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Transactional Analysis of AIDS Prevention Advertising

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Abstract

Germane to the production and use of health education advertisements is their effectiveness. MacLachlan, Carr, Fardell, Maffesoni, and Cunningham (1997) proposed that an HIV/AIDS health education message is more effective when the ego state "hooked" by the advertisement is complementary (parallel) to the ego state experienced during sexual interaction. The aim of this study was to test this model further and, through minor modification of the original design, to gather additional salient subsidiary data. One hundred and forty-four sexually active Australian undergraduates viewed two government-sponsored television advertisements ("Reaper" and "Beds") designed to prevent the spread of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). After the viewing, the participants were asked to identify the ego states projected by the advertisements, the ego states they would have preferred to have projected, and their prediction of their own ego state during sexual interaction with both a steady and a casual partner. The participants rated the effectiveness of each of the two advertisements on a categorical scale (poor, satisfactory, good, and excellent) for each of two dimensions (conveying knowledge about HIV/AIDS and conveying the need for safe sexual practices). Higher ratings for effectiveness on both dimensions were found for parallel transactions represented as matches between projected ego states and preferred ego states at the time of viewing ($\chi^2 (N = 143) = 33.7 p < .001$; $\chi^2 (3, N = 143) = 43.1 p < .001$; $\chi^2 (3, N = 140) = 36.1 p < .001$; and $\chi^2 (N = 141) = 28.1 p < .001$), but not for matches (parallel transactions) between advertisement projected ego states and predicted ego states for self during sexual interactions. Analysis of

subsidiary data revealed that predicted ego states did not differ according to type of sexual partner (steady, casual); both advertisements were rated as more effective in conveying the need for safe sexual practices than knowledge about HIV/AIDS ($z = 6.8, p < .001$ & $z = 8.9 p < .001$); the "Beds" advertisement was rated more effective than the "Reaper" advertisement for both knowledge impact and need for safe practices ($z = 2.67, p < .01$ & $z = 6.0 p < .001$); and the majority (63% and 66%) of respondents selected Adult to Adult as their preferred ego states for the advertisements to project. The utility of transactional analysis in the social marketing and evaluation of health education is discussed with reference to overcoming its limitations through the development of a transactional positioning approach.

Within contemporary society there exists a wide range of media forms that can be used to convey health-promoting messages. Television, however, has been singled out as "more involving and attention-grabbing than any of the print media" (Corston & Coleman, 1997, p.192; see also Donohew, Lorch, & Palmgreen, 1998), and findings suggest that "in naturalistic conditions people may be more likely to pay heed to information presented on television (Corston & Coleman, 1997, p. 192). Television has also been found to be a major robust and reliable source of information regarding human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) (Lyttleton, 1994; Maticka-Tyndale, Kiewying, Haswell, & Kuyyakanoid, 1994; Mitchell, O'Brien, Semensky, & Ianotti, 1995; Wolitski, Bensley, Corby, Fishbein, & Galavotti, 1996). While it is known that advertisements can influence individuals both directly and cumulatively through the repetition

of scientifically validated information (Bush & Boller, 1991), the issue more pertinent to the interests of health educationalists is the effectiveness of health-promotion advertisements and how this effectiveness might be assessed. MacLachlan, Carr, Fardell, Maffesoni, and Cunningham (1997) proposed a model for evaluating the effectiveness of health-promoting information. Their model is based on a synthesis of television advertising, transactional analysis, and recall congruence.

In brief, transactional analysis proposes that when people communicate, they do so from one ego state to another and that communications are most effective when they are complementary or parallel, that is, the transaction involves complementary ego states in both the sending and receiving (e.g., sent Adult to Adult, received Adult to Adult). When the ego states are not complementary (e.g., sent Adult to Adult but received and responded to as Child to Parent), then a crossed transaction is said to have taken place. More effective communications can be achieved by attempting to "hook" the audience, that is, by identifying and directing the message to the current ego state of the intended audience.

The model put forth by MacLachlan et al. (1997) proposes that HIV/AIDS health-promotion advertisements will be more effective when the ego state "hooked" by the advertisement is parallel or complementary to the ego state experienced during sexual interaction. The importance of complementary ego states at the time of seeing the advertisement and at the time of sexual interaction is understood through the concept of mood congruent recall (Bower, 1981). Mood congruent recall postulates that information received in one state (of mind) is more accessible when the same state recurs. MacLachlan et al. (1997) tested their model using two HIV/AIDS television advertisements on a small sample ($N = 83$) and found preliminary, but rather equivocal, evidence to support their model. Specifically, their findings revealed a nonrandom distribution of ego states in the viewers for each of the two advertisements. This nonrandom distribution provided evidence of "hooking" when the two advertisements were shown. Also, the chi-square

analysis to compare the effectiveness (high or low) of parallel as opposed to crossed transactions revealed a statistically significant result ($\chi^2(1, N = 83) = 2.78, p < .05$) in favor of greater effectiveness for parallel transactions for one of the two advertisements ("Grim Reaper") but not for the other ("Beds").

The primary aim of this study was to investigate the robustness of MacLachlan et al.'s (1997) parallel facilitation effect model by extending the previous study to a much larger sample. As with the earlier study, participants in this study comprised predominantly young people because the indications are that a large proportion of adults identified with AIDS were infected during adolescence (Rotheran-Buros & Koopman, 1991). MacLachlan et al. (1997) used the two television advertisements to investigate the ego states implicit in the advertising broadcast, the ego states during sexual interaction and the effectiveness of the advertisements. Some modifications in the form of additional variables have been made to MacLachlan et al.'s original design in order to gather additional salient information.

It is recognized that sexual context may vary according to the nature of the relationship between the sexual partners (casual versus steady) and that a change in context may or may not be associated with different ego states at the time of sexual interaction. The original study design was thus modified to gather data regarding the ego states during sexual interaction for both a casual partner and a steady partner. In the 1997 study, the measure of the impact of advertisements was one dimensional, assessing only the extent to which the viewers thought the advertisements would be effective in communicating the need for safe sexual practices. The wish to expand this measure to include an assessment of the extent to which the participants felt that the advertisements conveyed knowledge about HIV/AIDS resulted in the insertion of a question to this effect. Cognizant of the need to follow the same basic procedures if the present study was to be a legitimate comparison with the 1997 study, no further changes were made to the original design. Specific hypotheses to be tested in the present study included:

1. *Steady/Casual Partners.* The pattern of

predicted ego states for the self at the time of sexual interaction with a steady partner will differ from those at the time of sexual interaction with a casual partner.

2. *Effectiveness.* Effectiveness will differ between impact of advertisements on the need for safe sex and impact of advertisement on conveying HIV/AIDS information.

3. *Parallel/Crossed Transactions.* Greater ratings for effectiveness of the two television advertisements will be found for parallel rather than crossed transactions at the time of broadcast (i.e., between ego states implied by the advertisements and audience preferred ego states).

4. *Mood Congruence Facilitation.* Greater effectiveness of the advertisements will be found for parallel rather than crossed transactions for ego states perceived as projected by the advertisements and ego states of self at the time of sexual interaction with a steady partner. Also, greater effectiveness of the advertisements will be found for parallel rather than crossed transactions for ego states perceived as projected by the advertisements and ego state of self at the time of sexual interaction with a casual partner.

Method

Participants. The participants consisted of a convenience sample of 165 introductory psychology undergraduate students at the University of Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia. All of the respondents participated under conditions of informed consent and confidentiality as part of their course requirements in first-year psychology.

The sample comprised 43 males and 119 females (three participants did not report their sex). The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 53, with a mean age of 23.8 (standard deviation 8.5) years. The majority (80%) of participants were 30 years or younger at the time of the study. Eighty-seven percent of the sample were either currently in a sexual relationship or had experience of a sexual relationship in the past.

Materials and Procedure. Following the procedure used by MacLachlan et al. (1997), the participants were given a brief introduction to transactional analysis and its terminology. In the initial MacLachlan et al. study, some of the

participants reported finding it difficult to distinguish between the subdivisions of the Child (Frustrated Child versus Fun-loving Child) and Parent (Critical Parent versus Supporting Parent) ego states. Unfortunately, the same difficulty also arose in the present study. Consequently, as used in other treatments of transactional analysis (e.g. Nykodym, Longenecker, & Ruud, 1991), the participants were instructed to use the undifferentiated transactional analysis model (Parent, Adult, Child) for identification of projected, preferred, and predicted ego states.

Immediately following this introduction, participants viewed two HIV/AIDS television advertisements previously used across Australia in an attempt to promote safe sexual behavior. The two advertisements are colloquially known as the "Reaper" and the "Beds" commercials. The former personifies AIDS as the Grim Reaper of Death, complete with scythe and cape. The latter depicts a couple in bed together and then pans out to reveal all the previous partners of each partner in bed with their partners. Time and organizational constraints associated with the class situation in which viewing of the two advertisements took place made it logistically impractical to control for order effects or carry-over effects induced by watching "Reaper" before "Beds." This methodical limitation will be taken into consideration in the interpretation of the results.

After viewing the two advertisements, participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire that asked them to recall: (1) their predicted probable ego states (Parent, Adult, Child) of self and other during a sexual interaction with (a) a steady partner and (b) a casual partner; (2) the ego states best representing the attitude of the (a) speaker and the (b) intended audience implicit in the "Reaper" advertisement; (3) the effectiveness of the "Reaper" advertisement in conveying the need for (a) safe sexual practices and (b) HIV/AIDS knowledge. Four effectiveness response options were offered, namely, poor, satisfactory, good, and excellent. Questions (4) and (5) repeated questions (2) and (3) parts (a) and (b) for the "Beds" advertisement. A final section of the questionnaire requested the demographic information summarized under "Participants."

Results

The data showed that 21 of the 165 respondents were not currently in nor had ever been in a sexual interaction. Consequently, a preliminary analysis was conducted to ascertain if this subgroup of participants differed from those participants who had experience of a sexual interaction. Chi-square analysis for predicted ego state (Parent, Child, Adult) and experience of sexual interaction (experienced versus virgins) revealed a statistically significant difference ($\chi^2(2, N = 165) = 7.7 p < .05$) between the subgroup of virgins and the remainder of the sample for predicted ego state for the self during sexual interaction with a steady partner but not for a casual partner. Identification of this difference led to the decision to exclude these 21 cases from further analysis.

Ego States Predicted for Sexual Interactions. As can be seen in Table 1, the ego states (Parent, Adult, Child) predicted for sexual interaction

both with a steady partner and with a casual partner show the greatest percentages of respondents to have predicted a Child ego state for both types of intimate encounter. The chi-square values also listed in Table 1 confirm that the distribution patterns departed significantly from chance for both the steady and the casual partner encounters. The predominance of the Child ego state is more marked for sexual interaction with a casual partner (70%) than with a steady partner (43%). However, an overall chi-square analysis between steady/casual and Parent/Adult/Child revealed a significant degree of association ($\chi^2(4, N = 144) = 14.7 p < .01$) resulting in rejection of the hypothesis that ego state patterns would differ for the two types of sexual interaction encounter.

Ego States at Broadcast. All the distributions of ego states (Parent, Adult, Child) for implied speaker and audience and preferred speaker and audience for both the "Reaper" and the

Table 1
Reported Ego States (N = 144)

	Parent	Adult	Child	Chi-square
Sexual interaction				
self with steady partner	32 (22%)	50 (35%)	62 (43%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 144) = 9.5 p < .01$
self with casual partner	12 (8%)	22 (22%)	100 (70%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 144) = 88.7 p < .001$
"Reaper" advertisement				
Speaker	129 (90%)	13 (9%)	2 (1%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 144) = 206.3 p < .001$
Preferred speaker	51 (36%)	91 (63%)	2 (1%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 144) = 82.8 p < .001$
Audience	4 (3%)	15 (10%)	125 (87%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 144) = 186.5 p < .001$
Preferred audience	6 (4%)	117 (81%)	21 (15%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 144) = 151.1 p < .001$
"Beds" advertisement				
Speaker	84 (59%)	58 (40%)	2 (1%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 144) = 73.2 p < .001$
Preferred speaker	43 (30%)	93 (66%)	6 (4%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 142) = 80.5 p < .001$
Audience	3 (2%)	41 (29%)	100 (69%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 144) = 99.5 p < .001$
Preferred audience	6 (4%)	114 (80%)	22 (16%)	$\chi^2(2, N = 142) = 143.5 p < .001$

"Beds" advertisements showed a statistically significant departure from chance (see Table 1 for chi-square values). Both the "Reaper" advertisement and the "Beds" advertisements were perceived to project a predominantly Parental tone in the speaker (90% and 59% respectively) and a Child ego state for the audience (87% and 69%) respectively. However, while analysis revealed a strong association for the audience distribution pattern ($\chi^2(4, N = 144) = 47.7 p < .001$) for both advertisements, this was not the case for the speaker distribution patterns, for which an overall chi-square test of association produced a nonsignificant result. This showed that the two advertisements perceived speaker ego states distributions to be independent of each other. This result is of twofold significance. First, it suggests that the "Reaper" advertisement was perceived as projecting a far more Parental, even paternalistic (the speaker's voice was male) tone than "Beds." Second, it offers some evidence to counter the possibility that order or carry-over effects occurred due to viewing one advertisement before the other.

The descriptive analysis shown in Table 1 indicates that for both the "Reaper" and the "Beds" advertisements, the majority of respondents would have preferred both of the advertisements to project an Adult ego state speaker (63% and 66% respectively) to an Adult audience (81% and 80% respectively). Statistically significant associations were found between "Reaper" and "Beds" for both preferred ego state for speaker and preferred ego state for audience ($\chi^2(4, N = 142) = 35.4 p < .001$; and $\chi^2(4, N = 142) = 31.1 p < .001$).

The difference between the perceived and the preferred ego states projected by the two advertisements suggest that a high number of crossed transactions were perceived to take place at the time of the advertisements' broadcast. Parallel transactions were identified as those in which the projected ego states for speaker and audience (e.g., Parent to Child) matched the preferred ego states for speaker and audience (e.g., Parent to Child) at the time of broadcast. Categorization according to parallel and crossed transactions at the time the two advertisements were shown to the participants resulted in: "Reaper" 118 (82%) crossed and 26 (18%)

parallel and "Beds" 100 (70%) crossed and 42 (30%) parallel. The "Reaper" thus produced proportionally fewer parallel transactions ($z = -2.6 p < .01$).

Effectiveness Impact. Modal distribution of the effectiveness rating (Poor, Satisfactory, Good, and Excellent) indicated that the "Beds" advertisement was rated as having greater effectiveness in terms of conveying both HIV/AIDS knowledge and the need for safe sexual practices than the "Reaper" advertisement. No respondents rated the "Beds" advertisement as poor in conveying the need for safe sexual practices, whereas 31 (22%) of the respondents rated "Reaper" as poor on this measure. Similarly, 45 (31%) of the respondents rated "Beds" as either good or excellent at conveying knowledge compared to 36 (25%) for "Reaper."

To compare these differential impacts more systematically, Wilcoxon tests across the two advertisements ("Reaper" and "Beds") for each of the two impact measures (conveying knowledge and need for safe sexual practices) were conducted. On both variables, "Reaper" was found to be inferior to "Beds." With respect to conveying knowledge, 42 of 142 participants rated "Beds" more highly than "Reaper" ($z = 2.67 p < .001$), and for conveying the need for safe sexual practices, 71 of 143 participants rated "Beds" more highly than "Reaper" ($z = 6.0 p < .001$). Additional analysis to compare the effectiveness of each of the two advertisements for knowledge impact versus need for safe sexual practices revealed that both advertisements were rated more highly for effectiveness in conveying the need for safe sexual practices than in conveying HIV/AIDS information: "Reaper" safe practices versus knowledge ($z = 6.8 p < .001$) and "Beds" safe practices versus knowledge ($z = 8.9 p < .001$). However, it is to be noted that viewing "Reaper" before "Beds" may have cued the participants to be more receptive to the message conveyed by the "Beds" advertisement, which then resulted in the overall perception that the "Beds" advertisement was more effective. Further investigation would be needed to clarify this point.

The distribution of effectiveness for both knowledge and the need for safe sexual practices by parallel and crossed transactions at the

time of advertisement broadcast (see Tables 2 and 3) suggests that higher ratings are to be found for parallel rather than crossed transactions. Four chi-square analyses were run to assess these apparent differences. Unfortunately, two of the four analyses—"Reaper" by knowledge impact and "Beds" by knowledge impact—had 25% and 12.5% respectively, cells with expected counts less than 0, denoting that caution needs to be taken when interpreting the results. Mindful of this caveat, the analysis showed a higher effectiveness rating to be associated with parallel transactions at time of broadcast for both advertisements and for both impact measures (knowledge and need for safe practices): "Reaper" by knowledge impact $\chi^2 (3, N = 143) = 33.7 p < .001$ and "Reaper" by need for safe sex practices $\chi^2 (3, N = 143) = 43.1 p < .001$; "Beds" by knowledge impact $\chi^2 (3, N = 140) = 36.1 p < .001$ and "Beds" by need for safe sex practices $\chi^2 (3, N = 141) = 28.1 p < .001$.

Congruence Hypothesis. Matches and mismatches categorized as parallel and crossed

transactions between ego states implied by the advertisement and those predicted during sexual interaction were also tested for differences in terms of effectiveness ratings. The findings of this study offered no support for the congruence hypothesis. Effectiveness impact ratings were independent of whether the ego state perceived as implied by the advertisement was consistent with (matched) the respondent's predicted ego state during sexual interaction either with steady or casual partners. To put this another way, trying to "hook" the ego state coincident with, and to that extent evocative of, his or her own predicted ego state "in the bedroom" was not apparently sufficient to increase the advertisement's effectiveness impact in any demonstrable way in this study.

Discussion

The present study set out to replicate and develop the findings from our previous study (MacLachlan et al., 1997) on transactional analysis of HIV/AIDS health education advertisements. Once again, the participants' ratings

Table 2
Transaction at "Reaper" Broadcast and Effectiveness Impact for Advertisements

	Knowledge		Need for Safe Behavior	
	Parallel	Crossed	Parallel	Crossed
Poor	5	70	2	29
Satisfactory	3	38	2	40
Good	12	14	5	37
Excellent	6	4	17	11

Table 3
Transaction at "Beds" Broadcast and Effectiveness Impact for Advertisement

	Knowledge		Need for Safe Behavior	
	Parallel	Crossed	Parallel	Crossed
Poor	6	48	4	0
Satisfactory	9	32	11	34
Good	15	16	27	46
Excellent	12	2	42	19

of speaker and audience ego states were non-randomly distributed. As with the earlier study, there were highly distinctive perceptions of ego states associated with each of the advertisements and for predicted ego states during sexual interaction with a steady or a casual partner. These findings support the contention that transactional analysis is apposite for the interpretation of HIV/AIDS advertising on television. Furthermore, the finding that two-thirds of the respondents indicated that their preferred option for HIV/AIDS health education advertisements would be the Adult ego state coincides with Berne's (1964) original assertion that "every individual is capable of objective data processing if the appropriate [Adult] ego state can be activated" (p. 24).

Despite the aforementioned noted support for the general appositeness of transactional analysis in the present context, the first hypothesis—that the pattern of predicted ego states during sexual interaction with a steady versus a casual partner would differ significantly from one another—was not supported. The findings showed that the greatest proportion of subjects nominated the Child ego state. The Adult ego state was the next most commonly nominated, and the Parent was the least popular. This pattern applied to both steady and casual partners, although it was more pronounced in the latter. The similar pattern for predicted ego states across steady and casual partners may be a function of the relatively young participants in this study (with a mean age of less than 24). The similarity of these patterns suggests that health-promotion messages do not need to be adjusted to target either steady or casual partner scenarios but can be designed to target sexual interactions of either type. It is, however, legitimate to question the generalizability of this finding. Different age groups, or people from different cultural backgrounds, may predict different ego state patterns during sexual interaction with a steady versus a casual partner.

The second hypothesis—that the advertisements would differ in terms of their effectiveness in conveying the need for safe sexual practices and HIV/AIDS knowledge information—was supported. This finding, although not central to the main aim of this study, is of interest

because it supports the contention that the effectiveness of HIV/AIDS television advertisements should not be regarded or measured as a unidimensional construct.

The third hypothesis—that parallel transactions between the speaker in the advertisement and the immediate viewing audience would be associated with stronger ratings of effectiveness than would crossed transactions—was also supported. We found, as in our previous study, that in both the "Reaper" and the "Beds" advertisements, parallel transactions were significantly and strongly associated with higher ratings regarding the effectiveness of the advertisement in conveying knowledge and the need for safe sex as compared to crossed transactions. These results support our original speculations concerning the potential value of a transactional analysis approach to enhancing the impact of health-promotion advertising.

Both parts of hypotheses number four—that parallel transactions between the speaker in the advertisement and the predicted ego states of the respondents during intercourse with a steady partner and a casual partner would be more effective than crossed transactions—was not supported. In fact, we found no association whatsoever between predicted ego state during intercourse and any other variable. This association was hypothesized on the basis of Bower's (1981) associative network theory, which states that contexts with similar meaning encourage recall, while those with dissimilar meaning discourage recall.

Combining the results of our third and fourth hypotheses, it would therefore seem that the value of a transactional analysis approach to advertising (at least in the manner we have operationalized it) lies in its ability to impact the message immediately on the viewing audience, but not in its ability to facilitate recall of the message in a sexually active state. This does not, of course, mean that the facilitatory effects of parallel transactions between speaker and viewer, producing greater immediate impact, are in some way ephemeral, but rather, that parallelism between the ego states of the advertisement speaker and the self during sexual interaction will not in itself make a difference.

Nonetheless, while increasing the immediate effect of an advertisement is important, the recall of such information at times of sexual risk taking is clearly also of great importance. As McGuire (1980) has argued, a fundamental challenge for social marketing is that a message must be both effectively communicated and then recalled at the time of decision making. Previously we argued that while evidence of a congruence-recall effect is not consistently found in studies of cognition and affect, it is found often enough to take the effect seriously (MacLachlan et al., 1997). Perhaps research on this effect should focus on identifying the settings and conditions that maximize congruent recall so that the benefits of any such effect can be more effectively employed in applied settings, such as the present one.

The essence of our findings in this study are that transactional analysis is an apposite way of interpreting the effects of health-promoting television advertising and that parallel transactions appear to enhance the impact of such advertising. It is, however, important to acknowledge that transactional analysis is only one way, and a rather restricted way, of conceptualizing the dynamic communication process between speaker and audience. Positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & Van Langenhove, 1991) allows for greater fluidity and an infinite variety of communicative relationships between individuals. However, what counts as crossed and what counts as parallel with regard to transactions is liable to differ substantially with social context in general and cultural setting in particular (see also Tan & Moghaddam, 1995). Elsewhere (Carr, Mc Auliffe, & MacLachlan, 1998), we have outlined the application of a hybrid transactional analysis/positioning theory to international aid. Transactional positioning, as we call it, is an attempt to incorporate the flexibility of positioning theory with the practicality of transactional analysis. We envisage parallel positioning (wherein each party negotiates a mutually acceptable narrative for communication), crossed positioning (where mutually acceptable and interlocking roles cannot be adopted), and metapositioning (where the forms of positioning, vis-a-vis crossed or parallel, are discussed abstractly). We also

envisage plural positioning, whereby the same players may alternate between different roles to suit situational contingencies (see Carr et al., 1998, Chapter 8, for a full discussion).

The transactional analysis formulation, based on a nuclear family metaphor (Parent, Adult, Child) and being the product of a particular cultural context, may be limited in applicability. In previous research on AIDS in Africa, we found alternative constructions of parallel positioning to be apparent. For instance, MacLachlan, Chimombo, and Mpemba (1997) found that a "Snakes & Ladders" board game that facilitated school children learning about AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases from each other was effective in increasing knowledge, while previous teacher-pupil instruction on the same topic had proved problematic. In this case, culturally sanctioned learning about sexuality (from nominated adults to children undergoing initiation) was supplanted by an alternative medium and narrative, which nonetheless facilitated parallel positioning. Whether this is described as Child to Child or Adult to Adult (by children) is a mute point; it is the relative positioning of the transaction that is important. Thus, in an era of increasing internationalization, the creation of culturally sensitive narratives and the openness of the members of any culture to new narratives argue for a conceptualization of communication that is flexible and open to new roles being adopted (MacLachlan, 1997).

The present and previous studies have reinforced the value of analyzing, through transactional analysis, television communications related to health promotion. We have argued for a broader conceptualization of this in terms of transactional positioning. Each of our studies has focused on HIV/AIDS with an undergraduate student population. It is clearly important to test the generalizability of our findings by applying similar methodology to other groups and other health issues.

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