis of dialogue and discussions about the issue. As these are independent organizations I assume that they all have their own interests that they need to protect. Reaching a consensus in such a situation presumably is based on intensive communication. Second, the amount of information on the official pages of these organizations covers every aspect of the problem. There is plenty of scientific literature, behaviour-changing materials as well as commercial materials that can draw a good picture of the problem. However, this is not the case with the official campaign posters. The analysis shows that in the official campaign posters the actors are expected to be drivers of trustworthiness for the campaign. By engaging these public figures, the authors of the campaign aim to gain credit for the campaign and attract more people.

5.2.3 Uncertainty and Narratives

The uncertainty about the campaign is provoked by the fact that on the official posters is not mentioned or pointed out what social groups are most affected by HIV/AIDS. This could be seen as an advantage because according to some authors (Berger & Calabrese, 1975, p. 99–112) uncertainty provokes serious motivation and willingness to search for more information. If this is the idea here, than another important questions appear. Who belongs to this risk group? Who is affected? But, how does one search for information and how it can be interpreted? For instance, if a person embraces the ideas of showing solidarity and awareness with persons with HIV in the society and searches for additional information on the web about what groups are most affected, would this person take all these groups equally and have the same attitude towards all of them? In this case, I would say that the authors of the campaign should suggest this more directly in their campaign. The different mix of ambassadors and actors could be misinterpreted and lead to wrong conclusions, like the one that certain groups are in

greater risk than others. Another important issue that follows from here are the narratives. To continue the example above, it is really important to see this already “educated“ person who went online and searched for additional information, and see what narrative he or she will use to present the problem. Is he or she going to be rather unbiased or not? How will his/her information affect other people? And what, if this is not a single person but an organization, forms the public’s opinion? In this case, the creators of the campaign should be more direct in communicating risk to the society as well as to point out the exact social groups toward which solidarity should be promoted. It stays rather unclear what narratives can occur within this campaign as the pictures allow a huge range. As it will be shown later within the second campaign, this can be different.

5.2.4 Risk Communication Model

Aspects like transparency, amount of information, trustworthiness, technologies, uncertainty as well as narratives already have been outlined illustrating Risk Management. Additionally, I will continue with the further aspects in order to identify the Risk Communication Model. Earlier I described four specific risk communication models and their characteristics. Their roles in the campaign “Together against AIDS” will be discussed below.

The Risk Perception model in brief is based on the use of empirical data and the generation of feelings. Thus, I will summarize the relevant facts for it: Since 2003 the four major organization (BZgA, BMG, DAH and DAS) launched a new campaign every year on the first of December, which aim to promote solidarity and awareness in the society for people who suffer from HIV and AIDS. These people are usually discriminated and stigmatized. All seasons of the campaign from 2003 to 2009 have as main representatives popular public figures and some of them have been discussed above. Channels of communication include posters, TV spots, and show appearances of the ambassadors in newspaper, magazine ads, and web pages that include general information about the current campaign and also for the previous seasons. On the web page of the campaign could be also found information about the symbol of the campaign,

different participants and links to the major contributors and partners. At the current moment there are more than 13 000 people who have announced publicly their support for the campaign and have shared their reasons for that on the official page. The campaign also has official pages on different social media sites such as facebook.com, twitter.com, studiVZ.net, schülerVZ.net, freundeVZ.net and others (BZgA, 2012). In general, the organizers' communication efforts, related to "Together against AIDS" campaign, are far-reaching and well-organized. It also uses variable resources and has wide coverage. At the same time, several areas for improvement can be noted.

Recalling the risk perception model, there are no clear indications that the organizers took seriously any risk perception factors and made decisions based on them. There is no data about collection, analysis or evaluation of empirical information as well as any stakeholder judgments of any of the risk perception factors. Within the campaign, there are no clear signals as to what the expected benefits are, what the level of control over the risk is, or how familiar it is to the public. The campaign does not give the public a feeling that they are also at stake, which could mean that the risk is readily accepted and is not considered a threat. The analysis shows that there is also no clear distinction between certain risk groups in the campaign. The main campaign communication materials are not highly informative. However more information could be found on the official web page. Thus, the use of a Risk Perception Model can be excluded, as no empirical data has been used and the generation of feelings may have not been emphasized.

From a mental noise perspective, I would like to explain how this model is transformed here. There are enough messages that repeat on all four main posters. Diverse information is not given as all repeat the same message. This leads to the conclusion that the authors of the campaign could present more diverse information and so attract more people for their cause. They also do not use graphs, which would have given information. On the whole, the campaign focuses more on what was done so far during the campaign – engaging ambassadors, nationwide promotion of the Red Ribbon. It focuses on the positive side of the campaign, such as promoting more solidarity among certain groups in the society, attracting more people to share their stories or

diversification of the information. The Red Ribbon is supposed to be a main element that points towards caring and empathy. However, as I already discussed, the Red Ribbon could also be seen as a fashion symbol and be very controversial.

Relating to the campaign to the Negative Dominance Model, words like “no”, “none” or “nothing” that reflect negative wording cannot be found in any of the posters. The messages are entirely positive, which leads to misbalance in how risk is communicated to the society.

Taking up Aspects of the Trust Determination Model now, on the whole the organizations involved in the campaign could be considered among the most competent on the issue they present. They have long experience in this field and the mix of public and third sector cooperation speaks well for the whole project. Here it could be argued about the main actors of the campaign. Why do the authors of the campaign use popular public figures but not some social worker or even scientists who could better explain the risks for society in case of a lack of solidarity and awareness with the infected people? The organizers’ official idea appears to be to attract as much attention as possible to the problem without going so much in detail. This idea will be transformed in the following seasons as the analysis is going to show. On the whole, the main actors show plenty of dedication and commitment to the problem. Though I look only at the last season of a 3-season campaign, the main ambassadors participate in the project three years without getting paid. It cannot be concluded that the risk communication campaign was part of a single model. It actually is a mixture of different elements and so it combines features of all four models.

6. Analyzing the Campaign “Living together positive – but safe”

In 2010 there started the new campaign “Living together positive – but safe”, focusing on antidiscrimination, but also promoting solidarity. What makes it so special is that for the very first time, infected people and their friends or co-workers stepped into

and once again calls for solidarity and acceptance in society. Moreover, the previously mentioned organizations got together to run this campaign (BZgA, 2012).

The campaign name “Living together positive – but safe” (German: “Positiv zusammen leben – aber sicher”) leads to different interpretations. The translation of the word “positiv” and the phrase “aber sicher” from German changes the meaning of the whole title. “Positiv” can be translated in English as positive and also positively, while “aber sicher” could mean “but safe” as well as “for sure”. These translations lead to two different interpretation of the campaign title. First, you can interpret “positiv” as the status that is given to people with HIV and also combine this with the first translation of “aber sicher”, mentioned above. In this case, the title can be read as “Living together positive – but safe”. Second, the campaign title could be translated as “Living together positively – for sure”. Different combinations of these parts of the sentences could lead to different meanings. It is important to emphasize that some of the campaign titles address persons with HIV more directly than others. For example “Living together positive – but safe” is more direct and refers to persons with HIV and the way they live in society. This title also could be interpreted as a confession and warning to society – somebody with HIV lives among us, but it is safe – there is nothing to worry about. The other campaign title could be interpreted in a different way. “Living together positively – for sure” suggests that the society is already aware of the fact that there are people with HIV and that this is absolutely tolerated and allowed. These people are accepted by their friends and at their working place like everyone else.

6.1 A first look at the material

Once again, I will proceed in discussing relevant issues in connection with the material and focus on the modalities that are the same and that differ between the three campaign posters that I use. Commonalities are for instance the Red Ribbon and some texts. However, in comparison with the previous year there are less common elements between the three posters. Also the number of the posters does not match the one from the previous campaign because there are only three official posters for this one. The

campaign is associated with three main persons, who are HIV positive and are shown on the official campaign archive page at www.welt-aids-tag.de. However, there is supposed to be a fourth person that appeared in video material within the campaign – a woman with HIV, but her picture or poster is not considered, as it was not found among the published materials. Different social groups will be discussed within the next points too. Again I discuss the data material as a set, which is available in the appendix.

6.1.1 The Red Ribbon

While the Red Ribbon was a major modality in the previous campaign, showing up several times, in 2010 it is pictured only once here, next to the main campaign title. The people on the posters also do not carry any Red Ribbons, compared with the previous year. The notion here is that the support and solidarity for people with HIV should be more direct. On the whole the authors of the campaign slightly abandon their main symbol in pursuit of more direct connections and support to people with HIV. Another proof for this new tendency could also be found in the texts on the posters. While the previous year the public was asked directly to show the red ribbon as a symbol for solidarity and awareness, and also it was implemented in different combination of words such as “&You” (“&” representing the Red Ribbon), in 2010 it is neither mentioned nor pictured anywhere else on the posters. However, the Red Ribbon remains a main symbol of the campaign and main association with the fight against HIV and AIDS. Once again this points out universality and is not addressing certain social groups in particular.

6.1.2 Colours

Moving further with my analyses, I will pay special attention to the colours on the posters. As main colours, beige and brown could be seen as a background and also some dark colours of the clothes the actors are dressed with. Overall, the first impression is that they are mild, well chosen, and neutral. They aim to represent the people and the working places absolutely naturally. The dark colours as background of the pictures might be

chosen because of the text colour on the posters. The texts are in white and need to be easily readable. Nevertheless, there are small details that attract some attention and could be analysed further. On the posters, each one of the three persons who has HIV has a part of his clothes in red. At the working place, the man in the middle wears a red tie. On the climbing playground, the first man on the left wears a red safety belt. And in the kitchen, the first man on the right wears a shirt in some nuances of red. It looks like all these people, who are HIV positive, are also marked somehow. Though they look absolutely neutral and are part of the situation they are involved in, this also differentiates them from the others. These red elements could also be referring to the main symbol of the campaign – the Red Ribbon. Actually, the men with HIV differ from the others in just one other thing - only they look at the camera, respectively towards the audience on all three posters. Here it is important to mention that this is another significant improvement to the campaign from the previous year. Now the audience has a clearer picture and knows with whom to be compassionate with.

So far I outlined two modalities such as colours and the Red Ribbon and their role in the “Living together positive – but safe” campaign. On the whole, this campaign is very different as a change in ideas. Targeting and representation from the previous one can be seen. I will continue further by analyzing different modalities and comparing both campaigns. However, an extra chapter regarding a comparison of both campaigns will be presented at the end.

6.1.3 Text

All three posters are structured identically with three white text paragraphs (one bold and two smaller paragraphs). However there is only one text that shows up on all three posters. It includes the name of the campaign, the date of the World AIDS Day (Welt AIDS Tag am 1.12) and the webpage where more information for the campaign can be found (www.welt-aids-tag.de). The other text elements are different and specific for the certain poster and situation. One of the texts is written with bigger print (bold) and carries the main idea of the campaign. These main texts as well as the other additional

texts are different for all three posters and will be presented separately and analyzed together, searching for the commonalities between them and also noticing what is different. The main texts actually are words spoken by the person who is HIV positive. Further, the text continues with a short description of the man who says the words in the main text and finishes with another small text, which is an appeal to the public. The description tells the story.

The first poster represents three friends in the kitchen cooking together. The main text reads: *“I have to live with HIV. But my friends help/support me when I am feeling bad sometimes.”* Further, the supporting texts continue giving the reader a short description of the man who says these words: *“Kay is HIV-positive – and fortunately not alone. His friends know that and are there for him. But he knows many people with HIV who are in a different situation. They don’t dare/have the courage to tell about their infection, even to the ones whose support they need most.”* The text finishes with an appeal: *“Get involved. Show people with HIV your respect and esteem.”*

The second poster represents people in the office. They are obviously colleagues who work together. The main text reads: *“I have to live with HIV. With colleagues, who do not discriminate me.”* Further it can be found who says these words: *“Dirk was shocked when he got his HIV-Test result. But he did not hesitate long time to tell this to his colleagues. He never regretted. With his openness to this issue in the office, he wants to make it easier also for others, because people with HIV are still often excluded – the workplace is one example.”* The text ends up with: *“Get Involved! Show respect and support for people with HIV.”*

The last poster construction does not differ from the other two. This time there are three friends who practice indoor climbing. The main text reads: *“I have HIV. And fortunately I dared to tell my friends.”* Further the text continues with: *“Markus did think a long time, whom he can tell about his HIV-infection. Then he took all his courage and won ... friends that accept him the way he is. Many people with HIV still are anxious to*

entrust others – even their good friends.” The text finishes with: “Get involved! Show respect and support to people with HIV.”

I will elaborate further on different words and combination of words, which might be confusing and have different meaning because of the translation from German to English. On the whole, there is very clear structure of the texts in the posters. Based on the size of the prints, most important for the authors of the campaign is the confession from the persons who are HIV positive. After that, the description of the person and the appeal are written with a smaller print and carry supporting information to the presented issue. The main text could also be read as an appeal to more people with HIV to reveal their status and gain support from friends or co-workers. Thus presented, the posters promise 100% support and respect. But the way the issue is presented, it becomes clear that probably in society, exclusion and neglecting the problem is also a possible outcome. This analysis shows that this campaign aims as the previous one to change behaviour. However, here the appeal is much more straight and clear. The texts also suggest that there is vacuum in the society about the question of admitting a positive HIV status. People are scared; they think a long time before revealing their problem to others. They are afraid of how they will be accepted mainly by their friends and also in their work place. From here it follows that the campaign has two major aims: to encourage people with HIV to speak about it and to ask the public to support and respect these people. On the whole, the word HIV is the most common one – showing up four times per poster. After that the word “friends” is mentioned five times on all three posters. These words show the main focus of the campaign, the issue at stake and how it can be fought. The word “friends” suggests inclusion and acceptance. There is also a series of words, which outline the problems with which the people with HIV need to fight everyday – bad, alone, infection, shocked, excluded, anxious. The authors of the campaign compensate these problems with an eventual happy end when revealing the positive status – fortunately, support, respect, easier, esteem, courage, accept. The last sentence on all three posters urge the public to get involved and address the individual rather directly, to show respect and support to people with HIV. This support might be expressed in different ways, but mainly by accepting these people the way they are. With the final text line on the posters

the authors of the campaign promote active support by creating a certain notion of activity. This is a major step forward in comparison to the previous campaign. Whereas the activity mainly relates to “show the ribbon”, which points out towards a so-called passive support, in the follow up campaign here, the notion moves more towards active support. These activities that are shown within the posters, like cooking or climbing, emphasizes action and support. Therefore, it strongly highlights the idea of energetically engaging with the cause. Moreover, talking to friends, raising the topic, showing respect in the very own environment support action and encourage people to be proactive. For that reason, the issue of HIV is presented in a different manner. It suggests the audience to treat the issue of HIV/AIDS in another way and of course in the first place to treat the people with HIV/AIDS differently.

6.1.4 Actors

As it was mentioned before in 2010, organizers of the campaign did not engage any popular persons for the new season. Instead they presented people with HIV and their friends with their daily activities. These actors seemed totally exposed by showing their faces, names, information and friends. On the three official posters the main ambassadors are three men aged approximately 20 – 40 years old. On the whole there are also three persons on every picture and on two of the posters one of these three characters is a woman. It is interesting to mention that there is a fourth actor in this season of the campaign who is female, but the official poster with her is not published on the official page of the campaign. However, she participates in a small video, which tells more about the making of the campaign.

All main actors on the posters look directly at the camera while shooting the campaign, while their friends chat with each other or look at them. This is an interesting approach to the certain situation and the whole issue in general. The main actors are required to look at the public, because they are associated with the main text on the posters. By doing so, they send a direct message to all other people with HIV. The

supporting actors, however, do not just stand by their HIV positive friends; they are involved in some kind of activity. By engaging the supporting actors' attention with something else, they express their active support for their friends. If these persons were just looking at the camera and standing by, this would be a sign more or less for passive support. The climbing, the cooking and working together are metaphors for active support. Another important feature about the supporting actors is the way they look at their friend who has HIV. On the poster in the office, the man and woman are talking to each other. The main actor is standing and looking at the camera. This poster shows a normal workday situation, the supporting actors are engaged in conversation, and though they know that their friend is HIV positive, this does not affect their attitude towards him. He is accepted the way he is. On the poster in the kitchen there is pretty much the same plot: a man and woman talking while making a salad. They do not show anyhow that the fact that their friend is HIV positive influences their relationship. He is once again accepted the way he is. On the third poster at the climbing playground the situation changes a little bit. Here we have two other men who are looking at the main actor. They are doing this without fear or pity. They accept him with his disease too. On the whole, the actors are role models and with their behaviour they aim to show the audience how to behave in this type of situation. Therefore, the scenes also constitute norms for behaviour for people. The posters are organized in this way, also to allow the audience to identify itself with the situation. For that reason, the scenes are chosen in a way that they are familiar to a very broad audience, which makes it possible to reach many people. For example, if you see the person cooking or doing popular or daily activities, you are more likely to recall a situation that you experience on your own. Therefore it is easier to apply the appeal of the campaign on your own situation and context. It might give rather exact ideas how to act, what do to and also to realize where the problem of the issue is. Identification allows a high level of empathy and enhances the communication as people will pay more attention and give more value to information that relates to their own personalities or context.

So far I have discussed different modalities in the new season of the campaign and have given an overview of how they can be interpreted. The central people in the

campaign are white males aged 20-40. It is not also clear if any of the main actors belongs to the group of MSM or any other affected group. However, the campaign shows the “face” of the problem, though it does not reveal completely its names. This will help further in the comparison of both campaigns and the outlining of different social groups and their representations later on.

6.2 Risk communication

Similar to the previous wave of the campaign, I will show where “Live together positive – but safe” finds its place within the risk management theory. There are two major behaviour change lines in this campaign. First, it aims to show to the persons who are HIV positive that they need to share their problems either in the working place or with friends - this is a natural reaction and there is nothing to be worried about. Second, the campaign aims to also change the way the public accepts people with HIV. They should be excluded neither in their working place nor in their daily life. They should be treated with respect the way they are. The issue at stake in this season of the campaign is again HIV and awareness among society about the problem. The risk assessors are the same as the previous wave - BZgA, BMG, DAH and DAS, who continue the umbrella campaign “Don’t give AIDS any chance”.

6.2.1 Transparency and Amount of Information

As the analysis shows the new season of the campaign moves quite forward on the issue of transparency compared to the previous wave. In 2010 the problem has more clearheaded ideas. It is easy to see both faces of the problem - the struggle of the person who is HIV positive and the struggle in the society. By revealing the face, the name, and even the thoughts of people with HIV, the authors of the campaign bring a high level of transparency among the issue. The posters themselves also contain more information. The public can read how people with HIV fight with the problem. They can respond to the appeal for respect and solidarity. They can find more information on the web page of

the campaign. Through the information presented on the posters, the audience has also been given the chance to get involved actively in the issue by tearing down the prejudice in the society, stopping fear, and encouraging people to be less passive and support the campaign.

6.2.2 Trustworthiness

The names of the main sponsors and organizers of the campaign are part of the main posters as the previous wave. As it has already been discussed, the mentioning of these organizations is a sign for trustworthiness. However, this is not the only and major feature of this campaign. Trustworthiness appears to be a main topic within this wave of the campaign. Proof for that is the significant change from actors who are popular characters to actors who are HIV positive. It seems like in 2011, the campaign turned into a “reality campaign”. It is difficult to say if this is inspired from the recent boom of reality show programs, but it is a fact that there is drastic change in the way the issue is presented. What make the difference are not only the people but also the way they are presented. Their daily life and different activities brings an additional note of trustworthiness among this wave of the campaign, as people can easily find themselves within the campaign. Thus, the level of identification might be higher.

6.2.3 Uncertainty and Narratives

For this wave of the campaign, I would like to mention again that during my analysis I consider ignorance, exclusion, discrimination and even fear against people with HIV in the society as a risk that requires immediate action and proper risk communication strategy. Following from here, there are a few issues directly connected and specific for this campaign as far as it is relevant to uncertainty and narratives. The major moment in the campaign is the risk of telling somebody about a positive HIV status. In this case, there are two possible reactions – ignorance or acceptance. The

campaign posters concentrate entirely on the second decision. They present this uncertain risk as a story with happy end and recommend it to people with HIV. There is also no information on the probabilities of rejection, though there is information in the texts that describe the main character situation. Actually, these people are afraid to confess their problems to other people because they do not know how they will react. The stories on the posters are evidence that support the campaign ambitions for solidarity, inclusion and awareness. However, it is important to emphasize that a broader study involving more people with HIV, which is representative of the whole population might give a better picture to what consequences are expected when announcing a positive HIV status.

The “Live together positive – but safe” campaign prefers again narratives versus technical presentation of the problem. This is due to the essence of the issue, which might attract more public and create a good environment for discussions. The messages delivered by the three posters are interesting. Each of them has its own nuances, but they all combine and lead to one idea – solidarity with the people with HIV in society. In general, the narratives are relevant. They are extracted from people’s daily life and here exactly is their power – they are real. It is also easy for different actors to be identified and their roles to be recognized. It is absolutely clear who is the person with HIV and the poster and who are the friends, who are there for him. The narratives can be understand and there are “instructions” on how people can react and act in certain situations. Getting involved, showing compassion and being aware of the issue are among the possible ways the audience can respond to.

6.2.4 Risk Communication Model

As mentioned above, approximately 67 000 people lived in Germany in late 2009 with HIV - many of them were “hidden” and kept it a secret because they feared discrimination if they told others about their HIV status. The new campaign on World AIDS Day under the theme "Living together positive - but safe" shows HIV-positive people who give genuine insight into their everyday life and tell of their experiences. The aim is to reduce stigma and discrimination against HIV positive and AIDS patients. Such

a campaign at the national level is claimed to be unique in Europe. Responsible for the campaign are BZgA, jointly with the BMG, DAH and DAS.

Thanks to the support of the FAW (German: Fachverband Aussenwerbung e.V) - Association for outdoor advertising , which is an organization of the providers of out-of-home media in Germany, and many other partners, the main posters and motives of the campaign were immediately seen on 25 000 billboards, 3 million postcards, and other various media. The campaign was developed by “Kakoi” Berlin in collaboration with “Steinrücke + ich”. A photographer as well as the previous year, was Sebastian Hänel. Another company was responsible for the web support of the campaign (Kakoi, 2010).

In 2010 the organizers and sponsors of the campaign continued attracting people as ambassadors on the campaign web page. They also kept the Red Ribbon as a symbol, which can be freely shared offline and online.

In 2010, the total concept of the campaign was changed. There are more clear identifications that different outrage factors were deliberately or unintentionally taken into account. Though there is not information for organizing focus groups or any other kind of interviewing of different stakeholders, there is a clear change in the way the issue is presented. It would be interesting to mention some of the feelings that the campaign provokes, and comment on them. Once again, in order to see what the actually existing level of feelings are about the campaign, different stakeholders need to be interviewed. Here I will outline what could be the possible outcomes of such approach. This is important in order to see what role does the perception model play in this risk communication strategy. In this campaign, the risk of discrimination by revealing a positive HIV status is not voluntary. It depends on how the society accepts and responds to the issue. It is also hard to control such a risk, as it does not depend directly on a single person. However, the campaign by giving as an example happy-end-inclusion cases, might be slightly misleading regarding control. Proceeding further with the discussion, the same could not be related also to familiarity of the risk. Risks perceived to be familiar are easily accepted (Covello, 2001, p.16). By sharing the second text, which is a description of the person and his fight of revealing the truth, it can be concluded that the risk is familiar and that a well-grounded decision could be made. According to the

campaign materials, the risk is equally distributed because the people on the posters receive the same attitude from their friends. It is important to mention that this position could be biased because everyone on the posters is male. It is not clear how the risk is spread if we have mothers with children with HIV, MSM or immigrants from countries with high levels of HIV. Are these social groups going to be accepted the same way? Benefits and an understanding of the risk assume to be clear as to the campaign posters. The re-inclusion in the society and accepting a person with HIV the way he is, are the biggest benefits that the campaign suggests. The risk in the “Living together positive – but safe” is not easy to accept because it might evoke fear or anxiety. Though the campaign shows the happy-end, the other scenario is suggested in the description to the poster. Another issue at stake here is trust. The perception model suggests trust in institution or organization as a major risk catalyst. In this case I will look at risk on a higher level – the society. Is society ready to accept people with HIV or it is more likely to stigmatize and discriminate them? As per the posters the society is ready and the campaign actually work for spreading this tendency. Another factor directly connected to the society is reversibility. Risks perceived to have reversible adverse effects are more likely to be taken (ibid). It is worthwhile mentioning that by spreading the notions of the campaign in 2010 during the next years, risk could be more reversible and thus easier to take. Additionally, as the risk is personally perceived, it might be less wanted. Ethics and morals play a crucial role within the issue of HIV and AIDS. The campaign suggests that it is not ethical to discriminate people based on their positive HIV status. Instead, these people should be accepted like everyone else. As the risk here is totally generated by human actions, it is harder to be perceived than if it had natural origin. The authors of the campaign also go for identifiable victims rather than statistical ones. This is an interesting decision as in this case the risk would be less accepted. As the risk here is expected to produce moral damage, it could be well perceived (ibid).

The communication materials produced by the campaign officials are relatively informative. They give information about some issues, but there is also a lack of data on the other. The campaign is clear in its message for non-discrimination, but it may also be more informative about what to do in case of rejection or exclusion. From a mental noise perspective, the campaign contains adequate and understandable messages. However, it is

more focused on the positive than on the negative messages. The happy end and the non-stigma scenarios should be compensated with information about what can be done in case of exclusion and discrimination. There should be more information about different clubs or organizations in which people with HIV gather to talk about their problems. On the whole, the campaign officials present more diverse information, showing different examples from the life of several HIV positive persons. However, the campaign could gain even more credibility by presenting additional empirical data. Instead of that, by the official presentation of the 2010 campaign the authors invited the German financial minister Dr. Philipp Rösler, who showed support and spoke with the main actors. It appears that after changing the whole conception of the campaign and leaving behind the popular persons as actors, the organizers aimed originally to attract more attention to the new season by inviting a popular politician.

There are several elements that point toward different feelings such as caring and empathy in the campaign. First, the participation of the main actors' friends is clear example for solidarity. Also notions for involvement could be found in the text on the campaign posters by using specific words, which were discussed above. The Red Ribbon is another symbol that is a symbol of empathy as well the sharing of different stories, ideas on the official page of the campaign.

The campaign officials are considered experts in the organization of the campaign. They had huge experience in running the previous waves of the campaign. As it has been discussed before, their participation makes the campaigns look more trustworthy. Also, there have not been any scandals or misunderstandings in the seasons so far, which is proof for their competences. The people who participate in the campaign also evoke trustworthiness. They are people with HIV, who know the problem best and their experience could be very helpful for many other people in the same situation. Also, a 100 percent dedication and commitment could be expected from the main actors. The texts on the posters show what problems these people experience in their life and how they succeed to fight against stigma in society. By showing their faces and information, they fully commit to the issue and its consequences.

Honesty and openness are other values that deserve discussion and are major parts of this risk communication strategy. It is important to emphasize that this is exactly where the campaign officials gain most credibility. By showing real stories, real people, and real reactions, this campaign takes the fight against discrimination and stigma in society to the highest level. Giving a face to the problem is among the strongest features of this campaign. However, if these faces represent specific groups affected by the issue, it is another problem that will be discussed further in this work. Similar to the previous wave of the campaign, there are features of all different risk communication models that are put into practice here.

7. Comparing the Campaigns – Differences and Commonalities

So far I outlined the two campaigns, launched in Germany 2009 and 2010 respectively, addressing the fight against HIV/AIDS. On the whole, both campaigns were run by the same organizations. I outlined previously certain features of both campaigns separately, and in this part of my work I will show the differences and commonalities between both. This will give a clear picture of how HIV is conceptualized as a risk, what aspects are emphasized and how previously mentioned social groups such as MSM, immigrants from countries with a high prevalence with HIV and drug users are portrayed within the campaign.

7.1 Groups Comparing Risk Communication

When HIV is at stake, two major risks emerge. First there is a risk from infection, which result in health problems. And second, there is a risk of discrimination and stigmatization toward the people with HIV. Both campaigns concentrate on the second issue, though they use different ways to achieve their goals.

“Together against AIDS” promotes mainly awareness about the topic in the society. It attracts attention by engaging popular persons as ambassadors; it holds the people with HIV in high esteem and also is compassionate with their issues. These

features points out clearly towards awareness, but not so much toward solidarity in the first campaign. "Living together positive - but safe" promotes feeling and values such as sympathy, support, respect, tolerance and compassion, which could be related evidently to solidarity.

On the whole, the campaigns use different main actors. They have different stories and fight in different ways. The 2009 campaign is much more dedicated to attracting attention by engaging super stars, who are supported by ordinary people. The 2010 campaign focuses on people, who are HIV positive and who share their own stories. The broader usage of the Red Ribbon and his promotion as a main campaign symbol stepped back during the new wave of the campaign. This could be because after several seasons of the campaign, it has lost its power to attract more people to the cause. With the decline of the Red Ribbon, some groups like MSM and drug users might lose representation within the campaign. This is due to the fact that the Red Ribbon is used by and connected with these social groups.

The 2010 campaign appears more informative as compared to the previous campaign launched in 2009. On the whole, the additional information on the web page is the same, but the main posters provide additional knowledge to the audience. Both campaigns fail to give an answer to the questions: What happens in case of rejections and exclusion? What is the next step? Where can people who are HIV positives find help if they are discriminated and stigmatized? Further, I will compare both campaigns regarding different risk perception factors and how they are implemented.

Risk of stigmatization and discrimination is not voluntary for people who are HIV positive. It depends on the society and how it treats this issue. Both campaigns realize that and try to engage more people to show their positive attitude toward people with HIV. As the analysis shows, the first campaign has a more universal message while the 2010 campaign takes it "personally". This could be easily seen on the official campaign materials where we have groups of people who state their support publicly for the first campaign and a few friends who support their friend in his fight not only against the disease, but also against stigmatization in society. The risk of discrimination is not under the control of people who have HIV. This is why it is hard to be accepted. Both

campaigns aim to make it more controllable by promoting solidarity and awareness in society. If more people join the cause, it would mean less stigmatization and discrimination and from here less fear among people with HIV, who are scared to share their problems. The 2009 campaign appears to miss to make the risk more familiar for the society. It focuses on attracting people to the cause, but does not really point them to where the problem is. On the other hand, the 2010 campaign, which engaged people with HIV, makes the risk more familiar and easily accepted. Both campaigns do not indicate clearly how exactly the risk of discrimination is shared in the society. There are no clear signs whether some groups are in greater risk than others. Risk is presented as an issue that relates to people with HIV. The audience needs to promote solidarity among these people, but it itself is not at risk.

The second campaign "Living together positive - but safe" gives a better picture on what could be the possible benefits for people with HIV if they decide to announce their HIV status. There is still a risk of segregation, but the support from friends or co-workers could be precious. This notion is shown best on the official posters. The 2009 campaign forgets to draw this picture and to give a clear idea of what the potential benefits are. It is not clear for both campaigns what the society could gain from the situation. Actually, should the society gain something at all? It is worthwhile mentioning that the society should show support without expecting an award for that because solidarity is a basic human value, which should not be rewarded. The 2010 campaign is clearer about its message and is more understandable for the audience. The 2009 campaign loses his focus by engaging popular persons for ambassadors and greatly promoting the Red Ribbon as a symbol of solidarity and awareness. As the analysis shows, the first campaign is weaker in ideological perspective and brings more uncertainty to the issue than the 2010 campaign. "Together against AIDS" is the third and final season of a three-year campaign, which has the same main actors. They are recognizable, but they are also exhausted. This is why during 2009 they are portrayed with other people on the main posters. The 2010 campaign brings more certainty and new ideas towards the issue. It gives it "a human face". On the whole the second campaign is more successful than the first based on risk communication. The goals, the elements and the targeting are more precise. The analysis suggests that the rising number of people

with HIV led to change in the campaigns and this in the communication of risk. The 2010 campaign has more aggressive messages and points out the problem in a frank way.

Both campaigns are a symbiosis between institutional experience and personal engagement. The institutions are highly trustful which means good information and lower risk.

7.2 Comparing the Presentation of Different Social Groups

So far, I have discussed directly and indirectly different groups and their representation within the campaigns. Now I will go further and see the differences and commonalities. First, both campaigns will be discussed in order to reveal if they point to solidarity and awareness among certain groups. And second, which groups should show solidarity and awareness with the problem. By outlining these topics I will present the final stage of the risk management and give an answer to my research question.

If the posters “correctly represent the population by gender” and show people of different ages and with different immigrant background, then probably that is the message – these are the people to be compassionate with (all of us). Actually, on the whole, the posters do not show directly which groups the society should be compassionate for. As discussed before, the posters represent correctly the population by gender – the number of women is slightly greater than the men. There are also people of different ages. Also, some immigrants groups seem to be presented either by the supporting actors or by the main ones. However, the campaign loses its focus on the groups, which the society should be compassionate for. There are no clear signs that the persons on the posters can be identified with the most affected groups in the society, though such an idea was presented above.

Although the second campaign shows persons with HIV, it does not cover all risk groups in the society. The persons on the three official posters are men and it can only be presumed whether they are MSM or heterosexual. However, there are no signs of targeting immigrants or drug users. Both groups are left out. Why is that? Both groups

could be more controversial. This leads to different opinions about whether certain groups should be supported gratuitously, and could lead to less support for the campaign. On one hand from the posters, the audience has the impression that HIV is associated with young or middle age men, who are white. For the first campaign, this is not clear at all. On the other hand, “Together against AIDS” better describes the society and the people who are supposed to show solidarity, while the second campaign loses its focus on the society. Overall, there are more men on the posters, even after excluding the main actors. On the whole, both campaigns miss to target and refer the problem to certain groups. However, the second one suggests what these groups could be, and states two of the groups to be MSM and heterosexual. In fact, HIV-positive people are depicted as male aged 20-40. Women are either ambassadors (in the first campaign) or supporters (the people in the background of both campaigns). In the official data, I did not find information why the HIV positive women from the second campaign was excluded from the official posters and is not the official web page.

8. Conclusion

In this paper I discussed the differences in managing and communicating risk within different health campaigns, while considering especially the representation of social groups. The topic is of high relevance in welfare policies as a lack of representation of different groups or risks might lead to a greater, increasing risk and thus to certain social problems. Risk communication was chosen as a central theory. I analyzed two campaigns that were not conventional though related to certain health issues. Instead of promoting protection of HIV/AIDS they were promoting solidarity and awareness in the society towards people with HIV/AIDS. How risk communicated is to the society and what aspects are emphasized as well as different social groups and their representation were in focus during my analysis.

My thesis used discourse analysis in order to give an answer to the research question. Different modalities were taken into consideration and outline specific ideas

behind the campaign, which helped different social groups to be understood and analyzed. Further research on this issue could be improved by adding one more method in order to make clearer what intention the author had and what idea could be behind the creation of the posters. In this case, I suggest personal interviews with campaign officials as very helpful. However, the chosen method outlines the problem and help for the analysis accordingly. Although discourse analysis proved to be adequate for a first research in this field, it also would be helpful to give voice to the addressed people. Feelings of target groups and identification processes are highlighted by the theory of risk communication. The target groups' voice would be interested to see if and in what way they see themselves addressed. However, this would claim a more extensive research question. This thesis can be a helpful basis for further research.

Findings show two campaigns that are different in their main ideas, goals, and targeting and thus also in their communication of risk. The first campaign raises awareness in society about the persons who have HIV and the fact that they are discriminated and stigmatized. This gets clear out of the discussion of goals in the analysis. Attention, esteem, compassion and publicity strongly reinforce this awareness. In contrast, the second campaign relates more to solidarity for people with HIV/AIDS. It focuses on sympathy, support, tolerance, respect and also compassion. Further, the target groups differ. Both campaigns target overall everybody and the society as a whole, but the latter campaign makes target groups clearer, as infected persons are even shown. One of the most essential differences probably is in the slogans for both campaigns. The 2009 campaign appeals for "showing the ribbon", while the 2010 campaign wants people to "get involved". As elaborated earlier, the first one suggests passive support, whereas the second one highlights activation as it can be translated into the claim that people should "live together". This can be identified as the strongest points of these campaigns. The connection to the theory of risk communication is in this way clearly made mainly by the promotion of knowledge and the tackling of emotions.

As the analysis shows, there are certain groups such as immigrants from countries with high prevalence of HIV and drug users, which are not portrayed in the campaign at

all. The representation of other groups is not clear or missing. However, in the second campaign two groups are considered as presented which is a step in the “right” direction. Giving a “face” of the problem could attract more attention to the cause and provoke solidarity and awareness. Non-presentation on the other hand put other groups in risk and will definitely lead to social tensions.

The unique cooperation between the governmental institutions BZgA and the non-governmental organizations launching the campaign creates a difficulty for research in general. As mentioned, communication is divided into rather personal interaction by the DAH and the responsibility for nation-wide communication by the BZgA. Though, the campaigns are a common product, parts of risk communication also in regards to certain social groups might take place directly. To investigate this within further research would be valuable, but needs more time resources for research and also a variety of research question.

The data analysed was based on the theory. Important aspects of the theory of risk communication such as narrative, amount of information, trustworthiness and different models were used in the analysis in order to present the campaigns and see how risk is communicated to the society, what aspects are emphasized and how they can be related to certain social groups. A problem of this method is that different perspectives can be considered, which can limit generalization. Connecting risk communication theory with discourse analysis brought certain strength out. Reflecting the theoretical choice, a certain limitation is that there is not much connection to attitudes like awareness, stigmatization and discrimination. Those are core elements emphasized in the campaigns. The theory treats more the issues of protection or environmental aspects, which sometimes favours rather safety and solution strategies in the communication to people. It is important to emphasize that, theory would yield more insight if it would be extended and developed, so it can be incorporated in the stated issues. On the whole, the theory of risk communication draws a good picture of the problem of discrimination and stigmatization among persons with HIV/AIDS at the first place thanks to the methodological choice. Discourse analysis allows going in-depth. Important aspects and rather general analysis

took into account colours, symbols, text or actors. Moreover, this created a good basis for taking up issues that were important in relation to the campaign targets and goals. Also this took up on central aspects of risk communication, like uncertainty, trustworthiness, narratives, etc. However, theory should be more flexible and go beyond its borders. As I discussed in my thesis, risk needs a broader definition. It should not be connected only with safety, environmental or health issues. Different values or attitudes also need to be considered as risky and require certain risk communication strategies. I hope that my work can give some ideas in this direction as it shows the importance of incorporating those issues.

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10. Appendix

10.1 Material for the Campaign “Together Against AIDS” (2009)

10.1.1 Poster with Philipp Lahm



Translation:

& You. Show ribbon! (red text)

World AIDS Day 1st of December – Together against Aids (white box)

Join in: www.Welt-Aids-Tag.de (white text)

(In the lower right corner participating organizations are listed.)

10.1.2 Poster with Christiane Paul



Translation:

& You. Show ribbon! (red text)

World AIDS Day 1st of December – Together against Aids (white box)

Join in: www.Welt-Aids-Tag.de (white text)

(In the lower right corner participating organizations are listed.)

10.1.3 Poster with Annie Friesinger



Translation:

& You. Show ribbon! (red text)

World AIDS Day 1st of December – Together against Aids (white box)

Join in: www.Welt-Aids-Tag.de (white text)

(In the lower right corner participating organizations are listed.)

10.1.4 Poster with Samy Deluxe



Translation:

& You. Show ribbon! (red text)

World AIDS Day 1st of December – Together against Aids (white box)

Join in: www.Welt-Aids-Tag.de (white text)

(In the lower right corner participating organizations are listed.)

10.2 Material for the Campaign “Living together positive – but safe” (2010)

10.2.1 Poster Nr. 1

**Mit HIV muss ich leben.
Aber meine Freunde unterstützen
mich, wenn es mir mal schlecht geht.**

Kay ist HIV-positiv – und zum Glück nicht allein. Seine Freunde wissen Bescheid und sind für ihn da. Aber er kennt viele Menschen mit HIV, denen es anders geht: Sie trauen sich nicht, von ihrer Ansteckung zu erzählen. Auch denen nicht, deren Unterstützung sie am meisten brauchen.

Helpen Sie mit!
Zeigen Sie Menschen mit HIV Ihren Respekt und Ihre Wertschätzung.

POSITIV ZUSAMMEN LEBEN
Aber sicher!

WELT-AIDS-TAG AM 1.12. www.welt-aids-tag.de

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THE CAMPAIGN FOR
Bundesministerium für Gesundheit
BZgA
IN PARTNERSCHAFT MIT:
Deutscher AIDS-Hilfeschluss
Deutscher AIDS-Hilfeschluss

Translation:

I have to live with HIV. But my friends help/support me, when I am doing/feeling bad sometimes. (white bold text)

Kay is HIV-positive – and fortunately not alone. His friends know that and are there for him. But he knows many people with HIV who are in a different situation. They don't dare/have the courage to tell about their infection, even to the ones, whose support they need most.

Get involved. Show people with HIV your respect and esteem.

(white text)

Live together positive, but safe (white box)

World-AIDS-Day on December 1st. www.welt-aids-tag.de (red box)

(In the bottom banner participating organizations are listed.)

10.2.2 Poster Nr. 2

Mit HIV muss ich leben. Mit Kollegen, die mich diskriminieren, nicht.

Dirk war geschockt, als er sein HIV-Testergebnis bekam.
Aber er zögerte nicht lange, sich seinen Kollegen anzuvertrauen.
Er hat es nie bereut. Mit seinem offenen Umgang in Büro
müßte er dies auch anderen erleichtern. Denn Menschen mit HIV
werden oft noch ausgegrenzt – auch am Arbeitsplatz.
Helfen Sie mit!
Zeigen Sie Respekt und Unterstützung für Menschen mit HIV.

POSITIV ZUSAMMEN LEBEN
Aber sicher!

WELT-AIDS-TAG AM 1.12. www.welt-aids-tag.de

Beispiel & Design: Ingrid Isenhardt | Peter Heilmann | Elmar

THE CAMPAIGN FOR
Bundesministerium
für Gesundheit
BCyA
IN PARTNERSHIP WITH:
Deutsche
AIDS-Hilfe
Deutscher
AIDS-Öffnung

Translation:

I have to live with HIV. With colleagues, who do not discriminate me. (white bold text)

Dirk was shocked when he got his HIV-Test result. But he did not hesitate long time to tell this to his colleagues. He never regretted. With his openness to this issue in the office, he wants to make it easier also for others, because people with HIV are still often excluded – the workplace is one example.

Get Involved! Show respect and support for people with HIV.

(white text)

Live together positive, but safe (white box)

World-AIDS-Day on December 1st. www.welt-aids-tag.de (red box)

(In the bottom banner participating organizations are listed.)

10.2.3 Poster Nr. 3



Translation:

I have HIV. And fortunately I dared to tell my friends. (white bold text)

“Markus did think a long time, whom he can tell about his HIV-infection. Then he took all his courage and won ... friends that accept him the way he is. Many people with HIV still are anxious to entrust others – even their good friends.

Get involved! Show respect and support to people with HIV.

(white text)

Live together positive, but safe (white box)

World-AIDS-Day on December 1st. www.welt-aids-tag.de (red box)