

Interpretations of Sexual Reproductive Health Campaign Messages: A Study of Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” Campaign in Kenya

Bernice Gatere and Charles Ong’ondo

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses interpretations of health campaign messages, with particular focus on one such campaign in Kenya called the Wacha Mpango wa kando. The study was prompted by the consideration that despite the several campaigns on HIV/AIDS (particularly the much popularised wacha Mpango wa kando), the rate of new infections among married people remained high in Kenya, at around 44% as revealed by recent studies. The specific research question that this paper deals with is: What are the messages and interpretations that emerge from Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaigns in relation to Sexual Reproductive Health? The study was justified because despite the long existence of the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaign, there has been no academic research analyzing its efficacy in ameliorating the spread of HIV/AIDS. The study adopted the relativist -constructivist paradigm, qualitative research approach and case study method. Purposive and snowball sampling strategies were applied to identify participants. Data was generated through focused groups’ discussions, in-depth interviews, observation and document analysis. Trustworthiness was ensured through methodological and data source triangulation, member checking and peer review. Ethical standards were upheld through seeking of relevant approvals, informed consent, upholding anonymity and confidentiality of the participants. In brief, the study established that audiences interpreted the messages in varied ways not anticipated by the message designers but guided by their psychological, social and economic realities. From the findings, it can be concluded that packaging of a reproductive health campaign message is a complex communications issue that requires a deeper understanding of the social, cultural and personal circumstances of the target audiences.

Key words: Communication, Health campaign messages, HIV/Aids

Introduction

The study is an analysis of Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaign in Kenya. “Mpango wa Kando” is a uniquely Kenyan term coined to describe concurrent sexual partnerships. The campaign was among the efforts put in place to reduce the rate of new HIV/Aids infections among married people and those in long-term relationships.

The campaign was designed with the purpose of reducing the number of new HIV infections among married people and those in long-term relationships. This followed research showing this demographic had high rates of new infections at 44%.

The first case of HIV in Kenya was discovered in 1984 and since then numerous campaigns have been undertaken in an effort to contain the spread of the virus. Studies (KAIS, 2007; NASCOP, 2007) indicate that at the height of the epidemic in 1987, Kenya’s prevalence rates stood as high as 41% in some regions. As such governments, NGOs and other stakeholders have put up strategies to campaign against STDs (Stallone, 2012).

Previous research has linked the high rate of new HIV infections to the “Mpango wa Kando” practice among married people and those in long-term relationships. The groups considered high-risk categories include truck drivers, fishermen, commercial sex workers, and people in strained marriages. These are among the audiences targeted by these messages. Four main specific messages make up the Wacha Mpango Kando campaigns discussed subsequently.

The campaign messages are: Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” – Fanya Hesabu (stop your concurrent sexual relationship – count the cost), Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” – la sivyo weka condom mpangoni (Let go of your side relationship – or use a condom), Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” – Truck Driver, and Wacha Mpango wa kando, Fishermen produced in the Luo language (targeting a particular linguistic community in Kenya).

The first message Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” – Fanya Hesabu (stop your concurrent relationship – count the cost) was conceptualized to have the target audience consider and tally the cost implications: - financial, emotional and social of having concurrent sexual partners. This, the campaign planners hoped would compel the target audience to count the cost and drop these concurrent relationships. The face of this campaign was a media personality in Kenya, Jimmy Gathu.

The second message: Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” – la sivyo weka condom mpangoni (stop your concurrent sexual relationship – or use a condom) features two older women in a market place seen discussing the affair one of them has with a younger man despite being married. Her friend urges her to weka condom mpangoni (use a condom with her side relationship). The message ends with the tag line: ‘wakinge unaowapenda’ (protect the ones you love).

The third message, which specifically targeted truck drivers, shows a truck driver who has just arrived at his destination and calling his wife to say he has arrived safely. He is then shown proceeding to buy some goodies and some condoms for his time with the Mpango wa kando. He converses with the shopkeeper, portraying they know each other and also tells the “Mpango wa Kando” how he has missed her.

The fourth message is done in vernacular and specifically targets the fishing community along the shores of Lake Victoria. The HIV/Aids prevalence in this part of the country is recorded as being considerably high. It portrays a fisherman after a successful fishing expedition, being seduced for the catch by two beautiful women but refusing to exchange the fish for sexual favours from the two women, choosing to remain faithful to his wife.

This paper presents an analysis of the interpretations of these messages by the target audiences. However, before the findings are presented, a review of related literature is presented. The reviewed publications are referred to later in the paper while discussing the findings.

Literature Review

In this section, we review literature related to the subject of message interpretations. We start by situating the article in the discipline of Communication Studies. Health Communication has been defined as “the main currency of healthcare in the 21st century” (Krisberg, 2004; Schiavo, 2007) introduces health communication as one that gives ready access to relevant, reliable, and culturally appropriate information to the general public, patients, health care providers, public health professionals and others. This enables all concerned to address personal and public health matters far more efficiently than in the past. He posits that in the wake of the anthrax crisis in 2001, The Centre for Disease Control (CDC), and other federal authorities defined communication as the most important healthcare related science of the twenty first century.

Health communication has been described as an approach drawing on multiple disciplines including mass communication, social marketing, health education, anthropology and education (Bernhardt, 2004). Keller and Lehmann (2008) observe that health communication theories fall into two distinct categories, those that examine the positive acceptance of the message recommendation (acceptance, adoption, behaviour change) and those that examine the rejection of such messages (defensive, avoidance, denial). They note that the important thing is to ensure that a given health campaign is tailored to specific audiences in order to ensure effectiveness. In analysing the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaign we referred to theories that examine the rejection of these messages (defensive, avoidance, and denial). When the target audience watches these messages, what is their immediate reaction? Are they defensive, do they avoid the issue all together or are they in denial? Schiavo (2007) acknowledges that convincing people to adopt healthy behaviours, or convincing policy makers and professionals to introduce and change practices in support of better health is not an easy task. This study supports this view, by highlighting some of the behaviour change messages for the prevention of HIV/AIDS that have been used

in Kenya. Studies conducted in Kenya so far including the Kenya Aids Indicator Survey (KAIS 2007, 2014) and the Kenya Aids Epidemic Update (2012) have shown that prevalence rate of new infections among married couples and people in long-term relationships remain high despite the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” (Stop the concurrent sexual relationships) campaign messages initiated by the government and various stakeholders in 2009.

In so far as policymakers are concerned, the progress made in neighbouring Uganda in initiatives to combat HIV/AIDS has over the years brought to the fore the reluctant manner in which their Kenyan counterparts accepted the reality of the epidemic, perhaps leading to a later response than Uganda. Today, with concerted effort and policy framework, Kenya is one of the leading countries in Africa in effective communication campaigns to fight HIV/AIDS. One of the recent campaigns that has already been rated as effective is the campaign encouraging men to undergo Voluntary Male Medical Circumcision (VMMC). Another has been the provision of access to HIV care and treatment. About nine out of ten people infected with HIV who know they have HIV are receiving essential HIV-related care services and treatment for their infection (KAIS, 2013). This goes to show the changes that an effective health communication campaign can bring.

Both communications and public health practitioners have developed interventions to promote healthy attitudes and actions and to suppress those that place life and health in jeopardy (Freimuth, Cole & Kirby, 2000). Communication campaigns are “communication efforts to improve the lives of individuals and the fabric of our society” (Paisley & Rice, 1981). Such campaigns are very commonly used to reach and inform the ‘mass’ audience about important social issues. Communication campaigns are called public in the sense of excluding no one from their messages (Stappers, 1983) and also in the sense of addressing the audience as citizens, as an ‘active public’ who have to choose to be persuaded to take action on a (social) problem (Roser & Thompson, 1995). Paisley (1981) argues that reform is a unifying principle of all public communication campaigns whether the structure

of society itself is affected (promotion of collective benefits) or only the lifestyles of individuals (promotion of individual benefits) (Paisley, 1981).

One of the characteristics of the public communication campaigns is that they are targeted at the general audience but focussed to a specific audience segment believed to be at a greater risk. The Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” messages for instance are targeted at the general public and aired on the mass media of radio and television. They, however, focus on the married and those in long-term relationships as studies have shown that they are at a greater risk. One of complaints raised against the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaigns is that by showing explicit scenes of cheating spouses in bed for instance, the messages are exposing innocent children and youth to adult material and it may influence them negatively. This can also be viewed from a positive side that these youths are forewarned and will as a result not engage in “Mpango wa Kando” in their married life.

Most health communicators would agree that there are common set of variables considered in the development of a mass media health communication campaign message; and a common set of outcomes that one can reasonably expect because of a communication experience (Freimuth, Cole & Kirby, 2000). These variables can be categorized into four broad areas: 1) psychosocial attributes of the receiver, 2) the source or spokesperson, 3) settings, channels, activities, and materials used to disseminate the message, and 4) the message itself, including content, tone, type of appeal, audio characteristics, and visual attributes.

In Kenya, communication campaigns to mitigate against HIV/AIDS borrowed heavily from the family planning campaigns that were gaining credence in stalling the rapidly escalating population explosion (Were, 2015). Following the success in using information education and communication (IEC) in family planning communication, the same was replicated in the HIV arena (Piotrow et al., 2003). Subsequently, the first major HIV/AIDS campaign was launched on a platform of IEC.

The communication methods used were mainly conventional and focused on information transmission and knowledge acquisition (Waisbord, 2000). During this time, the causes and effects of HIV became widely known with the unfortunate effect of highly stigmatising the epidemic. With limited knowledge and understanding of the epidemic, there was a lot of fear since people had limited information of how HIV was transmitted; yet many bore witness to the adverse effect of the epidemic (Kalipeni & Mbugua, 2005). Even communication campaigns at that time regarded HIV as a death sentence. The epidemic was branded as a “Killer disease” and most of the posters and other communication featured images of emancipated and wasted persons dying from the epidemic (Merson et al., 2008; Singhal, 2003; UNAIDS, 2010).

The messages used fear appeal as a preventive measure. Unfortunately, the effects were short-lived (Wakefield, Loken & Hornik, 2010) and the expected ripples among the masses that would translate to positive behaviour change were not experienced. Contrary to the expectations, the epidemic continued to escalate at unprecedented rate (Kalipeni & Mbugua, 2005).

The increase in donor funding saw the entry of the United States of America’s President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) in 2003. Its aim was to support HIV prevention, care and treatment programs in Sub-Saharan Africa. In 2005, PEPFAR issued a policy directive necessitating all beneficiaries of their funding to adopt the ABC campaign model. This restricted the use of PEPFAR funds purely on activities related to promotion of Abstinence, Being faithful/fidelity and Condom use for defined target audiences (PEPFAR, 2005). President Bush championed the ABC HIV prevention approach with a significant preference for abstinence only programmes. This policy directive with the accompanying funding significantly influenced the country’s HIV prevention (NACC, 2009). With this in mind, subsequent HIV interventions in Kenya were designed on the ABC model in order to conform to the donor demands.

Scholars (Merson et al., 2008; Murphy et al., 2006) have criticized the ABC approach for being ineffective due to its limiting focus on three behaviour (abstinence, fidelity and condoms) as well as its over reliance on linear and rational models of individual behaviour change (Murphy et al., 2006, Merson et al., 2008). The heightened criticism of the limitations of the ABC policy directive led PEPFAR to revise its policy directives. PEPFAR's 2010-2015 strategy acknowledges that the HIV epidemic requires a multidimensional and multisectoral approach in order to transition from emergency responses to sustainability. The policy advocates for the use of epidemiological data to develop prevention responses based on evidence and with proven effectiveness (PEPFAR, 2010).

In analyzing these four messages, we noted campaign theorists (Malibachi, 1995, Mcquire, 1989 & Langer, 1978) are generally in agreement that after exposure to a message, audience attention comprises the next step in response. One of the ways we analysed these messages was to look for emerging interpretations and themes from discussions with audience members. A number of studies (Dick, Rinehart, & Widdus, 2010; Gupta et al.; 2008; Okaka, 2009; Were, 2015) have attributed failures noted in past HIV prevention campaigns to the over reliance on cognitive and socio psychological models in designing and implementing health communication campaigns. In analyzing these messages, we also reviewed related theories of behaviour change communication.

We were guided particularly by the Integrated Theory of Behaviour Change which according to Cappella, Fishbein, Hornik, et al., (2001) is a multifaceted model integrating Health Belief Model (HBM), Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), and Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA). These models shed light on, and guided us in explaining how external variables, individual differences, and underlying beliefs contribute to the differential influence pathways for outcome behaviour, intentions, attitudes, norms, and self-efficacy. Academically, we considered this critical in examining how the campaign message designers considered these attributes.

With the theoretical models in mind, the study delved deeper into what campaign designers consider in designing campaign messages. Specifically, what did the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaigner designers take into consideration? Maibach and Parrot (1995) argue that effective campaign messages have two main ingredients; they are theory grounded and audience centred. An effective campaign is one that combines these two ingredients. The research explored some of the theories that the message designers used in designing the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaign and at the same time explored what audience centred approaches were employed. Malibach and Parrot (1995) posit that health campaign messages must be both theory driven and audience centred. This study integrated behaviour change theories, specifically social cognitive models, and behaviour decision-making models as outlined by the two authors in its theory driven approaches to Health Message design.

Methods

We employed a qualitative research lens in this study. We attempted to accurately represent the socially constructed realities of the participants, as they perceive them to be (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Thus, a qualitative methodological approach allowed us to design empirical procedures, describe and interpret the participants’ perception and experiences on the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaign (Pickard & Dixon, 2004). As such, we allowed the participants to discuss both the “Mpango wa Kando” phenomenon and the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” messages as they perceived them to be.

The benefit of a qualitative approach to this study was that the research focused on participants’ experiences and the meanings they attached to events, processes and structures of the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaign (Berg, 2007; Skinner, Tagg & Halloway, 2000). Using a qualitative approach necessitated a prolonged and intense contact with the participants in their everyday situations, and in this way provided a holistic view, through the participants’ own words and perceptions of how they understood, accounted for and acted within these situations

(Miles & Huberman, 1994). We believe a qualitative approach enabled us to capture the essence of this study, showing how the targeted audience views, interacts with and interprets the campaign messages (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). A qualitative research methodology adds value to this study by offering a way of thinking about studying social reality (Straus & Corbin, 1990).

Data was generated through FDGs with selected members of the target audience of the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaign, in-depth interviews with the selected campaign message designers and a thematic analysis of the campaign messages themselves. Two in-depth interviews and 13 FDGs were conducted. Purposive sampling technique was used to select married members of each FDG, who were the message designers of the campaign under study. We further utilised the snowballing sampling technique to identify participants involved in the in-depth interviews.

Data analysis for this research started by analysis of data already in the public spheres. What is being said out there about these messages? What stories and experiences have the researchers heard or seen? This also involved dialogue on radio and television on the messages. Data from the 13 FDG’s and 15 interviews was analysed as they were gathered through transcription of the recorded content before coding thematically.

Steps taken to ensure trustworthiness included the following: First, involved confirmed designers of the messages and through the adopted sampling strategies, identified critical audiences that were sure would give credible information. Second, we used methodological triangulation, ensuring that data generation involved four data generation techniques i.e., FDGs, observation, in-depth interviews, and thematic analysis of the campaign messages. The members of the FDGs were purposively chosen to include married people who had watched the campaign. Third, to validate the findings even further, the clips containing the message were screened to each group before each message was discussed. In terms of the in-depth interviews, we interviewed two of the people

most responsible for the development of the campaign under study. Fourth, our research also engaged participants drawn from four different counties, covering three of the populations considered most at risk i.e. people in marriages. This was intended to ensure that interpretations captured were not limited to particular cultures or geographical boundaries.

Fifth, as Silverman (2013) states, qualitative researchers with their in-depth access to single cases, have to overcome a special temptation. How are they to convince themselves (and their audience) that their 'findings' are genuinely based on critical investigation of all their data and do not depend on a few well-chosen 'examples'. In our study, we avoided this situation also known as anecdotalism by depending on all 'examples' that answered the research questions. We also used triangulation in the data analysis, converging findings from different participants to systematically generate themes (Creswell, 2014).

Ethical issues considered in the study included the following: Firstly, since the study deals with a rather sensitive and personal matter of HIV/AIDS, we focused only on matters to do with the campaign messages and did not in any way ask the participants to declare their HIV status or whether they were personally involved in Mpango wa kando.

Secondly, since the target audiences were engaged in FDGs, the level of accountability in the questions asked and the answers given was enhanced and even more so by the fact that the participants knew the discussions were recorded for academic research purposes.

Thirdly, we also used written questions as a guide to avoid dwelling on issues that may raise ethical concerns and may not be necessary for the study. Though the truck drivers, specifically took the chance the study offered them to meet together as an opportunity to discuss their employment conditions, any discussions not directly related to the study were omitted in the data analysis. As a result of these measures, there were no ethical issues experienced or raised in the course of the study. We also ensured that the participants gave informed consent and

we gave them initial reports to confirm that they were quoted correctly in the strategy called Member Checking (Silverman, 2013).

Results

In this section, we detail the findings of the study based on the research questions: what messages and interpretations emerge from the “Wacha Mpango wa kando” campaigns in relation to sexual reproductive health campaign messaging. We present the findings for each of the four messages under study.

The Fanya Hesabu Message

The Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” - Fanya Hesabu message was discussed by 6 FDGs. This was one of the most popular messages when it aired on Kenyan television. It features media personality, Jimmy Gathu busting a man engaged in Mpango wa kando. The man seems to be caught off guard and stares in shock at Jimmy Gathu for the duration of message. Jimmy Gathu seems to suggest that he has had various discussions with the man about “Mpango wa Kando” and its role in the transmission of HIV within marriage and is surprised that the man still has his Mpango wa kando.

Armed with a calculator, he goes on to punch numbers to add up the amount the “Mpango wa Kando” is costing the man at the expense of his family, portrayed in the message with images of hungry children with empty bowls and school bags indicating they have been sent home from school. As he enters the figures, the man uses his fingers to communicate the amounts he spends and does not utter a word when asked whether he has ever counted what it costs him to keep his Mpango wa kando. The cost for paying her entertainment, rent, shopping, emergencies and helping out her family comes to KShs. 34,000/= and he is urged to consider the cost of the danger of contracting HIV/AIDS.

Fishermen in Homabay watched the Fanya Hesabu message as did a mixed group composed of both men and women participating in the group discussions on factors affecting engagement in extra-marital affairs. Both the men and women are involved in various community initiatives

by CARITAS organization in Homabay. Another Fanya Hesabu FDG focused on truck drivers in Chumvi, Machakos who watched the Fanya Hesabu message featuring Jimmy Gathu. They discussed how doing calculations on their expenditures with their Mpango wa kandos impacted their lives. Another FDG was held with truck drivers at Mai Mahiu in Nakuru County. Two FDGs in Nairobi, one comprising of men and the other of women also discussed the Fanya Hesabu Message. In the next section we detail how the various participants interpreted this message.

Participants interpreted the message-addressed men as providers for their families. The participants generally accepted that the message addresses the men who are involved in “Mpango wa Kando” with one asserting that “it is well composed for men because it opens their eyes to the fact that “Mpango wa Kando” is a reality and it is destroying families” (FDG 5:9).

The message featuring Jimmy Gathu, which urges men to count the cost of “Mpango wa Kando” was real and “hit men hard” through exposing them and their side-dealings. A member of the FDG 6.2 stated,

Although he has hit hard on us men, (Laughter) the message reflects what happens because if you have a “Mpango wa Kando” then you have expenses to take care of. This “Mpango wa Kando” may be jobless, in campus but she does not earn, in turn for you as a guy it will drain your pocket.

The participants asserted that the message presented the reality of how “Mpango wa Kando” drains men financially and reflected the situation accurately. It also showed how the nature of their work (truck drivers) encouraged men to participate in Mpango wa kando. It created some self-awareness that was described by one participant (FDG 6.4) as,

I think it's a self-conversation that every man needs to look into. There are some things that I associate myself with and I need to evaluate the effect it has in my life, pocket and every other aspect, besides diseases like HIV/AIDS. It's a mind opener for questioning whether “Mpango wa Kando” is worth it or not.

Participants asserted it was clear that the message was targeted towards the right audience and disagreed with those who criticized this particular message. They supported their view by stating that women also play a part in the prevalence of the extra-marital affairs. However, some of the participants observed that the message was not fair enough, as it focused on men spending on women as opposed to the current trend where women also sponsor men. A participant observed that:

In this message, the woman knew this man was married. So even women know it is wrong. They should have messages sensitizing women on this issue and that draining our pockets as men is bad.” (FDG 6.6)

There was also the feeling that both men and women in “Mpango wa Kando” did not want to be exposed due to shame and embarrassment. A participant observed (FDG 6.9) that:

Human beings tend to be forgetful or we tend to assume that something is not happening whereas it is actually happening. Most of the times we watch such a message and its impact is momentarily. This kind of message has an effect in that it puts the person watching into a dilemma or ‘puts you in two parts’ as one participant put it; the desire for the “Mpango wa Kando” on one side and love for the family on the other. Participants argued that ladies also have Mpango wa kandos and this should be brought in the open because some of them finance the men. “The same expense a man with a “Mpango wa Kando” incurs is the same expense this woman with a “Mpango wa Kando” will incur” (FDG 6:9).

Participants further interpreted the Fanya Hesabu Message in a variety of ways as outlined in the section below.

The Message was well composed, true, powerful and fair

Participants claimed that the message is well composed to address men and acts as an eye opener. The message addresses men in key life issues such as lack of provision of basic needs to the family:

the message is well articulated and communicates the message thus can act to inform men and women how much they spend on their Mpango wa kandos. (FDG 4:6)

The truck drivers in unison agreed that the message passed in the campaign is true.

Expenses are incurred but unless you are the one doing the spending then you will not easily tell. A third eye can easily tell if you are incurring expenses (FDG 7:4).

This was in reference to the tabulation of the costs as shown in the Fanya Hesabu message. The participants postulated that sometimes, we all need someone to help us get out of situations that could be costing us a lot of money without us noticing it.

Most participants in the FDG's highlighted the message was powerful and fair, it exposed a reality that men would rather have remain hidden. It represented the phenomenon accurately and was fair. However, it did not consider their work environment which is conducive to "Mpango wa Kando" nor the fact that men rarely think of the cost in their times of plenty and they find comfort in the secrecy that surrounds the phenomenon.

The FDG consisting of Nairobi women was very vocal with most participants agreeing that the fanya hesabu message 'hit the nail on the head' but also felt women should have been asked for their ideas. A participant observed that it was important to focus on women in the society as they contributed to extra-marital affairs as well and in many cases its women who entice men. One participant observed that,

I was thinking in the message they would have been gender balanced because I also know the women are much aware about the matter of Mpango wa kando. In this message, the woman knew this man was married. So even women know it is wrong. They should have a message sensitizing the woman on this issue and that draining the pockets of men is bad (FDG 9:2).

The Nairobi women FDG agreed with the other groups that the message is accurate and ‘hits’ the nail on the head but in their interpretation, women were not consulted for their views neither were they featured in the message. They however added the aspect of apathy on the part of the viewers and momentary impact meaning people may change for just a while after watching the message but soon revert to their old ways. Psychologically, the “Mpango wa Kando” practitioner is put in a dilemma as he is committed to both his family and the Mpango wa kando.

Counting the cost

Most of the participants admitted they had not done the calculations asserting that when it comes to Mpango wa kando, cost is not an issue. They asserted that the amount spent is based on the beauty and mode of dressing of the desired lady.

Both women and men in the mixed group were willing to engage in doing the maths of how expensive it is to maintain a Mpango wa kando. Moreover, they concurred there have been sufficient talk about Mpango wa kando. The question remains why this talk has not translated to behavior change. The participants though in different words agreed with the interpretations given by the fishermen.

There was a lot of discussion on the amount of KShs. 34,000/- that the man is spending on his “Mpango wa Kando” with some asking in which currency is it in. When they learned, it is in Kenya shillings, one of them said they even spend more than that in a month. “As my friend put it, leisure is expensive and costly” (FDG 7:5) causing laughter among his colleagues.

“...Yes, we have done the math, but there is a slight problem” asserts the first participant, amidst laughter from his colleagues, “as truck drivers we are short of money while travelling to a certain destination. We only see returns once we have completed the job.” FDG 7:1. He added that Jimmy Gathu with a calculator reminds him of the accounting he has to do for his trips including mileage, accommodation, truck maintenance

and others. Participant FDG 7:2 interpreted the message with a bit of sarcasm in his voice:

The short clip has a little or no help at all. Comfort is expensive; we all know that. We live within our means and when you have surplus, that's when you think of leisure. When you have surplus, you cannot do the math because you have a lot to spend.

He added with some seriousness that “but the message ideally displays the honest truth.”

One participant posited that just like in normal relationships, friends are close to you when you have a lot of money. He told the story of his friend to support his point.

Once I had a friend who got an accident along the way, and luckily or unluckily, he had a Mpango wa kando. The “Mpango wa Kando” lived close by in a house that my friend took care of all the costs and bills. He furnished the whole house. On this day when he got the accident, he broke both limbs. He sent me to the Mpango wa kando's place to pass the message but upon my arrival to her place and breaking the news, I could not give feedback to my friend. She openly confessed that her ‘contract’ with my friend was over. Their affair was done. Clearly, she was after the money. Even his wife was not receiving as much as the “Mpango wa Kando” (FDG 7:3).

Reasons for engagement in “Mpango wa Kando”

Participants gave various reasons as to why men engage in “Mpango wa Kando” regardless of all risks and costs involved. One of the reasons is that due to high cost of living, ladies have devised all methods to lure and trap men. Another reason is that when a lady taunts a man that he cannot afford her, most likely the man will spend on her to prove she is wrong. “It's because a lady has challenged you that you can't afford her so you want to prove her wrong by spending money on her” (FDG 4:7). Additionally, the culture factor contributes since the man is regarded as important by the number of wives he has. “You are regarded as an important person based on the number of women that you have or

you can manage.” Adding that the practice of jaboya (sex for fish) also contributes to why men engage in Mpango wa kando.

Portrayal of a common phenomenon

The message was interpreted to indicate that “Mpango wa Kando” was a common phenomenon and as such the messages were necessary to discourage the behavior or encourage protection during sexual intercourse with a Mpango wa kando. The issues of “Mpango wa Kando” were no longer secretive as it is considered widely practiced but participants felt it was a matter that required serious discussion. One of the participants also said that the main message that was being passed across was that trust in an intimate relationship was the only thing that would ensure stability and fidelity in that relationship.

Gender Bias

The participants however felt it was unfortunate that the woman engaged in this particular “Mpango wa Kando” was not featured at all in the message. Since the woman knows she was engaged in a “Mpango wa Kando” with a married man, she was considered as guilty as the man.

It is very biased message because the reality is that the lady knows she is in a relationship with a married man and that's the reason he is not living with her. It should have been balanced with another message that sensitizes ladies not to be in a “Mpango wa Kando” with married men (FDG 8:1).

A member further emphasized that engaging in “Mpango wa Kando” was draining men of their hard-earned cash. She was of the opinion that women be sensitized of the cases of extra-marital affairs with married men. She stated (FDG 9.4) “Women should be sensitized that they should not engage in “Mpango wa Kando” with men who are in relationships that are already stable and working.” There was concern in the group that it was women hurting their fellow women by going after their men. In their discussions, it was clear there was the belief that

women are the ones who initiate “Mpango wa Kando” by leading the men astray.

Taking Action

Most participants admitted they had not done the calculations and committed to do so after watching the messages. There was also a sense of apathy among the targeted audience who claimed to know the truth but found it hard to change. Women have Mpango wa kandos and spend on men, especially young ones who benefit financially from the women. One participant stated,

Human beings tend to be forgetful or we tend to assume that something is not happening whereas it is actually happening. Most of the times we watch such a message and its impact is momentary. This kind of message has an effect in that it subdivides you in two parts, that is the Mpango wa kando's side and love for your family. Ladies also have “Mpango wa kandos” and this should be brought in the open because some of them fund men. The same expense a man with a “Mpango wa Kando” incurs is the same expense this woman with a “Mpango wa Kando” will incur. (FDG 9.5)

La Sivyoy Weka Condom Mpangoni- Message

This campaign was a sequel to the Fanya Hesabu message. The Fanya Hesabu campaign did not lead to a reduction in the rate of new infections among the married and those in long-term relationships. People were willing to pay the cost for pleasure at the risk of contracting and spreading HIV/AIDS. It is this realization that led to the designing of the Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” - La sivyoy weka condom Mpangoni. This campaign was targeted at both men and women in marriages and long-term relationships and at various groups considered high risk.

This message featuring two women discussing the affair one of them is having with a younger man was viewed by four Focus Discussion groups. In this message two women are seen discussing the affair one of them (Mama Michelle) is having with a much younger man. The setting is a market place and asked how her husband (Baba Michelle) is

doing; Mama Michelle complains how he came home totally drunk the previous night. She then volunteers the information to her friend that she is satisfied with Mbugua and the camera zooms to the young man (Mbugua) chatting happily with a younger woman at his market stall.

It is at this point that the camera is focused again on the two ladies with the second lady advising her friends, even though they love one another, she hopes they are using condoms because there are diseases out there. At this stage Mama Michelle is shown hugging her young children in school uniform. When this message hit the airwaves in 2013, there was public outcry with parents and religious leaders calling for its termination claiming it was corrupting societal morals. Some said it was showed during family viewing time and was corrupting the morals of young children. Four discussion groups viewed the message, two in Nairobi and two in Homabay. There were varied interpretations from the groups.

Due to the controversy, debate and public outcry that accompanied the campaign featuring two market women discussing *Mpango wa kando*, various FDG's were very familiar with the message and subjected it to varying interpretations.

Ladies in FDG 11 said that the message was aimed at creating awareness among the people that, prioritizing use of condom was important in every intimate relationship. Additionally, one of them noted that the message was also aimed at the parents so that they could protect their children from engaging in irresponsible sexual behavior. As such, the ladies also posited that the message was appropriate since it represented the real issues that happen in the society.

They asserted that the phrase *Wacha Mpango wa kando- la sivyo weka condom mpangoni* addressed the target audience well "because it is telling us to leave the "Mpango wa Kando" and if we can't let's use a condom in order to protect the ones we love" (FDG 11:1).

Participants in FDG 10:1 supported this idea asserting that the "message is warning you to leave that behavior and if you cannot, you should protect yourself using a condom". They felt that the phrase was easy

to understand and expounds on the risks that one exposes oneself and their family to when one has a Mpango wa kando.

Nevertheless, they criticized the clergy for rising against the message claiming that the clergy were also victims of the “Mpango wa Kando” menace. One of them also noted that the potential problem with the message was that it encouraged the use of condoms as a marketing strategy, which could be detrimental to the young people. Also, it would be wrong if the message involved the characters without their consent. One of the ladies also raised a complaint over the timing of the message saying that it was inappropriate. This was in reference to the fact that it was aired during family viewing time.

The depictions in the message were a typical reflection of the Kenyan society. This was evident in that the behavior of men having concurrent sexual relationships were perceived as a normal occurrence while women doing the same were considered immoral. Apparently, men were perceived to have authority over the women and therefore have the liberty to do whatever they please. This gender bias was also clear when participants claimed that women also perpetrate the “Mpango wa Kando” relationships especially with young men who were sexually active. However, the message exhibited women as being open about their extra-marital affairs with their friends, a notion that was refuted by some of the participants. “No, it’s not common for women to discuss this openly because they are afraid the message may reach their husbands or people they won’t want to know”, (FDG 11:2) said one of the respondents.

It emerged that “Mpango wa Kando” is common practice among women though they are very secretive about it. Most women know that they stand to face dire consequences from their husbands coupled with embarrassment from the society if their “Mpango wa Kando” is ever discovered. They therefore employ strict secrecy and discretion when engaged in Mpango wa kando.

The weka condom mpangoni message was rated as appropriate as it led to creation of awareness. From their responses to the various questions,

the ladies displayed a clear understanding of the message and the issues of “Mpango wa Kando” phenomenon. To begin with, the ladies said that the message was aimed at creating awareness among the people that prioritizing a condom was important in every sexual partnership with multiple partners. Additionally, one of them noted that the message was also aimed at the parents so that they could protect their children from engaging in irresponsible sexual behavior. As such, the ladies also posited that the advert was appropriate since it represented the real issues that happen in the society.

The message elicited mixed reactions over its appropriateness. One lady was clearly furious asserting that the message was a mockery of the women. “Who is this other one? If they really wanted to send the message about ‘Mpango wa kando’, they should be straight to the point”, she posited (FDG 13.3), adding that the message was portraying immorality as acceptable in the society. However, a section of the ladies had contrary opinion. They postulated that the message was a true reflection of the Kenyan society where the cases of extra-marital affairs were rampant and growing by the day. Additionally, they asserted that the message was important on exposing that these illicit affairs happen within the circles of marriage, but since the situation was seemingly getting out of hand, it was imperative that those involved ought to use condoms.

It also emerged that the decision to portray women as unfaithful in the message was targeted to the right audience; the increasing number of women engaged in Mpango wa kando. Women, according to these participants, were also to blame for the increased instances of the phenomenon. Additionally, they concurred that the implied causes of seeking concurrent sexual relationships depicted in the message were also realistic. Peer influence was cited as one of the main causes of the infidelity in marriage.

It emerged that women tend to take more responsibility personally if they engage in “Mpango wa Kando” than men. Women also tend to be more discreet and secretive where their Mpango wa kando’s are

concerned. They felt that alcohol is only used as an excuse for women as the women make the decision to engage in “Mpango wa Kando” when they are sober.

The women in FDG 11 gave varying reasons that lead women to engagement in concurrent sexual relationships. Top of the list was the fact that their husbands do not satisfy some of them sexually. They postulated that sexual stamina of the man was crucial and any sign of sexual dysfunction was the most likely cause for the “Mpango wa Kando”. The other factors that were identified as predisposing to “Mpango wa Kando” affairs included financial instability, “some of us women have a lot of financial needs so that forces us to look for men to meet them—whether married or not as long as they have the money” (FDG 11:3). Closely related to this was the view that men have money and are willing to spend it. Other causes included the need to have children, being in a long-distance relationship, and the general acceptance of polygamy in some communities. “Because of polygamy, you see a man with many wives will not always satisfy all of them (sexually) and at the end they will look for satisfaction outside” (FDG 11:4).

They felt these were not captured in the message; therefore, the research upon which the study was based could have needed more input. However, some participants claimed that it was a shameful act to be caught in the act of “Mpango wa Kando” or for other people to be aware of the infidelity. Despite these causes for infidelity among married women and the remorse it would bring upon the participants, they said that they would still have some advice to the people involved in “Mpango wa Kando”. Apparently, they postulated that the married women were expected to care for their husbands and embrace faithfulness as a pillar of strengthening their marriages. It also emerged that the men ought to minimize their spending and budget more wisely. This would ensure that the sexual infections resulting from unprotected sex during “Mpango wa Kando” would be avoided and the marriage relationships would be more solid.

Men asserted that the message was good since it was a clear indication of the societal status. The issues of “Mpango wa Kando” were no longer secretive; it was a matter that required serious discussion. One of the participants also said that the main message passed across was that trust in an intimate relationship was the only thing that would ensure stability. Moreover, it was clear that the message was targeted towards the right audience since women also play a part in the prevalence of the extra-marital affairs.

The message, however, was perceived as having no impact on reduction of the “Mpango wa Kando” cases. This was evidenced by the fact that the message advocated for use of condoms rather than quitting the “Mpango wa Kando” relationship altogether. As a result, it emerged that the participants thought the message was banned because it encouraged immorality despite the fact that it advocated for the truth; a truth that many choose to deny.

Secondly, the message was not appealing since its content could not be shared with all the family members. One of the participants (FDG 12.6) said that:

I think the best way you communicate here is the way you pay attention to the message. May be that is the time you send your daughter to bring you a glass of water (Laughter). They will see how you give too much attention to the message then they will be keen about it. Maybe you and your wife talk about it.

Another participant held a contrary opinion saying that the content of the message was family rated and there was no need to exclude children from discussions involving the content. This would be a perfect chance for the children to learn the truth about the society they are living in.

This group concluded that the reason Mama Michelle’s friend was asking about her affair was either because she had one herself or she was interested in Mbugua for herself. One participant argued “the lady could be interested in Mbugua and she wants to know if Mbugua uses protection with Mama Michelle”. (FDG 11:3)

They also interpreted the message to be about condom use for protection and not so much faithfulness in marriage. This condom promotion was good for the manufacturers as the condoms could end up in the hands of under age children who are told 'weka condom mpangoni'. Others argued that the phrase Wacha "Mpango wa Kando" is easy to understand and is clear on the risks one exposes themselves to when they engage in "Mpango wa Kando".

Participants unanimously agreed that the message did not reflect how women deal with their "Mpango wa Kando" arguing that women rarely discuss their "Mpango wa Kando" openly for fear that the message may reach their husbands or people they would not want to know.

In their interpretation, the message was about protecting the children and that is why children in school uniform were featured. They agreed that the phrase Wacha "Mpango wa Kando" is very catchy but regretted that even after the message and even when people are taught, they still continue with the practice. They asserted that the message is a true reflection of what happens in their community. They concurred with the mixed group that it is very hard for women to discuss their "Mpango wa Kando" openly and this made the message look unreal. "Women are afraid to even tell their friends about their "Mpango wa Kando" because their friends may gossip about it or even steal their Mpango wa kando" FDG 11:1. This was contrasted with men whom participants asserted share about their "Mpango wa Kando" openly as it is considered macho and sometimes such discussions also result in help in getting a "Mpango wa Kando" for male friends who may not have one.

They reported that the message caused shame and embarrassment and by talking about condoms without explaining how they are used, was clear the message was targeting only those who understood what is being talked about.

Message for Truck Drivers

The message targeting truck drivers features a truck driver bidding his wife goodbye before heading for his long-distance trip. He is then

shown in another town calling his wife to inform her he has arrived safely. What she does not know is that he immediately goes into a shop and does some shopping (and also buys condoms) and goes to see his “Mpango wa Kando”. As he is picking the condoms, the shopkeeper remarks “I can see you are taking care, only good things happen” to which he responds “kabisa” meaning ‘completely’.

The shopkeeper seems to know him well and the lady is pleased to see him and declares how she has missed him to which he responds he has missed her too. As she unpacks the shopping bags, the cameras zoom on her holding the packet of condoms as she exclaims “I see you’ve brought good things” to which he responds “only good things, I want us to be safe, I bring you only good things.” As they embrace, the message concludes with an advise from the message designers and sponsors. Thus “research shows that almost half of all new HIV/AIDS infections today occur among married couples”. It ends with bold words on the screen, ‘Wacha Mpango wa kando. La sivyo, weka condom mpangoni’.

Interpretations of Truck Drivers Message

Many of the truck drivers said that when they watched the campaign message, what came first in their minds is that their families are the most important thing in their lives and they should protect them by using protection in their concurrent relationships. Value and love for family emerged as one of the immediate reactions the message elicited in the truck drivers.

The truck drivers also interpreted the message to advocate for secrecy in marriage, especially if you have a concurrent partnership you should not give your wife the correct details of what you are up to or where you are just as the truck driver did in the message by lying to his wife that he had arrived at his destination or also if the wife is an overbearing one she should not be told the truth. The message seemed to suggest that one can have a “Mpango wa Kando” so long as their spouse did not find out the truth and so long as they used condoms for protection. It also emerged that lying to women is okay as long as you get what you want in the long run and that the side woman is better looking and well

behaved as compared to the wife and that is why many men go for a side woman.

Many of the drivers both in Chumvi and Mai Mahiu felt that the message was biased against truck drivers by putting forth the message that they are all liars and sleep around with many women wherever they go without caring. “No, not at all, we really don’t know each other, lets just say ten out of a hundred do that, some avoid the issue of “Mpango wa Kando” completely” reported a participant adding that some go ahead and mingle with the “Mpango wa Kando” without protection and we should know that people are different. This was however discounted by majority of the truck drivers who reminded him it is the 90% who practice Mpango wa kando.

They felt that the message depicted “Mpango wa Kando” as very merciless people who confess love to you but are slowly scheming on how to take all your money and leave you bankrupt, and in some cases leave you sick as well. One participant disagreed with this arguing (amidst laughter from his colleagues) that the man “knowing that he left a family behind and that he cares, he made sure that he bought a condom for protection. He bought a few gifts for the lady” (FDG 2:2).

Truck drivers at Mai Mahiu though agreeing that the message portrayed the actual situation on the ground, took the discussion to the issue of condom use.

Everyone has their secrets and not all are willing to share. Some people carry condoms but are embarrassed about the act of carrying them because there is a certain perception people have on those who purchase condoms. When you purchase them, one can be deemed a harlot, one who sleeps out a lot whereas the motive behind it, is protection (FDG 3:1).

Both groups of truck drivers posited the need for society to change their view of condoms. Asked about the the phrase weka condom mpangoni participant FDG 3:4 shared an opinion shared by others.

Yes we do (use condoms) but the thing is most of us are embarrassed when asked about it directly. We actually have them but we are just embarrassed of what society will think of us. Society should change its perception in regards to purchasing of condoms.

As a result, they said it is always a secret and suggested that those of them who carry condoms should be rewarded.

Another emerging theme was that of trust. They shared (some from personal experience) that when their wives find condoms as they wash their clothes, there is trouble in the home. Instead of being seen as responsible people who want to protect their families, they are viewed as promiscuous and this can even lead to failed marriages.

It emerged that even though the message says *weka condom mpangoni* (use a condom in your concurrent relationship) education on the proper use of condom is limited. It is assumed that people will automatically know how to use the condom properly and effectively.

Lying to ones spouse as seen in the message was seen as a necessary evil among the participants. FDG 2:4 asserted:

For example meet a woman and promise her marriage, yet you are broke, she will think twice but if you lie to her that you are rich and work as a bank manager, she will most definitely fall for you. She will not even think twice about it. That's why I say at times you must lie to a woman. Its a must at times.

It emerged that listening to and viewing the message did not necessarily lead to behaviour change.

Some of us truck drivers have a listening ear but do not heed to what they listen to...once you are decided as a man that is final. If they have not decided to change, then they will not change (FDG2:5)

Fishermen's Message in local Language (Dholuo)

This message also under the Fanya Hesabu genre is in the Luo language and is set along the shores of Lake Victoria. It features a fisherman named Okello who is seen coming from the lake with his catch of fish.

Two ladies, who are seen talking to him sweetly with a lot of flattery to sell to them the fish perhaps in exchange for sex, immediately approach him. The camera zooms on them caressing his bare arms as they ask for the price of the fish. Just then the camera pans to the left to reveal a lady who turns out to be Okello's wife approaching. The other two ladies quickly disappear and Okello is seen embracing his wife and reassuring her of his undying love and affection. He tells her that she is his only one though there are many temptations at the beach and she is seen smiling.

The fishermen postulated that the message was well designed with proper communication where the inclusion family members (the wife) drove the message home. There are various reasons as to why men engage in "Mpango wa Kando" regardless of all risks and costs involved. These included the offers and admiration by beautiful women, lack of love and appreciation at home, having excess money and peer pressure. They asserted that this reasoning should be discouraged by focusing more on the risks and negative consequences to the family of the people engaged in "Mpango wa Kando".

Possible consequences such as infections with STDs and expenses on medical bills as well as losing family breadwinners to STI's and HIV can bring about behavior change. As one of the participants observed when asked about engaging in "Mpango wa Kando" and seeing the message, he said he would pray, change his behavior on realizing how his family is suffering and the risk of getting infected with HIV/AIDS which is incurable. Additionally, another fisherman postulated that he would change by leaving all "Mpango wa Kando" and settle down with one marriage partner.

The fishermen in the Focus Discussion group were in agreement that the campaign portrayed the situation on the beach. The participants were generally aware of the content of the message as they considered the issue discussed common knowledge. The awareness level was exhibited vividly since the participants, could well relate to the character on the

message, Okello, with the some of their colleagues who behaves in a contrary manner.

The image of Okello is familiar since even at our beach, we have fishermen who return to the shore with fish and they start to choose whom they are going to sell the fish to and this is not right. Once you have decided on the price of the fish, sell it to the person ready to pay you the amount you want” (FDG 1:1).

Regarding the first impression on Okello approaching the two ladies, one participant reported that he would have to make a decision very fast on which of the two ladies to approach so as not to confuse himself. Three of the participants reported that they would be driven by money and selling the fish at the set price. However, in another response, the participant would see this as an opportunity if he desired one lady. In this case, he would subsidize the price of KShs. 350/- fish and allow the lady to set the price for KShs. 250/- fish to capture her attention. Moreover, all the fishermen postulated that praises and admiration from women has led to escalation of the practice of sex for fish at the beach. One of the participants claimed that single ladies on the shore who devise all ways to attract fishermen since they are known to have money as well as fish fuel this issue.

Many women here at the shore do not have husbands and they always admire the men because they know we have money plus fish and they also have sexual desires and since they know we are from the lake they devise ways of making men fall to the trap and they start by showering you with praises. Some of them go to extent of begging their friends not to admire you or have anything going on because she wants you. This happens especially if you are new to the beach. She will then device ways of praising you to make you fall for her without you knowing it (FDG 1:2).

On seeing his wife, Okello, acknowledges the intentions of the ladies and formulates a clever way to dismiss them as fast as possible. “He has realized the intention of the women so he has used his cleverness to dismiss them fast, but if he was not clever he could have fallen for the

trap and ignored the wife and gone with one of the ladies” (FDG 1:3). In another response, the husband looks surprised on seeing his wife and hastens the sale of fish before her arrival. Concerning the women, they portray the pride of impression and seem unhappy to see the wife approaching due to the diverted attention of Okello.

Furthermore, the participants concurred with Okello’s statement that temptations are high at the beach and some of his colleagues have given in. The participants reported that these women even go to an extent of feeding fishermen during their bad day of fishing to try and lure them. They then hook up for months before separation thus increasing the chance of spreading STIs. This cycle is repeated when the fishermen move from beach to beach in search of better prospects. This fact is supported by Gordon (2005) in her study of HIV/AIDS in fisheries sector of Africa, which established that:

many people involved in fishing or associated activities are mobile or migratory and therefore less constrained by family influences and social structures at home.

Two of the participants posited that the trend of exchanging fish for sexual favours from women was very common. They have even nicknamed this practice as “jaboya” where in exchange of fish there is mutual understanding on the number of sexual encounters based on the amount of fish. The participants claimed that the practice is done openly such that even the fishing team assists in segregating the fish for sale and the lot for buying a sexual partner. Additionally, women offer sexual favours for fish in order to have daily supply of fish for their businesses and livelihood. Also, this relationship is advantageous as it allows the women to have fish even on debt. In addition, men are source of money and since the women want to continue receiving the money, they use sex as bait to keep the fishermen closer.

Here in our beach the trading of sex for fish is very common we call it “jaboya” and how it usually happens is after you have agreed that the woman will be your sex partner (“jabocha”) in exchange for fish. You will agree on how many times you will have sex depending on the

amount of fish, you see as fishermen we go as a team of four in the evening and as we fish I will separate some of the fish for sex and the fish for sale even the boat owner cannot decide which woman is going to benefit from the fish for sex but only the person declared that they will need fish for a sex partner (FDG 1:4).

On the other hand, one of the participants said that men are willing to offer fish for sex since they believe that sex is not free. This is because they have toiled hard to catch the fish and cannot just give out the fish to the women they desire for free. In another response, the respondent argued that the beach women are business oriented and they normally save money. In this regard, men tend to keep these relationships so that on a bad day they may borrow money from these women. Another respondent postulated that the men do not have bank accounts and thus they depend on these women to save money hence solidifying the sex for fish relationship.

The participants argued that most men are aware of the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and even passing the virus to their wives while practicing fish for sex relationship. One participant claimed that they rarely bother at all as long as they have a beautiful girl and they are not ready to use protection. In this respect, they have come up with a slogan, "we dhiang otho gi lum edhoge" meaning that let the cow die with the grass in the mouth indicating that they aren't fearful of death from STIs. However, others take this situation seriously when they fall sick.

Regarding the predominant group involved in this practice, single men were most involved since they are the majority in the beach. Although the participants failed to address this question comprehensively, one of them advised his colleagues to avoid discrimination while selling fish, the other participant advocated for considering the profit rather than sex and the other one advised the fishermen to avoid jokes with lake women since it is the alpha of all relationships that leads to death.

In the context of polygamous culture, the participants argued that communication is most essential and the man should take charge to ensure everything works well. Moreover, all the participants concurred

that the disease requires just one of the partners to bring the disease home regardless of whether one has one wife or several. After watching the message, they claimed that it is informative as well as an eye opener and that most fishermen may leave “jaboya” if they have a chance of watching it. Moreover, the participants advised the married fishermen that the disease emanates from unfaithfulness and thus they should be open and share their status with their partners instead of taking medications secretly.

One fisherman said that he had learnt to be decisive in the fish business. This would ensure that the fish he gets from the lake were sold at fair prices to people who would only afford his rates. The second participant said that nothing of significance came to his mind apart from the fish and the money involved in the transaction. The third participant claimed that the message did not have any important message for him since he was fully committed to making profit from his business and not sex as depicted in the message. The fourth participant posited that having a good catch during the night expedition would definitely trigger seeking sexual favors from ladies around the fishing bay. He would ensure that one of the ladies he lusts for most gets the fish for a lower price than should be and then use the balance as an excuse to pursue her.

The fishermen were also asked what they would advise their colleagues who had not watched the message. First, they said that they would advise all the married men to stop the risky behavior of exchanging fish for sex. This is because the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS increases when they have unprotected sex with multiple partners (FDG 1:5). Secondly, one of the participants argued that he would urge effective communication within marriage so that the parties involved would discuss the protection measures they should take for the safety of their families. This is because the community is predominantly polygamous. “What I would say is the disease can be brought by any partner and even if you have one wife or more. One of you or all may have “Mpango wa Kando” and you may both get infected” (FDG 1:6).

Discussion

Our study was particularly guided by the Integrated Theory of Behaviour Change which is a multifaceted model integrating Health Belief Model (HBM), Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), and Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA).

The Health Belief Model for instance posits that for people to adopt recommended behaviour, their perception of threat and severity as well as the benefits of the action must outweigh the perceived barrier to action. The genesis of this model is risk-awareness which was portrayed in all the four messages under study. The gentleman in the Fanya Hesabu message had to weigh the personal benefits of his affair against the risk of disease infection and provision for his family. The fisherman makes the decision to stay faithful to his wife to secure his marriage and gives up the benefits associated with sex for fish. For the Truck driver the perception of threat was low because of the distance between him and his wife. The woman at the market place, perceived her affair as low risk because her husband is a drunkard.

Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) postulates that health behaviour change is the result of three reciprocal factors: behaviour, personal factors and outside events. Though these were not directly portrayed in the four messages, factors such as poverty, loneliness and absence from home were noted as some of the factors influencing the decision to engage or not in “Mpango wa Kando”.

The Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) reasons that behaviour performance is primarily determined by the strength of a person’s intention to perform a specific behaviour. Though the four messages portrayed this to a certain degree, it was best highlighted in the Fisherman’s message. The message portrayed the fisherman as having a strong intention to remain faithful to his wife.

Overall, the findings of this study based on the research questions above show that members of the target audience interpreted the messages in diverse ways based on their personal and social experiences and not necessarily as expected by the message designers. In her PhD study on

factors associated with primary and secondary sexual transmission of HIV in concurrent relationships in Kenya, Parker (2016) noted that the following seven themes emerged: financial dependency, economic inequality, task and assignments, beliefs, risk factors, marriages, and aggression. It was interesting to note the same themes emerged from the discussions of the four wacha “Mpango wa Kando” campaigns we studied.

One of the most notable messages was that people who advocate for and use condoms are still viewed with suspicion and are considered to be of loose morals. One truck driver described how his wife found a condom in his clothes while washing them and the trouble this got him into as her conclusion was that he was involved in Mpango wa kando. It emerged that there is stigma associated with one being seen purchasing a condom. This suggests that any messages on use of condoms as a strategy for prevention of HIV/AIDs needs to consider the stigma associated with the purchase and possession of the condom.

The Wacha “Mpango wa Kando” – la sivyo weka condom mpangoni campaign did not take into consideration this stigma. Messages ought to be developed that clearly educate the public that a person buying a condom should be respected and not judged because he/she is practising safe sex and protecting oneself and their partner. Some previous studies (Mulwo, 2008 & Sakar, 2008) cite religious and social factors as some of the reasons people avoid condomising. Society considers people who are seen buying or carrying condoms to be of loose morals and promiscuous. In Sakar’s study (2008), both men and women argued that it would be difficult to introduce condoms in their relationship due the stigma attached to the condom. Rondini and Krugu (2009) argue that women carrying condoms are often perceived as “bad”, “ruined”, or “loose”, and are referred to as “whores” and “prostitutes”, discouraging women from carrying or using condoms in many countries. Stigma associated with condom use therefore remains a barrier in condom use advocacy, as evidenced by one of the participants who reported getting into trouble with his wife when she discovered condoms in his pockets while washing his trousers. This way, our study confirmed earlier issues

on condom use hence giving a firm indication to designers on points to consider when designing messages. The study also affirmed knowledge in health communication about stigma as a potential powerful hindrance to the success of a well-intended message.

Secondly, it emerged that not all people think about the cost when they engage in “Mpango wa Kando”. There are those for whom the allure of the “Mpango wa Kando” is so strong that they forget about the cost completely. Yet, according to a situation analysis by UNESCO (2005), the major factor contributing to high incidence of HIV in Kenya is the rising level of poverty among Kenyans where 50% of the population lives below the poverty line (Economic Survey, 2000) with an income of less than a dollar per day. This shows that even in situations where one partner is not thinking about money, the other one is engaging for economic gain. Some of the participants in our study strongly opposed the idea of discussing money in the messages.

Studies (JHU, 2001; Sigamoney, 2009; Soul City Institute, 2008) have revealed that multiple concurrent sexual relationships are practiced secretly supporting the views from participants in our study. The studies also revealed that women are more secretive about their “Mpango wa Kando” compared to men. The reason given for this is fear of public humiliation, rejection and violence that women are likely to face if their husbands found out. One of the issues participants raised about the message depicting two women discussing the “Mpango wa Kando” one of them was having with a younger man was that these women were discussing it publicly contrary to accepted behaviour among women. In terms of this finding therefore, the study raises the complexity of designing health campaign messages; especially the need to come up with personalized messages that would reach varied audiences, some of whom may not come up openly about their behaviour.

Thirdly, most participants; fishermen, truck drivers, men and women FDG’s agreed that there has been sufficient talk about “Mpango wa Kando” though it had not translated to behavior change. The question of this research seems to remain unanswered ; if there has been sufficient

talk about Mpango wa kando, why has the rate of infection among the target audience remained high? Why do people continue to engage in sexual behaviour that exposes them to risk? There are individual and community factors that influence risky behaviour (Aggleton, O'Reilly et al, 1994).

Passive information processing may also have played a part in the way audiences responded to the message. Sutton's (1991) model argues that individuals are motivated to become actively cognitively engaged when content is presented in unusual, unfamiliar, or novel way and when it causes the individual to deliberately initiate an increased level of conscious attention. This however seems to have failed in the case of the Wacha "Mpango wa Kando" campaign. The message designers reported to have employed the unusual, unfamiliar and novel creativity in the development of the campaign but still did not get the desired results. Message developers must re-look at how the Wacha "Mpango wa Kando" message is presented to get individuals cognitively engaged.

Fourthly, on the Fanya Hesabu message, one truck driver postulated amidst laughter from his colleagues, "Yes, we have done the math, but there is a slight problem; as truck drivers we are short of money while travelling to certain destinations. We only see returns when we complete the job" (FDG 7:1). It was later to emerge that they normally have a float given by the employer for emergency purposes and this is sometimes used for the "Mpango wa Kando" and paid back later. In his Social Cognitive Theory, Bandura (1998) perhaps gives an insight into this behaviour. He postulates that individuals should not only be provided with reasons to avoid or stop risky behaviour but also the means, resources and social structures to do so. It also shows that the power of intention is stronger than cost implications of engaging in Mpango wa kando. In discussing this message, the participants dwelt at length on the cost Jimmy Gathu was incurring on his "Mpango wa Kando" than on his exposure to HIV infection. This trend was repeated as participants discussed the other messages thereby diverting the discussion from HIV infection to the individual behaviour of the characters in the messages. This introduces the concept of noise which

distracts the message as intended. Noise is defined as anything added to the signal that is not intended by the information source (Severin & Tankard, 1997). In this case, the discussion about the cost took centre stage, taking the discussion in a direction not anticipated by the message designers.

Fifth, it emerged that women participants were dissatisfied and frustrated by husbands who refuse to discuss the topic of “Mpango wa Kando” especially when their wives suspect them. “The husbands start behaving as if they are angry and frustrated with the topic. They show no interest and always divert the story since they are likely to have one” referring to “Mpango wa Kando” (FDG 5:7).

Male participants confessed that they sometimes ‘mistake’ their “Mpango wa Kando” for true love only to get the rude shock when they are sick or run out of money and the “Mpango wa Kando” is nowhere to be seen. One truck driver narrated the experience of a friend who had invested all his money in “Mpango wa Kando” at the expense of his own family. He took care of all her bills and had furnished her house. When he got an accident and broke both limbs and sent for her, she openly declared their ‘contract’ was over. “Clearly, she was after money”, the participant declared. The desire for money from the woman’s perspective was not adequately addressed by the campaign. The desire of the man to spend it was not addressed by the campaign as well.

Behaviour Decision Making (1995) is to a great extent concerned with the cognitive processes by which humans perceive, structure and evaluate alternative course of action. For a man who has been ‘deceived’ by a “Mpango wa Kando”, this course of action could include either multiple relationships to ‘hurt’ women or complete abstinence from any partnerships. Studies contradicting this view show that transactional sex seems more prevalent among the fisherfolk than other demographic groups in the study. Due to the nature of their occupation, it seems more likely for a truck driver to confuse a “Mpango wa Kando” for true love than a fisherman whose behaviour is governed by the practice of *jaboya*.

Some participants postulated that poverty was more of a driver of “Mpango wa Kando” and therefore, lack not excess, led to the phenomenon. This contradiction could point to the fact that “Mpango wa Kando” cuts across social economic class. It also points to the fact that in a “Mpango wa Kando” relationship, there is lack of money at one end and money on the other. Various players in the field of HIV/AIDS have argued that HIV and AIDS is indeed more about poverty than it is about anything else. This would give credence to the fact that more poor people die of HIV than people in richer nations. Discussing the social economic factors in concurrent “Mpango wa Kando” relationships, Parker (2016) highlights poverty related issues such as unemployment, substance and alcohol abuse, and poor quality of life in general as some of the poverty factors driving both men and women to Mpango wa kando. This argument was supported by almost all the FDG’s underlying the fact that to reduce “Mpango wa Kando” issues of poverty must be addressed as well. The campaign designers did not critically address poverty as a central theme in the designing of the campaign.

“Sex is not for free” was the way fishermen interpreted the message. “Here at our beach the trading of sex for fish is very common. We call it ‘Jaboya’” (FDG 1:4). In this transactional sex the man gets the sex and the woman gets the fish. She sells the fish to get money. The message was interpreted as an accurate representation of what happens at the beach. A 2014 study by researchers from KEMRI points to high-risk unsafe sex especially among single men as one of the driving factors for HIV infection among fisher folk (Ondondo, Nganga et al., 2014). Though the study highlights the high-risk aspect of the jaboya practice, the participants in our study focused the transactional aspect of the jaboya and seemed to have ignored the high-risk aspect. This low focus on the risk of infection could be identified as a driver of high infection rates among the target group.

Gordon (2004) argues that any study of transactional sex among the fisher folk must take into consideration the role poverty plays in rural areas. This points to the fact that sex for money is driven by poverty

among other things and unless poverty issues are addressed the messages will remain ineffective. The Fanya Hesabu message targeting fishermen did not address the issue of poverty. It was not even mentioned. This can be seen as another factor contributing to the high rate of new infections.

When the message targeting truck drivers portrayed the truck driver lying to his wife that he had arrived safely, yet he proceeded to his “Mpango wa Kando” for whom he bought gifts, the message was interpreted by some to be a confirmation of lying is driving the epidemic. If the messages are targeted at promoting faithfulness in marriage, then the messages must be seen to promote that faithfulness and trust. Studies, (JHU, 2000; Sigamoney, 2009; & Soul City Institute 2008) highlighted the fact that “Mpango wa Kando” is practiced in secrecy thus hampering the efforts to address it. The participants felt that the messages seemed to promote this secrecy instead of condemning it.

Conclusion

Overall, the study revealed that there are complex reasons that lead people in marriages to engage in “Mpango wa Kando” and a generalized message would not be effective. It also revealed that the audiences interpret the messages based on personal, cultural and environmental experiences, which differ from person to person and community to community. This opens the same message to differing interpretations.

The themes that emerged included the following: temptations, costs, peer pressure, money, poverty, condom stigma, the allure of the beautiful woman vs. rich man, mistrust in marriages, secrecy in marriages, appetite for risky behaviour, culture of polygamy and the nature of the source of livelihood.

Though message design was primarily influenced by research findings showing the rate of high rate of new infections of HIV among married people and those in long-term relationships, there was the concern that this high rate was driven by “Mpango wa Kando” hence the desire to change this behaviour. Though the campaign designers asserted the campaign was designed after thorough studies, members of the target

group differed on this with some stating more could have been done to understand the drivers of the Mpango wa kando.

The campaign did not lead to the reduction of the new rate of HIV infection among married people as envisioned but succeeded in the creation of a national discourse on the “Mpango wa Kando” phenomenon and created awareness on the dangers of multiple concurrent partnerships. The message also challenged accepted societal norms, norms that seem to license men to engage in “Mpango wa Kando” but frowns on women who do the same. The study revealed that both gender and culture play a key role in how individuals are socialized and how they respond to specific campaign messages.

Based on the above, it is our conclusion that “Mpango wa Kando” is a complex phenomenon with many changing facets and influences, and though its contribution to the increase in rates of new HIV infection cannot be denied, there is need to study at each population demographic group at risk and design both media and grassroot campaigns involving all stakeholders. There is also need for sufficient funding to sustain the momentum of the campaign in order to witness real change. This must be coupled with the de-stigmatization of the condom.

Recommendations

It is our conviction that for future Sexual Reproductive Health campaigns to be effective, the academia and the practice need to combine forces from the conceptual to the implementation stages of the campaign. Our recommendations listed below will contribute to future sexual reproductive health campaign messages and should be researched further.

More needs to be done to understand the individual and societal factors that drive someone to Mpango wa kando. The root causes of concurrent sexual relationships in different demographic, gender, cultural and social settings is a question that needs to be clear for each campaign as target audience are driven by varying factors. This can be achieved through a deliberate participatory approach to campaign messaging.

Before campaign designers embark on any new campaign, there is need for a concerted pre-campaign to de-stigmatize the condom. The stigma and embarrassment associated with purchasing condoms was highlighted as another driver to HIV with admission that some have engaged in unprotected sex for fear of being seen carrying condoms. These messages should be accompanied by condom dispensers in discreet locations where members of the public can insert coins to purchase the condoms in discretion.

Those buying or receiving free condoms need to reach a point where they do so without shame or fear that they will be perceived as promiscuous. Instead they need to reach a place of pride in their responsible behavior. Societal norms and views of condom use too need to change. It is not only people with loose morals who use condoms but responsible people in committed relationships use them too as protection to their loved ones. The societal negative connotation was evident in that not many of FDG participants noticed the ending tag line of *Wakinge unaowapenda* added after the main tag line of *weka condom mpangoni*.

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BIO:

Bernice Gatere is a PhD Candidate at Moi University, Kenya. She is an Adjunct faculty at Daystar University's Media and Film

studies department. She is a Communications Professional in Media Management and Research and works as the CEO of Trans World Radio Kenya and founder of SIFA FM Stations, a network of 9 FM stations across Kenya. Her research interests include media and content management, media campaigns and advocacy, health communication and media ethics.

Charles Ochieng' Ong'ondo (PhD) a Commonwealth Academic Fellow (University of Warwick, 2015), is a Senior Lecturer and former Head of the Department of Communication Studies at Moi University. His academic interests are: Educational Communication (with emphasis on Organizational Communication and Academic Writing), Research Methodology (with special interest in Qualitative Research); Teacher Education (with special interest on the practicum); English Language Pedagogy; Course Design and Evaluation) and Editing Skills (e.g. papers, books, proposals, theses and documents).