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Foreword

Sustainability of african journals: the place of industry and academia engagement

As Daystar University launches the African Journal of Media and Communication (AJMC), two critical issues stand out; one, African published journals face many challenges and their sustainability has been of great concern. Secondly, the importance of an indigenous publication to African scholarship cannot be overemphasized. It not only forms the backbone of academic growth in Africa but serves as a major driver of knowledge development from qualitative and quantitative research. Making such knowledge available to communication practitioners and those in academia is critical in the development of the field. It is therefore fundamental that the symbiotic relationship between industry and academia, be enhanced through collaborative efforts. This will ensure the sustainability of African published journals and continuous research and publication in areas that advance our socio-economic development.

Although communication is a growing field in Africa, most of the content in textbooks are still sourced from the West. To be relevant, communication practitioners and those in academia need to come together and critically analyze the gaps in our context so as to inform research. Being in the field, the practitioners have the competitive advantage of knowing from praxis the communication concepts that work in the African context and which ones need to be further tested and refined.

The academia on the other hand, should be able to take these concepts and develop relevant theories, models, and concepts, to enhance their effectiveness in the local and global context. Take for example, the branding concept as part of Corporate Communication; is it a new concept in Africa? What is the traditional concept of 'brand' in Africa? How does it relate to the value of 'a good name' which is common in most African cultures? Those questions, amongst many others in different fields of communication, need to be interrogated and developed so as to contextualize our knowledge and make communication more effective in our context. Those in academia have the high responsibility to demystify their research findings by packaging new knowledge in a practical and user-friendly manner. The AJMC journal provides a platform to encourage and support relevant research, and then avail this knowledge to practitioners to enable them make informed decisions based on empirical data.

Recognizing the critical role that AJMC will play for both those in academia and practitioners, we extend a hand of partnership to academic institutions offering Communication related degrees and diplomas to embrace AJMC as their journal. Consequently, we are calling upon the practitioners to not only engage with the academia but sponsor research while also becoming critical partners in publication of journals like AJMC to ensure their sustainability. Indeed, for us in the Communication field, the role of stakeholder engagement at different levels is critical for the success of any initiative.

Furthermore, Communication is at the center of development efforts; be it development communication, media, health, corporate communications, or Public Relations. It is for the benefit of all, therefore, that public-private partnerships be developed to support growth of the Communication discipline. Indeed, Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted the contextual innovativeness possible in Africa. Communication is not only necessary to highlight such innovativeness, but to also ensure new innovations are embraced at the public and policy levels nationally, regionally, and globally. In this regard, the role of research and sharing of knowledge through publications like AJMC must be prioritized and supported by all.

In view of this, as we launch AJMC, we invite those in academia, communication practitioners, players in private and public sector, to join hands in ensuring that this journal grows to support the next phase of development in Africa.

Prof. Faith Nguru
DVC-Academics, Research & Student Affairs
Daystar University

Editorial Note

The publication of this journal has been a long way coming and it is certainly a debt that the School of Communication at Daystar University, as the home base of the journal, owes the community of scholars in communication in the continent. It is nearly half a century since communication studies started at Daystar University. Since then, the institution has not only specialised in training thousands of alumni who now serve in different roles across the continent but has been engaged in applied research in cross cultural communication and development communication. Daystar University's early research in communication focussed on intercultural communication, with most of it conducted in South Sudan and in other parts of Africa. This engagement with the continent is a tradition that the School of Communication seeks to continue in the changing environment of African scholarship that is informed by technological, economic, legal and social changes that are taking place in the higher education sector in Kenya and beyond.

The Universities' Act that has been put in place in Kenya and which mirrors developments in higher education from elsewhere in the region lays emphasis on research output from universities and seeks to place research as a signifier of the quality of advanced degree training in the continent. This resonates fairly well with the growth in programs in communication and related fields in the country and beyond. Communications or communications related programs are now offered in the over 70 universities that dot the higher education sector in the country. This is replicated across the wider East African region and across the continent where programs in communication related fields have been growing. Concomitant to this expansion of training in the field is the desire to see the output of scholarship activity in the region.

It behoves the academic community to provide, from an empirical point of view, knowledge to the various subfields of communication. The practice of journalism has been going on in the region for over a century with new approaches being adopted everyday, and other practices that may not be consistent with the changing times being discarded. It is a dynamic sector that too often has exposed the underbelly of African journalism scholarship with the limited empirical studies that are taking place in the region, particularly outside South Africa. The practice of corporate communication, while still new in comparative terms, is growing fast within the context of an economy that has not only been growing but which is set to change with the times that are in the offing. Similarly, scholarship in development communication has continued in the region, with much of it conducted by non state actors who continue to explore the difference that communication makes in the socio-economic life of African people. Much of this study is in the applied domain and a lot needs to be done in other areas. Interest in political communication too is growing across the region. All this requires critical analysis and to be informed by African specific practices as part of the contribution of Africa to the global conversation in the field.

There is a yawning gap in the contribution of African thought to theory construction and theory building. A continent so rich in history and philosophy surely has a place at the table in conversations on theory development. To constructively engage in this space, then a platform that nurtures such conversation is necessary. The wholesome consumption of theory developed from works elsewhere, the benefits notwithstanding, is on the whole, injurious to furthering the understanding of the field in Africa. It is our hope that this new platform provides at least one more opportunity for African voices and the voices of African friends in the field.

The African Journal of Media and Communication (AJMC) is designed to provide a platform for expression, debate and scholarship in this field. It will be particularly open to the contribution from the African continent, but is not limited to that. There is an increasing population of African communication scholars in the diaspora who are conducting important studies and opening new vistas as they open the eyes of the world to communication in the continent. Given the broad nature of the field of communication, the journal will provide a platform to scholars from elsewhere with contributions that will enrich the experience of the African audience of this journal.

This journal has started small with an opening article on research. But, this is only an opening act with a promise to future robust discussions on research approaches in the continent. The debate continues with constructivists on the one hand and positivists on the other. Are these two sides of the same coin? It is a debate that we do well to have and a platform to carry it on is opportune, particularly with relevance not only to communication studies but within the wider context of humanities, social sciences and the arts.

The journal will be open to other discussions not least the history of the field, developments in the various tracks of communication and related fields and such topics as will enhance our contribution to the international debate. It is to this exciting new opportunity and journey that we invite colleagues to join us in so that we can journey together.

Prof. Levi Obonyo

Justifying the Qualitative Case Study in Contexts Dominated by Emphasis on Quantitative Approaches

Jared Obuya and Charles Ong'ondo

ABSTRACT

The use of the qualitative case study method has increasingly gained acceptance in research within contexts hitherto dominated by quantitative approaches. However, the burden of justifying the choice of methodology to institutional committees, peers and even students in contexts dominated by the realist paradigm is a daunting task to many qualitative researchers. In this article, our aim is to provide a justification for the use of the qualitative case study by demonstrating how this was done in a study that investigated media accountability policies and practices at two media houses in Kenya. We start by discussing the interpretive philosophy, and explain our choice of the qualitative case study method. We then present our sampling procedure, data generation techniques, data analysis and trustworthiness, and how these choices conform to the recommendations of other qualitative researchers. Our hope is that students, lecturers, editors and other researchers may gain a better understanding of the interpretive philosophy and the qualitative approach in contexts dominated by emphasis on traditional research.

Key words: Qualitative, Quantitative, Accountability.

Introduction

In Africa and many countries outside Europe and North America, Qualitative Research (QR) has received little recognition or acknowledgement. Bubaker, Bala and Bernadine (2006) state that although there have been some theoretical studies, little empirical research has been conducted to explore the nature of the challenges of qualitative case study in Africa and Asia. In the Kenyan context, studies using the qualitative approach are rare, even if it is now slowly gaining acceptance. Writing about his experience as a qualitative researcher in

Kenya, Ong'ondo (2010) notes that studies exploring the qualitative methodologies are rare and viewed with suspicion, with the quantitative research being the more acceptable.

> *I come from a highly positivist background where there was often, in terms of knowledge, one correct answer, one true explanation or right way to most questions… Similarly, in our context, research is mainly defined in terms of experiments and surveys involving probability samples and hypothesis testing using statistics. As such, I am aware of previous efforts to force such parameters even into studies that (I now know) would benefit from qualitative approaches because they sought deeper understanding of socio-cultural, educational, professional or personal phenomena (Ong'ondo, 2010, p. 245).*

It is in this context that we used the qualitative case study to investigate media accountability policies and practices at two media houses in Kenya. The focus of the study was to establish what accountability policies and practices are available in the newsrooms, how they are implemented, and the perceptions of journalists regarding the policies and practices available at the media houses. Media accountability has recently been top of the agenda in the discipline of journalism, as scholars argue that it enhances the quality of journalism and democracy (Fengler, 2015; Groenhart, 2012; Muller, 2005; Tettey, 2006).

In the course of our study, we were bombarded with criticism from audiences who were more accustomed to the realist- positivist paradigms and quantitative approaches that are best suited to the natural and clinical sciences. Specifically, we were continually put to our defense by panelists at various stages of our study to explain our small sample size, the subjective nature of our presentation, whether the findings of the study would be generalizable and the overall trustworthiness of the study. As Lisa Givens (2017) writes, although such requests may simply demonstrate our non-qualitative colleagues' general lack of awareness of appropriate, qualitative research practices, the continual act of justifying, defending, and explaining what we do can be a draining and tiresome exercise.

Our determination to use the qualitative case study method got its impetus from the writings of several scholars who have reiterated the increasing use of the QR especially in the social sciences, even in contexts dominated by the traditional (realist-quantitative) paradigms. Denzin and Lilcoln (2011) have commented about an explosion and a proliferation of interest in QR while Litchman (2014) aver that many disciplines in the social sciences have embraced some types of qualitative research as an alternative or complement to quantitative research. She writes that:

> *QR as a way to answer questions is no longer a new idea. While various fields accept or value QR to a greater or lesser extent, it is clear that QR is not the stepchild that it was in the last millennium. Whether in journalism, urban studies, social work, or behavioural sciences, QR is used and will continue to be used by researchers (Litchman 2014, p.4).*

These sentiments echo the thinking among many QR researchers but are predominantly directed at Western audiences. Bubaker, Bala and Bernadine (2006) state that much of the literature on QR has focused on research conducted in developed, unicultural or primarily English speaking countries and that studies of qualitative case study research have been embedded in Western or Euro-centric values.

Consequently, in our study, we felt obliged to explain QR principles and procedures to students, fellow lecturers and other audiences to enable them gain a better understanding of the qualitative approach and hopefully reduce what Givens (2017) terms the paradigm wars. Morrow (2005) points out that often, the qualitative researcher is called upon to give a rationale for conducting a qualitative study and to educate the reader about its underpinnings. We start by discussing the choice and importance of the research paradigm, and the qualitative case study. Hereafter, we explain our sampling procedure and the trustworthiness of our study.

Methodology

We adopted the relativist-interpretivist paradigm to guide our overall design of the study. It was important to explain this in a language that would be accessible to peers, examiners, supervisors and other relevant audiences, supported heavily with citations from several publications – most of which were, unfortunately, not published nor available in the context of the study.

Accordingly, we explained that the study took the interpretivist paradigm because it aims to bring into consciousness hidden social forces and structures, and is directed at understanding phenomenon from an individual's perspective, investigating interaction among individuals, as well as, the historical and cultural contexts which people inhabit (Creswell, 2009). We elicited and understood individual constructs of media accountability through interaction with the participants (Guba & Lincon, 1994), but relied on them for this understanding as much as possible (Creswell, 2009).

As already stated, we used the qualitative case study - one of the most frequently used qualitative methods in the social sciences (Ponelis, 2015) - because of its ability to combine a variety of data generation techniques. Litchman (2014) defines a case study as an in-depth investigation of a particular case or cases in real-life context in which multiple perspectives related to the complexity of the cases are sought. Gillham (2000) states that to understand people in real life, one needs to study them in their context and in the way they operate. How people behave, feel and think can only be understood if we get to know their world and what they are trying to do in it (pp.11-12). Therefore, our study sought the perspectives of reporters, editors, media managers and media analysts on media accountability from the media houses where they work. We chose the media houses in order to provide insight on the issue of media accountability in Kenya, and sought to understand the policies and practices as well as the perspectives of journalists and media managers on media accountability at the media houses.

Stake (2005), advises that researchers who use case study should seek out both what is common and what is particular about the case and this involves careful and in-depth consideration of the nature of the case, historical background, physical setting, informants through whom the case can be known and other institutional and political contextual factors (Stake, 2005). We had personal interactions with the cases through interviews and conversations with reporters, editors and newsroom managers.

In line with Stake's (1995) typology, we conducted an instrumental case study of the media houses to advance our understanding of media accountability in Kenya. Stake identifies three types of case studies: intrinsic, instrumental and multiple instrumental. The intrinsic case study is aimed at understanding a particular case because the case itself is of interest - a case may be of interest because it has particular features or because it is ordinary. An instrumental case study on the other hand, provides insight on an issue or problem and the case is selected to advance understanding of the object of interest. The complexity of the case or the research site is secondary to the issue that the researcher seeks to understand. Stake points out that the case is of secondary interest and only plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of something else. The difference between the intrinsic and the instrumental case study therefore lies in the purpose of the study.

The third case study that Stake (2005) proposes is the collective or multiple instrumental case study. A multiple instrumental case study refers to a situation where a number of cases are studied jointly in order to understand an issue. The cases may be studied in unison, parallel, or sequential order. Stake notes that a multiple instrumental case study is chosen because it is believed that understanding them will lead to better understanding about a larger collection of cases. In our study, we used a multiple instrumental case study in the sense that we conducted the study in two media houses.

The case study method offered us a thick description of the sites, the participants and their occupations. The cases themselves did not guide the research but were tools for a better understanding of the subjective experiences of the journalists and media managers on media accountability. We were more interested in the richness of the information from the two cases rather than the ability to generalize. It was instrumental in that the cases helped highlight journalists and media managers' perspectives on media accountability policies and practices in Kenya. Thus, the cases played a supportive role to our understanding of something else (Stake, 2005), that is, media accountability in Kenya. We sought out the policies and practices that were common as well as those that were unique to each media house and the perspectives of journalists and managers from both media houses.

Furthermore, the case study method enabled us to gain multiple perspectives from various sources, while focusing on the units of study. Yin (2009, p.61) advises that it is better to use a multiple case study than a single case study because single case studies are like putting "all your eggs in one basket". Secondly, analytic conclusions arising from two cases are more powerful than those coming from a single case. Furthermore, having two or more cases blunts criticism about a researcher's ability to do empirical work beyond a single case (Yin, 2009).

Sampling

We selected the data sources purposively. In purposive sampling, Mason (2002) notes that researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample on the basis of their typicality or uniqueness. In this way, they build a sample that is satisfactory to their specific needs. Since we had adopted the interpretive paradigm to guide our study, our justification in using purposive sampling was to access people with in-depth knowledge about media accountability, by virtue of their roles, power, expertise or experience.

Our main focus was to understand the unique case, rather than finding correlations or cause and effect relationships amongst variables. Therefore, random sampling typical of survey research and experiments was not appropriate given the need to understand and capture the particularity and complexity of the cases. We further considered Mason's

(2002) advice that there is little benefit in seeking a random sample when most of the random sample is ignorant of particular issues and unable to comment on matters of interest to the researcher, in which case a purposive sample is vital. She notes that though the sample may not be representative and their perspectives or comments generalisable, this is not the primary concern of the sampling, rather, the concern is to acquire in-depth information from those in a position to give it.

The study was conducted at two media organisations based in Nairobi and in total, 16 journalists spread across the two newsrooms participated in the study: three reporters, six mid level editors, four managing editors and two former editors now working outside the newsrooms. We selected the participants based on their importance, experience, expertise and the key roles and positions that they hold in the newsrooms. Our consideration of the sample size was based on: the nature of our qualitative approach which usually works with small samples and studies issues in depth, the relatively short time and resources available for an academic study, and the depth of evidence we believed would satisfy our scholarly mentors, peers and colleagues.

Let us now to turn to the number of interviews we conducted. In determining the number of interviews, we considered data saturation, that is, when more interviews were not adding new information from the ones already collected. Bryman (2012) describes saturation as a process in which the researcher continues to sample relevant cases until no new theoretical insights are being gleaned from the data. Baker and Edwards (2012) stress that many experts in qualitative research contend that saturation is central to qualitative sampling.

Over all, we followed Baker and Edwards (2012) in justifying how many interviews would be enough for our study. The authors gathered 14 prominent qualitative methodologists and five early career reflections from those embarking on academic careers to answer the question: "How many qualitative interviews is enough?" They reported that the recurring answer to the question "how many?" was "it depends". The guidance from the participants to their study was it depended upon:

epistemological and methodological questions about the nature and purpose of the research – whether the focus of the questions and of analysis is on the commonality or difference or uniqueness or complexity or comparison or instances; practical issues such as, the time available, institutional committee requirements; and the judgement of the epistemic community in which a researcher wishes to be or is located.

Our consideration of the sample size was based on: the nature of the qualitative approach, which usually works with small samples and studies issues in depth; the relatively short time and other resources available for an academic study; and the depth of evidence we believed would satisfy our scholarly mentors, peers and colleagues.

Data generation techniques

We used in-depth interviews, direct observation, and documents to gather data for our study. Yin (2009) notes that a major strength of data generation in case studies is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence. We were also guided by his suggestion that using multiple sources of evidence, a process of triangulation and corroboration is likely to yield more convincing and accurate findings or conclusions. Yin notes that case studies using multiple sources of evidence are rated more highly in terms of their overall quality than those that rely on single sources of information.

In-depth individual interviews: As stated above, we primarily used in-depth interviews to collect data for our study. Litchman (2014) defines individual interviewing as a general term used to describe a class of methods that permit a researcher to engage in a dialogue or conversation with a participant. Although it is a conversation, it is orchestrated and directed by the researcher. For Babbie and Mouton (2001), it is a process of obtaining detailed data on how and why interviewees construct meaning on a phenomenon of research. Rubin (2005) similarly refers to interviews as conversations where an interviewer is seeking responses from an interviewee for a particular purpose. Yin (2009, p. 106) points out that the interviews are “guided conversations” rather than structured questions and describes them as some of the most important sources of case study evidence.

Our justification for using in-depth individual interviews to generate data for this study was to get detailed information and descriptions of first-hand experiences from interviewees. As an extension of ordinary conversation, Rubin (2005) contends that an interview is invented anew each time it occurs. The interviewer determines the next question as the talk flows. The interviews have advantages in terms of creating rapport and allowing researchers to observe participants' non-verbal communication, such as their use of gestures.

We conducted semi-structured interviews lasting between 30 minutes to two hours with the participants. We asked the participants about the status quo of media accountability in the media houses, as well as their perspectives about the issue and used their propositions as a basis for further probes. The nature of the interviews enabled us to probe and explore emerging issues. We developed a general set of questions and format, which we followed and used with all the participants in the study. Although the general structure was the same for all the participants, we sometimes varied the order to accommodate a more natural conversational flow. We asked follow up questions on emerging issues or others that were not clear or required elaboration in a non-obtrusive manner and let the participants talk freely with little interruption.

Throughout the interview process, following Yin's (2009, p. 106) suggestion, we stuck to our line of inquiry as set out in the research questions, but at the same time asked our actual conversational questions in an unbiased manner. Yin notes that case study interviews require one to operate at two levels at the same time: satisfying the needs for line of inquiry, while simultaneously putting forth friendly and non threatening questions. We conducted the interviews at places and times that were convenient to the participants. We recorded all the interviews using a digital recorder following permission from the participants, but also made personal notes, ensuring that our note-taking did not distract the flow of conversations, which were often frank and uninhibited.

Direct observation: We also used direct observation as a data generation technique. The rationale for using direct observation was to obtain additional information. As Yin (2009) observes, since case studies take place in natural settings, there's opportunity for direct observation of some relevant behaviour or environmental condition.

Gillham (2000) points out that observation involves watching what people do; listening to what they say; and sometimes asking them clarifying questions. We used observation to observe the setting of the offices, equipment, technology at the workplaces and side activities. In addition, we were aware that journalists rarely welcome distractions in the course of their work mainly due to the urgency and the general "madness" that goes on as they race to beat the strict production deadlines. Therefore, we did our best not to appear intrusive or to interrupt operations in the course of our observations. We also used this technique in the course of collecting interview data, observing the body language of the participants, listening to what they said and asking them clarifying questions.

Document analysis: Document analysis is another data gathering technique that we employed in this study. We relied on Yin's (2009) observation that documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic and should be the object of explicit data collection plans. He further notes that documentary sources are used as primary focus of research and serve to supplement the material the researchers collect themselves. Documents are essentially used to investigate the activities, strategies and decisions that the organisation takes. Gillham (2000) also contends that since an organisation's documents are deposited formally in writing, they play a part in the effort to triangulate evidence. They can help stabilise the informal reality by comparing it to the formal and structured one.

In our study, document analysis helped to supplement and cross-check evidence collected through other techniques. We collected documents that are relevant to the purpose of our study. We chose the types of documents to review based on the research questions. We accessed the media houses main editorial policy, the social media policy, policy on coverage of terrorism, and policy on the coverage of military issues. We also accessed some of the documents such as vision and mission statements and core values and similar policy statements on a wide range of issues including, environment, education, health, partnerships, communications, people commitment, employment, and investors from the websites. We also looked at news articles appearing in the websites and formal evaluations of the media situation in Kenya such as the State of the Media in Kenya report.

Other documents found on the websites included corporate social responsibility programmes and a statement on social philosophy in working with the communities. While some of these do not appear to be editorially related, it turned out that they actually influence what the media houses give priority to in terms of coverage. For example, one of the media house's policy on environment was noted to influence its coverage of environmental issues. We concentrated on the meanings and interpretations we drew from the documents to understand the cases rather than the number of the documents. Following the suggestion by Deacon et al. (1999), we scrutinised the documentary sources for representativeness, authenticity and credibility. Deacon et al. explain that representativeness means the degree to which a researcher tries to take adequate samples of documents; authenticity requires being cautious of documents, and credibility has to do with checking the accuracy and honesty of the information.

Data analysis and presentation

We analysed the data thematically. The analysis combined data obtained through in-depth individual interviews, direct observation and document analysis. It was informed by both theoretical and empirical considerations. Thematic analysis is one of the most commonly used methods of data analysis in qualitative research (Jwan & Ong'ondo, 2011). Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as a method of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. Our choice of thematic analysis was informed by its flexibility, which Braun and Clarke suggest can provide a rich and detailed yet complex account of data. Part of the flexibility of thematic analysis which attracted us was that it allows the researcher to determine themes. Our choice was also informed by Klenke (2008), who reasons that qualitative analysis seeks to capture the richness of people's experiences in their own terms and involves the non-numerical organization of data to discover patterns, themes, and qualities found in field notes, interviews, transcripts, diaries and cases.

Braun and Clarke (2006) explain further that a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data. They note that an important question to address in terms of coding is: what counts as a pattern/theme, or what size does a theme need to be? To that question, they write that what counts as a theme is a question of prevalence, in terms of space within each data item and of prevalence across the entire data.

Braun and Clarke (2006) write that the process of thematic analysis starts when the analyst begins to notice, and look for patterns of meaning and issues of potential interest in the data – this may be during data collection. The endpoint is the reporting of the content and meaning of patterns (themes) in the data, where themes are abstract (and often fuzzy) constructs that the investigators identify before, during, and after analysis. Analysis involves a constant moving back and forward between the entire data set. The table 1 below shows the steps we followed in analyzing our data.

Table 1: Our steps in thematic data analysis

1. Transcription	After the interviews, we transcribed all the interviews verbatim.
2. Familiarisation	We read all the transcribed data to familiarise with it and ensure that it faithfully reflected the content of the interviews. We also cleaned the document by deleting words that were unnecessary, such as repetitions.
3. Generating initial codes	After ensuring that all the transcriptions were accurate, we read and re-read the entire data to understand it better, searching for meanings and patterns. We then began the process of initial coding.
4. Searching for themes	After the initial coding, we grouped the codes into potential themes, which were then refined by ensuring that there was a coherent pattern in each of the themes.
5. Defining and naming themes	We then defined the themes, identifying and telling a story for each theme. We also looked for sub themes in each of the themes, gave the themes working titles and described their content.
6. Producing the report	This stage began when we had a set of fully worked out themes. It involved the final analysis and write-up of the report in a manner that would make sense to the readers.

The data was presented in narrative form with quotations, summaries and paraphrases from the above-mentioned data sources. The main body of data subjected to analysis and interpretation was interview data, while observations and documents were used to cross-check for the validity of the information. Texts that were quoted were those that we deemed to be the most concise and useful, and while the concepts covered were overlapping, theme by theme presentation was used for analytic reasons. In the presentation, we used symbols to indicate the sources of the citations that featured in our data presentation (see table 2).

Table 2: Symbols used to indicate sources of data

A1	Interview with associate editor from media house A.
A2	Interview with chief sub-editor from media house A.
A3	Interview with deputy chief sub-editor from media house A.
A4	Interview with a sub-editor from media house A.
A5	Interview with a managing editor from media house A.
A6	Interview with a chief sub-editor from media house A.
A7	Interview with a reporter from media house A.
A8	Interview with a deputy managing editor from media house A.
A9	Interview with managing editor from media house A.
A10	Interview with associate editor from media house A.
B1	Interview with a reporter form media house B.
B2	Interview with managing editor from media house B.
B3	Interview with a senior reporter from media house B.
B4	Interview with associate editor from media house B.
C1	Interview with a former editor at media house B.
C2	Interview with a former editor at media house A.

The presentation stage began when we had a set of fully worked out themes and involved the final analysis and write-up of the report. We focused on narrating and offering thick descriptions with the aim of providing a holistic representation of the data. Braun and Clarke (2006) point out that the task of the write-up of a thematic analysis, whether it is for publication or for a research assignment or dissertation, is to tell the complicated story of data in a way which convinces the reader of the merit and validity of the analysis. We embarked on the narration and explanation of the data in a manner that would make sense to the readers of the report. In doing this, we took into consideration Braun and Clarke's advice that it is important that the write-up, including data extracts, provides a concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive, and interesting account of the story the data tell – within and across themes.

Following the advice of Bekker and Clark (2018), we made sure the write-up had sufficient evidence of the themes within the data by including enough data extracts to demonstrate the prevalence of the theme, and chose vivid examples of easily identifiable extracts which captured the essence of the points we wanted to demonstrate. The extracts were embedded within our analysis in order to illustrate the story that we wanted to tell about the data. In writing the report, we went beyond the data to make an argument in relation to the research questions.

Reporting the data thematically made it possible to avoid repetition by capturing similar patterns and themes from the participants across the two media houses. However, we made sure we identified and reported unique practices from each of the media houses. Narratives and thick descriptions were used as a means of capturing the complex nature of the media accountability policies and practices in a manner that provided a holistic representation of the data. The findings section had long descriptions with headings and sub-headings that organized the text according to the points deemed salient.

We presented the multiple cases in their typicality while emphasising their unique aspects and differences, and only exploring specific points in the discussion section. This approach gave us the freedom to organize the data into an in-depth story that was rich in contextual details, thus facilitating the development of a manuscript that would fully engage readers. We provided a rich description of media accountability policies and practices at the two media houses, and then drew from the descriptions to make theoretical connections. The narrative presentations weaved together interpretation and data excerpts — leading to an integrative presentation of findings. We noted that our success in presenting the data lay in having a highly skilled and engaging writing competency (Bekker & Clark, 2018).

Trustworthiness in the study

Trustworthiness is still the most often cited standard of truthfulness and authenticity for qualitative research (Reilly, 2013). Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) define trustworthiness as ensuring that the research process is truthful, careful and rigorous enough to make the claims it makes. Trust enhances the utility value of a study as peers, other researchers or academics may want to refer to it.

In judging the trustworthiness of a study, many qualitative researchers often use parallel criteria comparable to those used in quantitative research (Litchman, 2014). Thus while internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity are used to demonstrate trustworthiness in quantitative research, qualitative researchers use parallel terms such as credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability) and confirmability (objectivity) to ensure trustworthiness.

Credibility is referred to as internal validity in quantitative research. This is the extent to which the researcher actually investigates what he/she claims to investigate (Yin, 2009). The extent to which a research fact is what it claims to be or the extent does the researcher demonstrate having been there (Eisenhart, 2006). In this study, we demonstrated credibility by giving a detailed account or description of the research process and the use and explanation of concepts from the literature, excerpts from field notes and quotes from the interviews. According to Litchman (2014), you can judge what you read from the information provided about how it was done. Adding clear explanations and specific details about methodology helps the reader understand and make critical judgements about suitability and appropriateness of the study.

We also involved our peers and experienced researchers in reviewing our key concepts, methodology, analysis and report in conformity with

Ong'ondo (2009). We have attempted to convincingly present, in an iterative manner, what our study was all about throughout the thesis and comprehensively reported our findings and show how the study is related to other studies. According to Litchman (2014), it is up to the writer to make a convincing argument that the topic is important and may be one from which we learn about the situation. A researcher should be able to demonstrate what was studied, what was found and how the research connects to the larger body of research.

We also demonstrated credibility by using three techniques of data triangulation – interviews, observation and document analysis, which made it possible for me to explore media accountability in Kenya in different ways, thereby yielding rich data. We relied on Yin (2009), who point out that using multiple sources of evidence yields more convincing and accurate findings and conclusions. Yin further argues that studies with multiple sources of evidence are more highly rated in terms of quality than those that rely on single sources of information. We also ensured credibility by including various views, perspectives, and voices in the text.

Transferability refers to the extent that a study's findings can be generalized or the wider claims we can make on the basis of our research. Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) point out that there are divergent views as to what sort of generalisations can be claimed from case study research. They argue that the power of qualitative research lies in its ability to represent the particular and that this distinguishes it from other research that depend on generalisability. This point is buttressed by Gillham (2000), who argues that generalization in human behavior is often suspect because there are too many elements specific to a group or institution. Nevertheless, in order to ensure transferability, we used a multiple case study of two media houses. Yin (2009) contends that multiple cases can enhance the transferability of case studies, arguing that analytic conclusions arising from two cases will be more powerful than those coming from a single case.

The objective of dependability is to be sure that if one conducted the research all over again and followed the same procedure as described by the earlier investigator, the later investigator should arrive at the same findings and conclusions (Yin, 2009). Yin actually posits that one should conduct research "as if someone was always looking over your shoulder" (p. 45). To ensure dependability we have maintained a chain of evidence and detailed the steps we followed in the research process. Furthermore, we have maintained a database for our study from the transcriptions, field notes and case study documents. These have provided citations for our report of findings and conclusion.

Confirmability refers to fairness and neutrality in qualitative research. Though researchers might have an influence on the study, this does not rule out its trustworthiness (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). To ensure confirmability, we have explained the rationale for our decisions and activities and acknowledged our role in the research process and admitted any possible influences. Our understanding was that it is normal for researchers to carry their prejudices and experiences into the research process, but the researchers should try to understand these influences on the research process.

In addition to the parallel criteria discussed in the preceding paragraphs, we strived for trustworthiness in our study through convincing arguments, rich detail and attractive communication (Lichtman, 2014). Lichtman argues that it is up to the writer to make a convincing argument that the topic is important and may be one from which we learn about the situation, and the reported findings should be directly connected to the research questions. A researcher should be able to demonstrate what was studied, what was found and how the research connects to the larger body of research. She advices further that adding clear explanations and specific details about methodology helps the reader understand and make critical judgements about suitability and appropriateness of the study. It terms of communication, the author points out that readers can judge the worth of a research by what we read or hear or see - intriguing opening, engaging style, reflections, integration, rich detail, voices of others, justification, and new meanings.

Conclusion

In this paper, we sought to demonstrate the complexity of qualitative case studies by explaining how we used a multiple case study to conduct a research on media accountability at two media houses in Kenya, hoping to foster understanding about the nature of the qualitative research. Our thinking was that by talking with colleagues, editors, reviewers, students, and others about the qualitative approach and how it influences our methods, our analyses, and our writing techniques, we can work towards a better understanding of the interpretive paradigm in a context dominated by positivist orientations (Givens, 2017).

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BIO:

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How Teachers of English in Central Region of Kenya Perceive Portrayal of Gender in Literature Textbooks.

Regina Gachari

ABSTRACT

Textbooks are an important socializing tool and play a crucial role in determining students' worldview of gender relations in society. Gender responsiveness is one of the emerging issues that have attracted major debates in various forums including in the education system in general and choice of textbooks in particular. This study examined the responses of teachers of English to gender issues in the following literature books; *The River Between, An Enemy of the People, The River and the Source* and *Coming to Birth* which were used as KCSE literature textbooks from 1999 to 2009 . The study applied the Reader – Response theory which emphasizes the reader's role in creating meaning of a text and experience of a literary work. The findings indicated that the KCSE textbooks all had elements of gender bias, stereotyping of character and role, unequal representation of male and female characters and use of gender insensitive language. However, the study also revealed that some writers had made attempts to make the literature textbooks gender responsive. The teachers' responses revealed that the teachers were keen and enthusiastic about gender issues in textbooks despite the fact that they had no formal training on how to implement the gender policy in education. The study recommends closer scrutiny of literature textbooks, in-house training of teachers on gender responsiveness, sensitizing students on gender responsive textbooks, training of education stakeholders and providing checklists for identifying gender stereotypes and other relevant gender issues in textbooks. In addition, it also recommends the development of a more gender responsive curriculum in tandem with Kenya's developmental aspiration where men and women are viewed as partners in the development of all sectors of society.

Key words: Gender, Gender responsiveness, Gender responsive pedagogy, literature textbooks

Introduction

Textbooks are an important socializing tool and play a crucial role in determining students' worldview of gender relations in society. As Obura (1991) observes, textbooks are key instructional materials and occupy a unique place in the instruction of the students. In addition, Njoroge (1978) argues that literature books are a powerful image forming force whether they are meant for children or adults. They are the most potent instruments which help in building up desirable attitudes in children (Sumalatha, 2004). Teachers and students view textbooks as sources of authority.

Generally, in Africa and Kenya in particular where the reading culture is wanting, the text book is a highly prized source of information and has commensurate influence on the learner. The text book is therefore among many of the socializing agents in the lives of the learners especially in Africa. It presents models of people that the learners may try to emulate and presents behaviour and thoughts which the text book may imply are good to follow (Obura, 1991). Learners' exposure to textbooks and other learning materials through years of schooling serves as a powerful medium of socializing young people into dominant patterns of gender relations and gendered behaviour which they will carry with them to adult life (Gathu ,1997; Leach, 2003; Medway,1987). Mkuchu (2004) argues that textbooks shape attitudes by transmitting society's culture. Gender images and roles are crucial aspects of any culture, therefore, the manner in which male and female genders are portrayed in textbooks contribute to the type of images that learners develop of male and female in society.

Various declarations and resolutions have been made and conferences held; all aimed at promoting gender equality in the school system. For instance, the Convention of Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and United Nations Fund for Population (UNFPA) have all expressed great concern on gender equality in different aspects of development including education. In addition, Kenya subscribes to international bodies such as the United Nations (UN), implying that it is committed to adhere to the UN Charter Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and is also a signatory to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) whose goal number three on education stipulates that countries should have eliminated gender disparities in primary and secondary schools by 2005. Kenya has also participated in several international conferences (World Women Conferences in Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985) and Beijing (1995) e.t.c., which are all concerned with gender equality which binds it to implement their declarations. One of the issues discussed in those conferences and which is significant to this paper was gender equality in relation to textbooks and other curriculum materials used in schools. Closer to home, there have been numerous calls for a gender responsive curriculum at all levels of education in Kenya.

Despite the above resolutions, aspects of gender inequality continue to be manifested in school textbooks as confirmed by studies such as Obura (1991) and Kobia (2009) among others. The school system is one of the important socializing agents in sensitizing learners about gender equality whereas textbooks are vital tools for propagating a society's values and aspirations. It is against this background that the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST) through the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) incorporated gender responsiveness as one of the emerging issues to be addressed by the school curriculum through textbooks in all subjects (KIE, 2002).

The critical role that literature plays in implementing the goals of education in Kenya cannot be underestimated. In Kenya's education system, literature is integrated with English language which is a core academic subject and the official medium of instruction in all subjects except Kiswahili, French and other languages. The subject aims at enabling students to appreciate literary materials and to foster understanding among people. Therefore, literature textbooks are important agents of socialization and the images of men and women in them shape the perception of the learner on the expectations and roles of each gender in the society.

Teachers on the other hand are key facilitators in disseminating content in books. They are enablers who create opportunities for the student to learn and discover the wonders of the text on their own (Widdowson, 2000). Teachers are also important agents of change because of the key role they play in the processes of education as major executors of the teaching and learning process (Cooperation on Teacher Education, 2005). Since the teacher is central to the teaching and learning process, his or her understanding and awareness of gender responsiveness is key to the effective participation of boys and girls in the learning process. Gender responsive teachers understand and respond to the specific needs of boys and girls in the teaching and learning process (FAWE, v).

Teachers also play a very important role in reinforcing gender roles in the different expectations they have for boys and girls. Teachers can therefore create a learning environment in which boys are encouraged to succeed whereas girls are left to fail. More importanly, many teachers may be completely unaware that they treat girls differently (Anita, Nargis &Yasmin, 2010). Since teachers play this significant role in the early development of the student, their ideas and beliefs can change the thought patterns of young students. A teacher must therefore be constantly aware of the fact that his or her actions, attitude, behavior, outlook and mind set help to shape a student's gender role.

Teachers are therefore required to be serious about gender issues in textbooks and other curriculum materials. On the other hand, for teachers to bring about a change in the student, they should be given enough knowledge on gender. Teachers need not only a gender sensitive curriculum and textbooks, but also gender equality in education so that they can serve as role models for students. However, it is important to note that mere acquisition of knowledge on gender equality is unlikely to change teachers' attitudes as regards its implementation. What is needed is to enlighten them on the moral grounding, thus, going beyond 'cognitive understanding' and addressing the affective domain (Chinyani, 2010).

Although a great deal of scholarly work has been done on portrayals and images of men and women in textbooks, little research has been done on the learners' perception of such images in textbooks and teachers' perception of gender portrayals in textbooks. This study therefore sought the perception of gender by teachers of English as portrayed in *The River Between* by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and *An Enemy of the People* by Henrik Ibsen which were Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) literature set books in 2012.

Theoretical framework

This study was guided by Reader-Response Theory (RR)which emphasizes the reader's role in creating meaning of a text and experience of a literary work. RR is based on the idea that every single reader of a text interprets the text based on experience and personal associations. In this regard, the study used unstructured questions based on the tenet that readers, in this case teachers of English, should be allowed to freely respond to the texts and reflect on what emotions and experiences the texts bring forth. This gives them an environment where they can interact with the texts and respond freely. However, personal factors certainly will inevitably affect the relationship between the text and the reader. The teachers' earlier experiences and current interests can actively affect their interpretation of the text. Sometimes they will lead to deep and balanced reflections, however, sometimes they will limit and distort the interpretation (Rosenblatt, 1982).

Researchers have used this perspective of the theory. For instance, Karin (2006) used the theory to examine what happens with individual reader's understanding of a text if several other readers and their interpretations of the same text influenced the reader. Some of the conclusions reached were that a group discussion can clearly give the individual reader another perspective of the same text, and sharing these experiences and consequently being influenced by other people's individual reflections help readers widen their imaginations and subsequently receive a larger understanding of the complexity of literary texts. The present study, however, focused on teachers' individual responses in regard to the extent to which the texts were gender responsive.

Research Methodology

The target population for this study was teachers of English in secondary schools in Central Kenya. However, since it was impossible to get responses from all this population, we had to settle for the accessible population. The accessible population is similar to the target population in its most general characteristics such as gender, education background and in all the specific features that are known to be significantly related to the items included in the questionnaires (Robson, 2002; Dornyei, 2003).

The selection of Central Kenya for this study was therefore based on the assumption that public schools in Kenya, in any part of the country, have similar characteristics such as the age bracket (roughly 14-18 years) of the students, and that the teachers in those schools are mainly trained in government institutions, private universities and colleges. In addition, the schools use the same curriculum prescribed by the MoEST. In this context, all students are required to read the compulsory literature textbooks, hence all teachers of English must also teach the same books. However, the study notes that there may be differences in the provinces due to socio-economic factors and individual idiosyncrasies among other things.

The study sampled one thousand, four hundred and seventy (1,470) form four students from 12 public secondary schools distributed over 12 districts in Central part of Kenya using stratified and purposeful sampling methods. Schools with one hundred (100) and above student enrolment were selected in order to have a wide selection of respondents. Durrheim and Painter (2006) point out that stratified sampling is used to establish greater degree of representativeness in situations where a population consists of sub-groups or strata.Purposive sampling was also used to select all teachers of English in the 12 sampled schools. A total of 51 teachers of English from the sampled schools were therefore picked because they had the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. A purposeful sample is obtained when a researcher uses his or her own expert judgement and purpose to decide whom to select into the sampling (Peter, 2004). The study used a questionnaire with open ended questions to elicit individual responses to the textbooks.

The secondary sources consisted of KCSE literature textbooks approved for study by the MoEST from 1999 to 2009. The ten year period was chosen to give the researcher a wider selection of literature textbooks. The textbooks selected were the compulsory ones.

The study used both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies to analyze the data. The qualitative aspect was intended to capture the responses of the individual respondents in order to understand their attitude, beliefs and knowledge (Frankel &Wallen, 2000). On the other hand, the quantitative data was utilized to capture the statistical aspect of the study. The responses obtained from the teachers are presented, analyzed and discussed. In an attempt to address any possible bias in the interpretation, examples of the teachers' responses were frequently used in the interpretation of the data to illustrate the types of responses that were allocated each category.

The study used four KCSE literature textbooks approved for study by the MoEST from 1999 to 2009. The ministry gives two categories of books: the compulsory and the optional. The compulsory ones are prescribed for all schools while individual schools select those on the optional category. The books under study were selected from the compulsory ones. Gender was also a factor in the selection of the textbooks. Since there were only two textbooks by women writers, The River and the Source and Coming to birth were purposively selected for the study.

This study examined the extent to which teachers of English pay attention to gender in literature texts books. To get this response, the teachers were asked questions relating to how the following texts; *Coming to Birth, The River and the Source, The River Between* and *An Enemy of the People* were gender responsive, in other words, are there any indications of efforts by the writers to correct gender imbalances? Secondly, the teachers were asked how their students responded to gender issues addressed in the texts. Thirdly, the teachers were to indicate why they thought high school students should be sensitized about gender issues addressed in literature textbooks. In addition, the study attempted to find out how teachers sensitized their students about gender issues in literature texts. Finally, the teachers were to indicate whether they were aware of the Gender Policy in Education and the Gender Responsive Pedagogy and how they were implementing them in the teaching of literature.

A total of 51 teachers from the selected schools were interviewed using an unstructured questionnaire with open ended questions in order for them to provide free responses. The first part of the questionnaire contained items on the teachers' qualifications and teaching experience.

Teachers' academic and professional experience:

This section investigates the background information of the respondents. It consists of demographic information including gender and teachers' academic and professional experience in teaching literature. Teachers' academic, professional experience and preparedness are important as predictors of the quality of teaching because the essence of effective teaching lies in the ability of the teacher to set up desired educational outcomes (Bogonko, 1992). Well trained teachers can encourage their students to get interested even in matters outside curriculum but which are beneficial to their lives outside school.

Table 3: Academic qualifications of teachers of English.

Qualification	Male	Female	Total	%
M.Ed	3	3	6	12%
MA	0	0	0	0%
B.Ed	5	22	27	53%
BA	1	1	2	4%
S1/Diploma	5	6	11	22%
PGDE	0	4	4	8%

Other	0	1	1	2%
Total	14	37	51	100%

The above data shows that the majority (53%) of teachers interviewed hold a Bachelor's degree in education, 22% hold a Diploma in education, 12% hold a Master's degree in education, 8% hold a post graduate diploma in education while 4% hold a bachelor's degree in arts while 2% hold a master's degree in leadership. The study reveals that 98% of the teachers who participated in this study are qualified enough to teach Literature in Kenyan high schools, with the majority 53% being holders of a bachelor of education degree.

The next step was to find out how long the teachers had taught English in high school. The results are presented in table 4

Table 4: Professional experience of teachers of English.

Years of teaching	Male	Female	Total	%
1-5 years	3	4	7	14%
6-10 years	5	10	15	29%
11-15 years	2	4	6	12%
16-20 years	3	9	12	24%
21-25 years	1	8	9	18%
Did not indicate	0	2	2	4%
Total	14	37	51	100%

The above data shows that 29% of teachers had taught for 6-10 years, while 24% had taught for 16-20 years. This was followed by 18 % who had taught for 21-25 years. 14 % had taught for the shortest time, that is, 1-4 years while 12% had taught for 11-15 years. Lastly, 4% female teachers did not indicate how long they had taught. The study therefore reveals that all the interviewed teachers had considerable experience in teaching literature in Kenyan high schools.

Elements of gender responsiveness in the selected textbooks.

As observed earlier in this study, teachers play an important role in students' achievement in schools. They are crucial enablers in matters relating to students' interpretation of gender issues in literature textbooks, among other issues. Being responsible for promoting learning in schools, teachers contribute in translating curriculum materials into practicalities (Anita et al., 2010). As shown in table 1.3, 59% of the teachers considered the textbooks gender responsive.

Table 5: Teachers' responses to gender responsiveness of textbooks.

Responses	Male	Female	Total	%
Yes	12	18	30	59%
No	2	19	21	41%
Total	14	37	51	100%

The teachers advanced several reasons to support their stand. For instance, male and female teachers concurred that though the traditional society used to belittle women, authors have attempted to portray some female characters positively. In The river between, Muthoni is portrayed as courageous whereas Paulina in Coming to birth emerges courageous, assertive and strong, albeit through sheer determination in very challenging circumstances. This is one point of consensus where even students felt the same way.

However, the teachers felt that the girl child should be given more chances to express her mind without victimization. The male and female teachers further noted that the role of the female is over emphasized in *Coming to Birth* and *The River and the Source* where the writer of the latter seems to imply that society can survive without the boy child.

However, some male teachers noted that despite a few characters being positively portrayed, male chauvinism eclipses development of female characters especially in politics as demonstrated in *An Enemy of the People*.

In addition, both male and female teachers pointed out that *Coming to Birth* and *The River and the Source* highlight plight of women and elevate female characters while *The River Between* and *An Enemy of the People* elevate the male. It is like a battle of the sexes; males elevating males and females elevating females. The teachers noted that this is not a positive development of gender responsiveness. Sometimes, in the process of elevating male characters, texts like *The River Between* bring out biases against women.

Another aspect of gender responsiveness noted by the male teachers was the deletion of the following sections in the later editions of *The River Between* which they considered gender insensitive. “You could more readily trust a man than a kihii, an uncircumcised boy” (p. 38) and “A day would come when all these ‘irigu’ (uncircumcised girls) would be circumcised by force to rid the land of all impurities” (p. 117). The teachers argued that this was an attempt by wa Thiongo and the publishers to be gender responsive and they should be commended for it.

On the other hand, 41% of teachers strongly felt that the texts are not gender responsive. Male teachers argued that the textbooks have portrayed female characters negatively in several ways. For instance, there are fewer female characters compared to the male which tends to deny women visibility. When teaching a textbook with over representation of male characters, teachers will need to develop awareness in their learners to discuss and consider gender roles and representations. Any imbalance in textbooks may lead to the assumption that this is how women should be treated in real life (Jones, Kitetu& Sunderland, 1997).

In addition, female characters like Paulina are subjected to domestic violence while others are denied leadership positions. Female characters are generally confined to reproductive roles which are not rated highly as compared to male characters who are depicted in leadership positions both in public and private arenas. Textbooks with this kind of representation perpetuate inherent gender bias by assigning traditional roles to men and women, thereby reinforcing gender stereotypes. Male characters operate in spaces that are traditionally and socially public and participate in outdoor assignments that project them in stronger roles such as engineers, lawyers, professors, pilots, mechanics and so on. Women and girls on the other hand are shown as passive observers where boys and men are performing important experiments (Bakt, 2003).

On the other hand, some male teachers felt that the way the textbooks are written is a true reflection of the cultural set ups of the respective societies and they should remain so. They argued that there should be no question of gender responsiveness if the texts are portraying the reality in those societies. These types of responses echo Gordon's (1995) observation that teachers are products of societies that raised and socialized them. Therefore, the way they handle gender issues is a function of the values they were socialized into. In this case, they are likely to perpetuate values of gender differentiation. In school, teachers are important role models and if they are not gender sensitive, their students are likely to imitate them.

Female teachers had several reasons why they thought the textbooks are not gender responsive. They noted that the textbooks are generally set in traditional times when women in many communities were relegated to inferior positions in almost all spheres of life. For instance, female characters are given minor roles and are not expected to question anything and those who do so like Muthoni are punished severely. This negative portrayal of females does not provide proper role modeling for female students.

Teachers observed that "despite the fact that over the past few years women have risen to prominence in various sectors, some textbooks still continue to depict men in prestigious positions. Women are portrayed as feeble, dependent, insecure and in need of men more than the men need them" among a host of other negative portrayals. Such texts, the teachers note, ought not to be taught in schools, or if they are, the teacher must be at pains to explain the context in which the text is set. As Iqbal (2005) observes, such texts that may legitimize and reinforce repressive and retrogressive ideologies ought not to be taught in schools especially in view of the fact that the prevalent teaching methodology may be subscribing to an uncritical acceptance of the validity of the ideas inherent in a text.

Finally, some female teachers noted that gender responsiveness should not be just about women. One teacher said, "if it is about elevating the woman, I feel we are doing a disservice to the boy child – it leaves the man / boy no longer sure of his position in the society". As Crouch (2005) observes, gender issues should be balanced and not be seen as if writers are favouring one gender over the other. An ideal textbook represents girls, boys, women and men in such a way that they are on equal terms in language, illustrations and narration. This is one way in which textbook writers can contribute towards the establishment of a society free of gender bias and where issues of human rights are upheld and respected.

In addition, Rudman (1995) and Simpson and Masland (1993), note that textbooks should portray women and girls in a positive light and with active dynamic roles. They should not portray either gender in a stereotypical manner. Teachers should therefore encourage their students to read gender neutral books which:

1. Portray individuals with distinctive personalities irrespective of their gender;
2. Do not evaluate achievement on the basis of gender;
3. Portray occupations as gender free;
4. Do not portray females as always weaker and more delicate than males;
5. Portray individuals who are logical or emotional depending on the situation;
6. Use gender neutral or gender sensitive language.

Teachers' responses to students' perception of gender

The data in table 6 shows that 86% teachers indicated that their students respond to gender issues addressed in literature textbooks.

Table 6: Teachers' responses to students' perception of gender.

Responses	Male	Female	Total	%
Yes	12	32	44	86%
No	2	5	7	14%
Total	14	37	51	100%

Male teachers noted that through class debates and discussions, students point out where there is gender bias, inequality, discrimination and other gender related issues in the textbooks. For instance,they ask questions on portrayal of female characters. The female students are particularly very vocal on issues touching on women and girls. For instance, they admire positive portrayals of women, for example, Mrs Stockmann's nurturing role as a model mother, and home – maker but also pointed out that her moderate approach to political issues is not admirable; and that she should be more vocal in matters that she feels are not going right. Others admire Muthoni's and Nyambura's courageous and rebellious nature in confronting the traditional status quo.

On the other hand, female teachers note that their students respond to gender issues enthusiastically by asking gender related questions and commenting on incidents both in the texts and in contemporary life that bring out gender issues like subordination of women. The students vehemently argue for gender parity.

In addition, female students are very sensitive to any issues touching on their gender. They appreciate the great role that women play to bring sanity to society and so wonder why women are presented so negatively in some texts. The students are usually very excited by writers who attempt to address gender imbalance.

The teachers reported that male students on the other hand keep wondering why male characters in *The River and the Source* keep dying while in *Coming to Birth* they are either depicted negatively or not developed fully. They argue that there is need for each gender to be portrayed positively and to assert itself. Lastly, male students are excited to identify with courageous and prosperous male characters as their role models.

14% of teachers said that their students do not respond to gender issues. They attributed this partly to students' poor understanding and interpretation of the textbooks. Secondly, they take the texts as just fictional. This response correlates with the responses of students discussed earlier who indicated that they were not interested in portrayal of men, women, boys and girls' characters and other gender issues in *The River Between* and *An Enemy of the People* because they considered those textbooks as just fiction with little to do with real life.

Other students appeared complacent with the situation in the textbooks and therefore accepted the status quo, while others were only interested in items that would only help them pass KCSE. Some, especially, males, do not appear to be very enthusiastic about gender imbalances and discrimination. One respondent noted that the students were not keen to discuss gender issues in class and eschewed such discussions by emphasizing how impractical it is to practice gender equality at school and in the wider society since it is at "variance with cultural norms, values and practices".

However, such students should be made aware that culture is dynamic and gender is a human rights issue and that no country or community can craft its own human rights that are not universally applicable (Chinyalu, 2010). Teachers handling students with this kind of mindset should also be encouraged to develop the critical and analytical faculties of their students and encourage them to think for themselves so that they may be able to reflect insightfully upon social, cultural, ethical and other issues with unprejudiced clean minds (Iqbal, 2005).

Why it is important to create gender awareness among students.

First, the teachers noted that many societies in the world today, Kenya included, have undergone a huge change in the traditional views regarding men and women. However, issues of gender including how men and women relate, remain a thorny issue in the African continent and beyond. "Students should therefore be sensitized about their rights in regard to gender. Each should enjoy equal rights regardless of their gender".

Secondly, the teachers argued that students need to realize that when it comes to ability and responsibility, gender does not matter. This is important so that the boy child does not "internalize the misconception that the girl child has no say in society as some of the literature texts tend to portray", among other prejudices acquired at home and elsewhere. Since societies are changing, gender roles included, the traditional male attitude towards women should also change. As Anita et al. (2010) argue, to minimize contentious issues in gender relations, we need to start changing the mindsets of the younger generation of society as they are the ones who can bring about further change in society, with their "innovative ideas, thoughts and practices". To this end, we need good educated teachers who have a sound knowledge regarding gender issues.

Thirdly, the teachers concurred that the gender issues highlighted in the textbooks also happen in real life since 'literature is about life'. Students should therefore be equipped with the knowledge and skills to help them handle issues arising in their circumstances.

The other reason why students should be sensitized about gender issues in literature textbooks is that of promoting the image of the woman. Teachers argued that students need to see women as important forces that contribute to societal growth. It will also encourage the girl child who is usually the victim of gender discrimination. This will in turn enhance gender balance and help the students to see that "both genders compliment each other physiologically and in gender based orientations". This will also encourage male and female students to work together and respect each other.

Finally, the teachers agreed that students should be sensitized in order for them to be able to pick out elements of gender bias, prejudice and stereotypical portrayals among other gender issues in textbooks and other learning materials. They added that "in order to have a balanced society, we should use everything possible, textbooks included, to take care of the boy and the girl child.Writers who promote gender bias should be shunned when selecting KCSE textbooks".

Female teachers also noted that many students take it as if the gender issues addressed in the textbooks reflect who is better between a boy and a girl; there is therefore need to correct this mindset; that it is not about gender competition.In addition, it is important for learners to be encouraged to have liberal ideas and realize that there is no gender that is more important than the other - this would enhance equity in all areas. This would in turn enhance liberal ideas and sensitivity to gender issues such as equality in all matters affecting society. The students should also be encouraged to avoid stereotyping of genders and make them aware that societal views are not necessarily correct.

The male teachers on the other hand also noted that gender issues are real issues that touch on human relationships. Therefore, it is important to create gender awareness in the students for better male/female relationships.This awareness will enhance gender harmony and enable students to think independently and respond to gender issues logically. In addition, it will help narrow the disparity between men and women by according women equal opportunities as men.

How teachers create gender awareness among students.

Liselotte (2007) notes that teachers have a responsibility of making learners aware of gender issues and helping them towards becoming critical respondents to textbooks. In addition, teachers must also bear in mind that they have a huge responsibility for providing a more versatile view on gender representation than is provided in the textbooks (Iqbal, 2005). The male and female teachers in this study explained that they use the following methods to sensitize their students about gender issues addressed in literature textbooks:

1. Giving assignments and questions for discussion on gender discrimination, gender bias, gender equality and other gender related issues;
2. Encouraging debates on gender related issues by highlighting specific gender issues as they arise in the textbooks and giving students a chance to discuss or debate what they feel about such issues;
3. Relating gender issues in the textbooks to the students' immediate environment and other real life situations;
4. Identifying female success in the textbooks in relation to successful female personalities in real life and quoting role models that students would like to emulate;
5. Encouraging students to look at females as persons who can help men grow, and vice versa – and explaining that men and women work together to develop the fictional plot as well as real plot in life;
6. By illustrating specific points with positive character traits – capitalizing on the strengths and showing students how they can correct the shortcomings or weaknesses portrayed in the textbooks and in real life;
7. Encouraging students to develop a positive attitude to and opinion on gender relations and ensure mutual respect for all. Similarly, encouraging each gender to fight for their rights while respecting the other gender, and at the same time emphasizing that each gender is important;
8. Exposing and correcting gender biased views and opinions about gender in textbooks and real life situations;

9. By emphasizing the importance of gender balance and faulting the negative treatment given to women in some textbooks;
10. By giving equal opportunities to boys and girls to participate in the class and school environment;
11. By asking students to be practical by asking themselves if they would like to see their own relatives such as mothers, sisters and girlfriends mistreated; and asking them to adopt the opposite sex's point of view on specific gender issues;
12. By using a variety of material on gender issues in addition to textbooks in class;
13. Explaining terms such as gender, gender equality, gender bias, gender parity among other gender related terms so that students understand what gender is all about and correct any misconceptions they may be having regarding gender;
14. Using gender neutral and sensitive language and encouraging learners to do the same;
15. Sensitizing girls about their rights;
16. Showing students the importance of giving equal chances and opportunities to either gender both in school and in their communities;
17. Teaching positive and negative aspects of either gender.

The above data illustrates that teachers interviewed in this study are keen and enthusiastic to create gender awareness in their students and encourage them to practically apply the positive ideas they learn in school and from textbooks. Their responses correlate well with Lawrence's (1995) and Rudman's (1993) suggestions that teachers can sensitize their students about gender issues in textbooks by:

1. Raising questions about character portrayal;
2. Encouraging learners to use gender neutral or sensitive language;

3. Asking learners to adopt the opposite sex's point of view about a gendered issue among other strategies.

The responses of teachers interviewed in this study also seem to validate FAWE's intervention efforts to train teachers in order to make them more gender responsive. As FAWE (1997) notes, the teachers who have gone through their training have been empowered as agents of change. This has resulted in teachers paying attention to gender issues within the school plans and processes, and support to needy girls and boys. The teachers interviewed in this study may not have gone through any such training or even possess that kind of empowerment and mandate to deal with gender issues in textbooks and the school environment, but they have shown great enthusiasm and keenness in dealing with gender issues in literature textbooks.

Status of teachers' interaction with gender policies.

The Gender Policy in the Kenyan education system was developed in 2006 as a response to the MoE's recognition of the fact that the national education system had been characterized by gender disparities at the national level, and between the various regions, in favour of males (Gender Policy in Education, 2007). The development of this policy was an effort towards addressing this gender disparity. One of the specific objectives of this policy is to "ensure that the curriculum design, development and implementation, pedagogy, and teacher training processes as well as curriculum materials are gender responsive". At the secondary school level, one of the strategies in the policy involves undertaking continuous review of the curriculum to ensure gender sensitivity. It is in this regard that the study sought to find out if teachers of English in Kenyan high schools are aware of the existence of the Gender Policy in Education and if so how they were implementing it in the teaching of literature. The findings are illustrated in table 7.

Table 7: Teachers' awareness about Gender Policy in Education

Responses	Male	Female	Total	%
Yes	11	23	34	67%

No	3	14	17	33%
Total	14	37	51	100%

The above data in table 7 shows that 67% of the interviewed teachers indicated that they already know about the existence of the gender policy in education. This comprised 45.2% female and 21.8% male. The teachers' responses revealed that most teachers seemed to have a good understanding of gender equality but were not quite sure how best to handle it in their pedagogical practice since no training had been offered towards this end. All interviewed teachers therefore indicated the various ways in which they were trying to implement the policy as shown below:

1. Treating both girls and boys in classroom situations and other areas equally in addition to encouraging students to learn through the example and treat each other with respect;
2. Using gender sensitive language in the classroom situation and outside and encouraging students to do the same;
3. Sensitising students about gender equality and explaining why each gender should be given equal opportunities in every area of their lives;
4. Encouraging both boys and girls to respect each other and ensure none takes advantage of the other;
5. Taking every opportunity to promote the education of the girl child to attain the level of that of the boy;
6. Highlighting the role played by female characters in the prescribed textbooks and other literary materials while at the same time giving equal attention to male characters as well. This is very important especially in a mixed school so that none of the genders feels isolated;
7. Sensitising students about gender issues such as female circumcision (popularly known as FGM) which mostly affect girls. Sensitizing girls on the issues that affect them and how they

can fight discrimination. Raising other emerging gender issues as they teach.

In addition, male teachers indicated other ways in which they are attempting to implement the gender policy.

1. Trying to dismantle any myths, beliefs, biases and any misconceptions which have been constructed around sex/gender and which may also be portrayed in literature textbooks;
2. Initiating debates on issues concerning the plight of women in some African communities and expressing the need to deal with it.

The female teachers indicated that they also express the need for women empowerment and go ahead to "compose songs and poems on women empowerment" while encouraging students to do the same.

Finally, some of the teachers, however, indicated that they are in the process of learning how to implement the policy. They expressed enthusiasm and readiness of implementing the policy as soon as they are sure of how to do it.

33% of the teachers said that they had not heard about the Gender Policy in Education. One male teacher said "I am not bothered about gender issues. My job is to make students pass KCSE". The rest just said 'no' but did not offer any explanation.

The teachers were also asked to explain their interaction with the gender - responsive pedagogy. The findings are illustrated in table 8.

Table 8

Responses	Male	Female	Total	%
Yes	7	5	12	24%
No	7	32	39	76%
Total	14	37	51	100%

24% of the teachers indicated that they were already aware of the existence of a Gender Responsive Pedagogy (GRP). However, they indicated that they were not sure how they could apply it in their teaching since they "did not have comprehensive knowledge about its applicability in the teaching of literature or the entire school system". Some have barely heard about it and therefore need instructions on how to implement it. They further noted that the little knowledge they had about GRP was acquired from outside the school system; out of their personal interest and initiative. They lamented lack of education mechanisms to equip teachers with knowledge pertaining to gender.

Bridget et al. (2010) note that many well – intentioned teachers often do not have gender training and are not well informed to intervene or advocate on gender issues with students. This scenario may arise from the fact that most of the teacher training institutions in Kenya and elsewhere do not include training in gender responsiveness (FAWE, 2001). This results in teachers not addressing the specific needs of students, especially girls, since they are largely unaware of the issues facing them. However, the teachers' responses in this study show that the teachers are open to ideas of gender responsive pedagogy but they need access to training and knowledge to become more effective actors of change.

The teachers in this study, therefore, were using their own interpretations to implement the GRP. Below are some of the ways they are using:

1. Teaching learners about gender equality;
2. Ensuring equal participation of both genders since there are many efforts to elevate the girl child, but also taking care that the male students are not sidelined in any way;
3. By emphasizing the need for girls to fight it out in academic circles so that they merit to be placed in positions of responsibility.

Research findings by Aikman, Unterhalter and Challender (2005), Challenges for Teachers' Training (2005) and Mlama et al. (2005) indicate that teachers who receive training on gender issues are better able to address individual needs in the classroom and the school. In addition, FAWE's Teachers' Manual for Gender – Responsive Pedagogy suggests that a teacher's interaction manner and pedagogy limits discriminatory non – verbal or verbal language, promotes equal questioning of boys and girls and highlights strategies for selecting gender neutral textbooks and other curriculum materials.

FAWE's training initiatives ensure that teachers are gender responsive. The training has empowered teachers as agents of change. In return, this has resulted in teachers paying attention to gender issues within the school plans and processes, including use of textbooks. A study done in the Centres Of Excellence (COEs) acknowledged that the learners confirmed that they were getting support from the teachers towards their academic performance and other important issues (FAWE, 2006). FAWE (2011) further indicates that from their experience, girls excel academically and are better equipped to overcome life's challenges when they have teachers who are trained to meet their needs, learning materials that portray them in positive and equitable ways, school environment that is welcoming and conducive to learning, and a community of adults that support them.

On the other hand, 76% of the teachers said they did not know about the Gender Responsive Pedagogy. They however, indicated interest and enthusiasm to learn about it so that they can begin implementing it in their teaching. Going by this high percentage of teachers who are in the dark concerning GRP, there is urgent need for the government to address the issue.

Conclusion

The following observations were made from the teachers' responses.

- ❖ There is need to revise textbooks where the portrayal and role of the female is only confined to the domestic or private sphere. There is also need to include achievements and heroic instances of the female gender in equity to men.
- ❖ Teachers need to go through a gender sensitizing course that will train them to use a gender responsive pedagogy in relation to their

interaction with students in order to correct the misconception that females are inferior to males among other important gender issues.

- ❖ Students and teachers should be encouraged to read gender sensitive books and other curriculum materials in which women and men are portrayed positively, characters take active and dynamic roles as well as books in which individuals are portrayed with distinctive personalities irrespective of their gender.
- ❖ The MoE in collaboration with KIE should ensure choice of textbooks in which the language used in the text is gender neutral except where specific gender is required and occupations and roles represented as gender free and achievements are not evaluated on the basis of gender.
- ❖ Teachers have a responsibility to encourage boys and girls to express themselves freely and to facilitate critical thinking.
- ❖ Teachers should not demean the dignity of either boys or girls by word, action or gesture in their teaching.
- ❖ Publishers should be encouraged to publish textbooks which are gender responsive.
- ❖ Publishers can work closely with MoE to organize seminars and workshops in order to sensitize and encourage writers to be gender sensitive.
- ❖ Writers should strive to be gender sensitive by ensuring that the content and style in their writings reflect gender responsiveness by incorporating positive role models for both girls and boys in their textbooks among other steps.
- ❖ Combining of traditional and non – traditional books can be used in order to spark off discussions of how different sexes and genders are portrayed in different books.

However, as Fox (1993) suggests, the message of both genders should be subtly contained in the textbooks. It is important to avoid books that have strident messages on gender equity because young readers tend to reject books that preach.

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BIO

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Smartphones, Professional Behaviour and Workplace Socialisation in Kenyan Organisations: A Case of Capital FM

Wambui Wamunyu

ABSTRACT

The news media industry globally has experienced a great range of changes due to the entry of digital technologies in journalistic practice. Journalists are facing the challenge of evolving norms and practices in commercial companies which in turn are struggling to generate revenues, as well as keep and grow audiences. The internet-enabled smartphone is among those technologies whose increasing affordability has caused it to be ever-present in journalists' professional lives. This study's research objective was to interrogate the use of the smartphone among journalists at Kenya's pioneer commercial radio station, Capital FM, and the implications of that use on professional behaviour and socialisation. The study uses social learning theory and applies a qualitative case study research design. The data collection tools were observation and 23 purposively sampled interviews, the latter undertaken until saturation was reached. The data show smartphone use has facilitated the fast flow of multi-media content and changes to workplace routines. It has also redefined the nature of interactions among individuals in a working context, and transformed certain newsroom basics or rendered them obsolete. Overall, these changes suggest implications on the future vocational socialisation of journalists. The study recommends further long-term interrogation of the effect of smartphones and other digital tools on professional behaviour to better assess the effects of organisational norms, practices, and structures.

Key words: Smartphones, Workplace Socialisation, Work Routines, Digital Technologies, Journalism

Introduction

During the last two decades, a wave of political reforms on the African continent was accompanied by a liberalisation of the news media

(Karikari, 2007; Mbeke, Ugangu & Okello-Orlale, 2010; Mwesige & Kalinaki, 2007; Ugangu, 2012). In the same time period, there was explosive growth globally in the use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) such as mobile phones and social media sites (Abbott, 2012; Berger, 2007; Boyd & Ellison, 2007; Fountain, 2013; Mare, 2013).

The liberalisation of the news media was instrumental in the rise of commercial broadcasting across much of the continent, and the entry of foreign television channels available on satellite. In Kenya, new radio stations were established, of which Capital FM was the first to be licensed in 1995 and to go on air in September 1996 (Kenya Yearbook Editorial Board, 2010; Mbeke et al, 2010; Obonyo, 2011; Walubengo, 2011; Willems & Mano, 2016).

The use of ICTs led to the entry of digital technologies in journalistic practice. This manifested itself across different parts of Africa in various practices such as: the establishment of websites, blogs and social media accounts by the news media; the use of the web as a news platform alongside print and broadcast; the push for journalists to be multi-skilled so as to produce content for the converged platforms; and the incorporation of user-generated content (UGC) into other news work (Bosch, 2014; Mabweazara, 2014; Mare, 2014; Mudhai, 2014; Paterson, 2013; Sambuli, 2015; World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers, 2011).

Capital FM, the focus of this study, launched a Digital Media Division to focus on producing news content for the web and mobile phone platforms (Mudhai, 2014). As a commercial radio station, Capital FM has extensively used the web through its website and social media accounts. This, combined with its longevity in radio and demonstrated journalistic practice, led to its selection as the case for this study.

The company provides journalists with various digital technologies such as professional audio recorders and video cameras. The journalists also own smartphones which they use for their personal and professional work purposes. The latter is described later in this paper.

Professional journalistic work is a homogenised process comprised of particular skills, routines, and norms enacted by particular roles (e.g. editor, reporter, photographer) within a structured time frame. The process is entrenched through different socialisation processes including the usage of content from global news agencies, journalism training locally and abroad, and workplace interactions (Bielsa, 2008; Blöbaum, 2014; Hermans, Vergeer & d'Haenens, 2009; Nyamnjoh, 2005).

Global news agencies have become the source of most of the news available on the web, and have contributed to the spread of shared news norms, values and formats across the world, thus extending the homogeneous and globalised nature of news production (Bielsa, 2008; Scott, 2005).

Blöbaum (2014) observes that journalists learn how to perform their roles through professional training which is reinforced during socialisation in the workplace. Nyamnjoh (2005) further observes that the training of African journalists in Western countries is a socialisation process that has led to the adoption of particular news values and practices that are not always applicable to the African context (Nyamnjoh, 2005).

Kenya has experienced a great rise in demand for internet services, which has been enabled by the reduced cost of devices such as the smartphone with most users accessing the internet through the mobile phone (Communications Authority of Kenya, 2015; Communications Authority of Kenya, 2016a). Sector statistics indicate that by the second quarter of the 2016/2017 financial year, Kenya had 26.6 million internet subscribers, of which approximately 99% accessed it through mobile phone (Communications Authority of Kenya, 2016b).

The Kenyan news media have taken up the use of the internet and the mobile phone in various work practices (Mudhai, 2014; Nyabuga & Booker, 2013; Sambuli, 2015). The use of digital technologies in journalism routines and practice has attracted scrutiny, with research moving from general accounts of usage to include perspectives on social media and citizen journalism, as well as the daily practices and activities of journalists in newsrooms (Banda, 2010; Jordaan, 2013; Mabweazara, 2010; Obijiofor, 2003; Paterson, 2013; Sambuli, 2015).

However, there is a scarcity of research concerning the interactions between the technologies and journalists, and resulting effects on workplace behaviour. In studying the use of the smartphone among journalists at a Kenyan radio station, this research seeks to address the implications of smartphone use on professional behaviour and socialisation among journalists.

Theory

This study uses social learning theory, developed by Bandura (1971) and which describes behaviour as learned through observation, imitation, and modelling. The observation of other people's experiences enables an individual to acquire behavior by imitating the example of those they have observed. The individual's cognitive abilities also enable him or her to assess how those experiences will guide their future actions .

Using this theoretical framework, this study used interviews and observation to interrogate the professional practices of journalists in using their phones to interact with peers and superiors in the newsroom, as well as develop and submit news stories.

Methodology

The study took a qualitative approach, by applying a case study research design using observation and 23 open-ended interviews undertaken over a three-month period in 2016.

Case study design is both a methodology and a focus of study which is useful for reflecting on lived experience, setting 'how' or 'why' questions, enabling in-depth inquiry and whose findings can inform theoretical development (Chadderton & Torrance, 2011; Creswell & Clark, 2011; Yin, 2014). Case study design involves the investigation of a bounded system over a period of time.

In the case of this study, the bounded system was the purposively selected Capital FM radio station, chosen for its longevity in radio, demonstrated journalistic practice, and extensive use of digital technologies. Case study data collection is detailed and in-depth, involving various sources. This study applied the following data forms: observation of the physical location as well as the website and official social media accounts of the company; and interviewing select personnel.

The study began with a month-long period of observation and informal discussions. There were then 23 formal open-ended interviews held with personnel identified during the period of observation. The personnel were selected using criterion sampling with the limit determined when the data reached saturation (Mason, 2011).

Guest, Namey and Mitchell (2013) describe observation as a process linked to understanding why something happens and exposing the underlying intangible reasons behind what is seen, such as rules and norms. It is useful in explaining and contextualizing the phenomenon under study as well as providing causation and confirmation. It is also useful in exposing knowledge that cannot be articulated or recounted in an interview (Mason, 2010).

The Guest et al. (2013) framework of conducting observation was used where time was spent watching employees at work, shadowing their activities, and consuming radio and website content. Observations were recorded using an information gathering protocol.

The 23 interviewees were purposively sampled with the limit determined when the data reached saturation. Interviews were held with journalists and senior management. Additional interviews were held with two former Capital FM staffers who had insights into the early years of the incorporation of the web into journalistic practice. The interviews were unstructured enabling interviewees to begin responding to a general topic but to answer specific questions as the interview progressed. This approach also encouraged the interviewees to speak at length and in vivid detail.

Mason (2010) indicates that saturation is an important guiding principle in qualitative data sample size even though there is little scholarly agreement on what constitutes it. Bertaux (1981) cited in Mason (2010), posits that 15 should be the smallest sample size in any qualitative study. Creswell (1998), and Green and Thorogood (2009), both cited in Mason (2010), say a range of 5 to 25 is acceptable. This study had 23 interviews, and found the range of 5 to 25, to be sufficient in establishing saturation.

The data underwent theoretical analysis, which occurs when the researcher has a particular theoretical or analytical focus and is interested in addressing an aspect of the data. Theoretical analysis is handled by research question rather than inductively (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis was drawn from a review of the observation notes and interview transcripts, and emerged during the process of data collection and well into the post-data collection phase.

Results

All Capital FM journalists own their smartphones while the company provides supporting infrastructure, such as internet access on wireless or a monthly allowance for each journalist to purchase mobile phone bundles.

The smartphone and the mobile phone application WhatsApp are important professional tools for the journalists, who use them to share textual, audio and visual information. WhatsApp also serves as a forum where reporters, writers and editors can exchange information, story ideas, and completed stories without having to meet face-to-face.

Various journalists described the ways in which they use their smartphones. When away from her workstation, one editor uses her phone to update the website, to communicate with writers and contributors via WhatsApp, and to update company and personal social media accounts. A reporter said that while in the field, he uses his phone to submit stories to his editors on WhatsApp or on his personal email account. Reporters develop at least two versions of each story, one for the radio bulletins, and the other to be published on the company website.

The reporter sends pictures via WhatsApp and video via gmail. He has found this approach to be a more efficient way of using up his mobile phone bundles, where the heavier content is sent on his email account and lighter content on WhatsApp (Another reporter said that the smartphone and its applications enabled him to multi-task, work fast and stay ahead of the competition while out in the field.

> *"Without a phone you cannot do this [work]. It's next to impossible… You want to be the first person to break the story."*

The smartphone has also become an organisational communication tool. The staffers based in the physical newsroom all belong to a news WhatsApp group where they interchange personal/social messages, news content in text, audio or video form, as well as source contacts, among other information. WhatsApp is a mobile phone application, though a web-based version is now available on other devices such as laptops and tablets.

Figure 1 below shows the different ways in which the smartphone is used by journalists in the Kenyan newsroom under study.

Fig 1: The various ways in which the smartphone is used in the Kenyan newsroom.

The use of WhatsApp as a forum to create a virtual meeting space for journalists in the newsroom exposed two disruptions to professional practices. One was the loss of the docket book as a newsroom artefact, and the other was a change in the morning meeting. The docket book or diary was a large red book placed in the centre of the newsroom that served as a record of stories being worked on by different reporters in the course of the news day. During the period of observation, one long-serving newsreader mentioned that the docket book was no longer in use. Everything was shared on WhatsApp.

The newsroom meeting at Capital FM is a scheduled short meeting held at the beginning of the day and is convened by the news editor. Members present review the previous day's stories as well as go over what they are working on for that day. Any questions or requirements are raised during the meeting after which members disperse to attend to their various duties.

During the period of observation, newsroom staff did not meet regularly face-to-face to go over the previous day's stories (post-mortem) or discuss the day's diary, as is the norm during the face-to-face newsroom meeting. Instead, editors would assign stories, while reporters and camera personnel would send in stories as well as still or video images via WhatsApp, all without having to be physically present in the newsroom. WhatsApp would also be used as a forum to search for information from news sources or from fellow journalists.

On one occasion, one intern was sitting alone at her workstation as other reporters had left on assignment. She had presented and worked on a story that would eventually not run. The editor walked her through the story and the reasons for it not running but told her to look for other story ideas. She had her smartphone in her hand, and when she was not writing stories, would constantly be scrolling on it. She said she used her phone to visit news and gossip websites, and to share story ideas via WhatsApp with a fellow student on internship at a different media house. She also looked up audience feedback on her stories which she also shared on social media. While she received guidance from her editors and other reporters, she also relied heavily on the web for information, story ideas, and validation of work done based on audience metrics (Observation notes, August 2016).

Discussion

The data revealed three aspects of professional practice at the radio station under observation. The pervasive use of the smartphone has led to particular ways in which the journalists work. There is a mediated socialisation taking place through the use of the smartphone and its applications. There are newsroom artefacts and practices that have been rendered obsolete by the use of the smartphone and its applications.

The smartphone has contributed to changes in how journalists work. By owning a smartphone which can share different kinds of content - video, audio, or text – and has internet access, journalists are able to work outside the newsroom and for longer hours, generate multiple forms of content over the course of the working day, and promote stories on social media.

This has meant that journalists are increasingly multi-skilled and able to multi-task, which has been experienced in other parts of the world as well (Anderson, 2009; Robinson, 2011; Scott, 2005; Witschge & Nygren, 2009). The editorial director said this ability to do multiple stories and to multi-task with speed was challenging at first but has now become routine and even new hires are expected to conform.

> *You can even do three, four stories from one news event but within an hour, you should have produced all of them… People really struggled initially when we started. But slowly, people caught on, and you see when you have new people coming in, they know this is how we do it. You come, you deliver a story for radio, you have to sit down and deliver a story for the website. And slowly, everything is falling into place*

Journalists have also acquired new roles with the use of various digital technologies, including the smartphone. Various scholars have described the journalism of the past as a three-stage process which involves the following: gathering of information, development of the information into news stories; and packaging the stories which involves editing and preparation for distribution to audiences (Erjavec, 2004; Mabweazara, 2010; Witschge & Nygren 2009). Today, journalists are able through their smartphones to also promote their stories on social media, which is a new task within their practice.

Blöbaum (2014) observes that journalists learn how to perform their roles through professional training which is reinforced during socialisation in the workplace. The editorial director's comments provide evidence of this when he expressed the expectation the organisation places on new workers to acquire expected professional behaviour such as generating two versions of each story by observing and imitating their peers in the newsroom.

Additionally, the observations of the intern indicate that she was learning about the vocation of journalism by working on stories and receiving guidance from reporters and editors. But in her case, there was also a mediated socialisation taking place via smartphone or the web. While some of it came from established news sources, part of it occurred through the interaction with sources – such as the friend on WhatsApp – or gossip sites.

The last two sources would be of concern because they raise questions as to what the intern ends up learning from a fellow intern and a gossip site. In the case of the former, the intern would be observing and imitating the behaviour of someone who is also not yet fully socialised into professional working requirements for journalists. This leaves room for the acquisition and adoption of incorrect professional practices. The gossip site subscribes to a more sensational form of journalism than that undertaken at the radio station where she was on internship. This would again potentially cause the intern to observe, imitate and model choices in story development that would not reflect those required by the radio station.

Korte (2007) and Korte (2013) note the importance of social interactions in the learning process, and provide a workplace socialisation model for new employees.

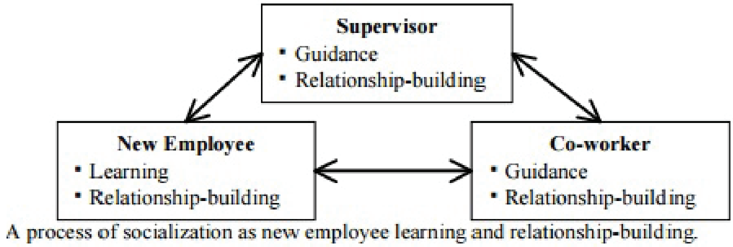

Fig 2: Korte's (2007) model of workplace socialisation among new employees.

The model presumes human interaction that is based on aspects of learning, guidance and relationship-building. The new employee, or intern in this case, is a learner, and the sources from which the intern is learning will contribute to how they are socialised in the workplace. The effect of the use of peers and gossip sites as sources of socialisation is speculative in this study. Therefore how mediated socialisation affects the process of learning, guidance and relationship-building would warrant further research.

Separately, WhatsApp has rendered the docket book obsolete and transformed the newsroom meeting from a face-to-face discussion forum to a virtual space. This virtual space enables a mediated flow of information which facilitates speed in the development of news stories. However, the change from face-to-face interactions facilitated by the newsroom meeting to mediated interaction facilitated by WhatsApp has come at a cost. One reporter said that WhatsApp does not allow a discussion of nuances to a story and the sharing of institutional memory related to a news event or personality, yet these are easily available during the face-to-face meeting (Interview, Aug. 8, 2016).

Mediated communication, such as that availed by WhatsApp is useful in enabling the fast flow of information, be it news stories or direction on how stories should be covered. However, it has led to the loss of practices and interactions that inform the professional work of journalists. The long-term effect of the loss of face-to-face interaction on workplace socialisation would also call for further study.

Conclusion

The findings of this study are that the use of the smartphone by journalists has led to new professional practices and changing socialisation. The smartphone and provision of mobile bundles have enabled journalists to work virtually and constantly, which is useful in terms of work efficiency and speed. However, the smartphone use has also meant the reduction of face-to-face interaction among journalists, as well as the loss of newsroom artefacts such as the docket book.

The loss of face-to-face interaction with newsroom peers has meant that the socialisation of new journalists, institutional memory and nuance in a story that came from face-to-face discussion are no longer available to journalists as they work on stories. The loss of the newsroom diary has transferred the availability of institutional memory from a centralised fixed record to a virtual, dynamic space. An individual's access to that virtual space depends on when they are invited by the WhatsApp administrator into it, but with no access to what was there before they entered the space.

This situation also affects the socialisation of the journalists, particularly those young in the profession. But this paper posits that the mediated interaction that the smartphone avails is changing the socialisation of young journalists, even as it improves efficiency and speed in work production. These changes and their long-term effects would require further study.

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BIO

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Developments of African Professional Communication within the Context of the Global Community

Levi Obonyo

ABSTRACT

The study of communication is new in Africa in many ways. The departments of communication in the universities are young and in some cases only forming; the libraries are sparsely stocked; the journals in the field in the continent are few and far apart; most of the faculty members are yet to season in the field but that problem is compounded in that most of the qualified individuals do not stay in the academy long enough to contribute to it. But these are not the only challenges that the field faces in the continent. The programs are poorly funded and the field is yet to be sufficiently anchored in a definitve philosophy or even tradition. These are challenges that the study of communication will need to overcome for the field in Africa to grow and contribute to the global area. As it sits now, there is no clear indication that the discipline of communication is maturing in the continent thus calling for collective attention from emerging scholars in order to make a difference. That is the difference that those in the field need to start making now.

Key words: Communication Discipline, Communication Philosophy, Communication Theory, Communication Research, African Journalism

Introduction

Wilbur Schramm (1983), considered by many as the father of the study of communication, noted more than half a century ago at the beginning of the study that he did not contemplate communication becoming a discipline but rather remaining a field. This paper entertains the question of whether the notion Schramm had remains relevant today, not just as the study of communication takes root in Africa, but even within the global context. As far as Schramm was concerned, communication was "one of the great crossroads where many pass but few tarry. Scholars come into it from their own disciplines, bringing valuable tools and insights, and later go back, like Lasswell, to the more central concerns of their disciplines" (Schramm, 1983, p. 8). It needs little belaboring that the field of communication emerged from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds in the post Second World War.

Early Fathers and the State of the Field

The behavioral scientist, Bernard Berelson, who, in 1959 lit a firestorm by musing aloud that "as for communication research, the state is withering away", suggested that at least four people had made critical contribution to the field. He noted that: "In my view, the major lines of inquiry have been the political approach, represented by Lasswell; the sample survey approach, represented by Lazarsfeld; the small groups approach, represented by Lewin; and the experimental approach, represented by Hovland" (Berelson, 1959: p. 1). These four pioneers all came from different disciplines: Lasswell from political science, Lazarsfeld, from social psychology/sociology, Lewin and Hovland from experimental psychology/social psychology. Due to the disparate origins of the field, too often there has been little agreement. In response to Berelson's article, Schramm wondered about the place of other contributors including himself. Many more would later add to the field to make it what it is today - a rich medley of traditions that applies a variety of tools to address social concerns. But even today, there is little concurrence on whether communication is a field or a discipline, even with years and scores of communication professionals who have devoted their lives to its study.

But why should it be of concern whether communication is a field or a discipline, and what kind of field or discipline? Simple. The response has implications on the way the study is examined, and the way the study will be looked at from outside by stakeholders and other agencies including the state and the increasingly significant world of corporate investors. Further, it has implications in the development of the tools to apply in addressing social issues, and in the seriousness with which the solutions developed will be appropriated by the wider community. In the academy itself, whether it is a field or a discipline has implications in terms of the resources that it will attract in the students that will join it, and in the positioning of the field or discipline against other fields and disciplines. Craig (2003, p. 4) has argued that "Communication studies has acquired many of the institutional – professional trappings of an academic discipline but as an intellectual tradition it remains radically heterogeneous and largely derivative". But what is it really today, globally? And what is it really today in Africa? In our exploration in this section, we reference particularly East Africa.

Disciplanarity and the Emergence of Communication Studies in Africa

The dominant form a study takes is influenced by a variety of factors. Among these factors, as Craig ably elaborates, include the intellectual tradition, and probably the place we assign the intellectual enterprise in a country; the social institutions in the country and socio-cultural factors. Some of these questions informed the evolution of normative theories (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm , 1956). These included the exploration of the obtaining philosophy of the time and how these related to the understanding of the nature of man, the prevailing epistemological questions, and the predominant worldview. These perceptions invariably influence the organizational structure, and particularly the governance structure in a country. In the case of Siebert et al., this helped in laying the foundation of their thinking in the now somewhat dated but the starting point of understanding normative theories. We have to return to these considerations in exploring the state of the field of communication. The development of this field in Africa, cannot be divorced from these self same factors.

Hachten (1993) noted that development of media was alien to Africa and that media were a gift of the West to Africa. Similarly, it can be argued that communication was a gift of the West to the rest of the world. However, that has to be qualified that such a statement would only apply, and even then in a measured tone, in the sense of conceptualizing it from a theoretical standpoint, and not taking into account the traditional disciplines from which the field draws or even the new areas of exploration. Ugboaja (1972) notes the centrality, and importance of oral media in African communication experience, demonstrating that communication may have been a gift to Africa in its form as a science but certainly not as a practice. Prior to the gathering of the pioneers in Chicago and in Iowa, the backgrounds from which communication has heavily drawn, the study had already had a rich evolutionary history in Europe. It is from these that our associating the early tradition with Frankfurt school and other thinking centers emerge. And then the circumstances in the United States where these immigrants settled helped shape the formation of the new field. It is this context that informs the propaganda research, small group and persuasion studies.

We devote a moment to the question of where the field is today in terms of how it is coalescing and moving towards disciplinarity. Robert Craig and Heidi Muller's (2007) Theorizing Communication is a useful beginning. Craig and Muller discuss the question of whether the study of communication has grown beyond a field to a discipline. What is a discipline? Discipline is derived from Latin disciplina which refers to "any field of knowledge or learning" but can go beyond that to denote qualities of self-control and orderliness essential for mastering training or education. Disciplines are rooted in "doctrine". While doctrine is concerned with abstract theory, discipline focuses on the practice or exercise of the doctrine". Today, however, discipline covers both the theory and practice of a field. Craig (2003, pp. 2-3 quoting Shotter 1997, p. 42) defines discipline as "a conversational community with a tradition of argumentation" that participates along with other disciplines in a larger conversational community—the conversation of disciplines—with its own traditions of argumentation". Craig has argued that we cannot consider academic disciplines as fixed pillars but more as swaying reeds that "emerge, evolve, transform, and dissipate in the discourse of disciplines". Tony Becher captures this complexity when he points out that:

> *[t]he concept of an academic discipline is not altogether straightforward.... The answer [as to whether a given field of learning is a discipline] will*

> *depend on the extent to which leading academic institutions recognize [it] in terms of their organizational structures...and also on the degree to which a freestanding international community has emerged, with its own professional associations and specialist journals.... Disciplines are thus in part identified by the existence of relevant departments; but it does not follow that every department represents a discipline. International currency is an important criterion, as is a general though not sharply-defined set of notions of academic credibility, intellectual substance, and appropriateness of subject matter (Becher, 1989, p. 19 in Craig, 2003, p. 6).*

We return to these concerns in a little while. A critical factor is that even disciplines that have emerged do sometimes lose some of their sheen. They ebb and flow with the times. Some have posited that the romantic-modernist literature disintegrated in the late twentieth century. The disintegration was influenced by the changes in technology that became the new conveyers of the modern narratives. Some of these technologies include electronic means of conveying messages, among them TV, tapes, and VCRs that have redefined how audiences acquire, process, store and retrieve data. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorelly (1986) noted that sitcoms and soaps had replaced grandmothers and aunties – at least in their role as new baby sitters and storytellers. Consequently, a new moral emerges with different characteristics and obviously with different consequences.

Another example could be the case of education as a field of study in Kenya. Not too long ago education as a field of study occupied such a place of pride in society that young people looked forward to joining the field. But how times have changed! Today students admitted to take education too often would opt for something else. But while they ebb and flow, what are the mortars that contribute to the edifice of the field? Craig (2003), just like Becher, suggests that, "Rhetorical resources for constructing and legitimizing disciplines can be found in contexts of intellectual, institutional, and sociocultural history". The intellectual level considers predominant texts of society both past and present, the obtaining theoretical frameworks that are used to conceptualize problems and analyze and seek solutions to those problems. Simply put, it is an analysis of how we problematize situations and walk to their solutions. Classic theories of communication, be they semiotics, structuralism, diffusion of innovation, propaganda among others, were rooted in classical texts. These classical texts served as springboards from which those theories arose. Taking the example of McLuhan's (1966) technological determinism concept, such texts ought not be necessarily written. They could be oral. Would such texts have existed in Africa? The answer is in the positive. Odhiambo (1991) noted Prof John Mbiti's exploration of the notion of time and surmises that

> *African time was 'a composition of events which have occurred, those which are taking place now and those which are immediately to occur. What has not taken place or what has no likelihood of occurrence falls in the category of 'no time'. What is certain to occur, or what falls within the rhythm of natural phenomena, is in the category of potential time (p. 70). The question may therefore be posed: Is Africa a victim of this philosophy, of inane inability to project, to forecast? (Odhiambo, 1991, p. 21)*

Another text that exists largely in orality is that of ubuntuism. Mbiti sums it as "I am because you are and since you are therefore I am" (Mbiti, 1969, p. 141). Obviously our philosophizing and theorizing are informed by these texts among others.

The texts oral or not, according to Craig, is just one pillar; the second relates to an understanding of the kind of institutions that exist. The exploration here focusses on how society has organized and deployed its institutions. What emphasis, for example, has a society laid on universities and academic institutions as centers tasked with the responsibility of providing solutions to social challenges and problems? How are professions, and disciplines, organized; and what are the agencies that they relate with? How are they resourced among other concerns? In the West, veritable institutions of knowledge provided centers for incubating knowledge and thinking in communication. This is true whether it is the University of Hawaii, Stanford or the University of Iowa. Lazarsfeld noted:

> *The Payne Fund Studies started in the late twenties, investigated the effect of movies on children's morals, attitudes and behavior. Subsequently, the interest of Rockefeller Foundation in the cultural effects of radio as a mass medium led to the establishment of two more permanent institutions: the Princeton Office of Radio Research and the Institute of Educational Radio at Ohio State University. (Lazarsfeld, 1952-1953, p. 481).*

This paper while concerned with the situation in Africa, deliberately avoids dwelling too much on South Africa because doing so has the potential of distorting the African picture. We return to that point later. Across the continent, there is hardly a university center today that could be considered to pioneer communication studies in any of the study's branches whether corporate communication, media studies, communication for development, or intercultural studies among others. Obviously, the situation is different in South Africa as the emphasis at Rhodes University, Stellenbosh University and the University of Kwazulu Natal, among others, have set different paces. Similarly, African organizations, outside South Africa, are not famous for supporting academic research in universities or endowing chairs. Change is beginning to occur in some African institutions leading to the question as to why it has taken so long and whether there are cultural inhibitions that attend to it. May be it is simply because academics have not previously tried hard enough or if the commercial world is just waking up to the importance of such focus. Probably, the emerging interest in corporate social responsibility in today's Africa will make a difference.

And then, lastly, are the socio cultural contexts that relate to worldviews and belief systems that influence scholarship. For example, what premium do African nations attach to academic discourse and the findings from research institutions? In some societies, governments invest heavily in academic institutions and consider them as centers for generating solutions to social problems. In others, mostly African, centers of knowledge are seen as unnecessary evils that harbor troublemakers. Take the case of Kenya, it was once a proud citadel of competing thoughts. Idi Amin's academic refugees found solace across the border in Nairobi where they engaged in unhindered debate. Those were days when novelist Ngugi wa Thiong'o, James David Rubadiri, Okot p'Bitek, Micere Mugo, Ali Mazrui, and Taban Lo Liyong among others converged in senior academic common rooms to explore ideas and have a duel of the mind. Then the country changed and such free flowing ideas were checked and dispersed, with some scholars being imprisoned and others fleeing to exile. Kenya is yet to recover from this criminalization of intellectualism. There is limited African policy engagement where deliberate effort is made towards investing in education and research as a contributory element to national development. Kenya is in the process of implementing its national development blue print christianized Vision 2030, a subset of which is the Big Four Agenda that the Uhuru Kenyatta administration is championing. Vision 2030 lists critical areas of investment, economic, social and political environments for the realization of national development but is silent on education or research.

Craig concludes that emerging disciplines have then to draw "from a complex mixture of institutional, intellectual, and cultural resources, and negotiates the tensions among these different sources of legitimacy in specific ways" (Craig, 2003, p. 3). Following this analysis, Craig argued that there are seven traditions or approaches in exploring the field of communication: the rhetorical tradition, semiotics, phenomenology, cybernetics, socio-psychology, socio-cultural and the critical tradition (Craig & Muller, 2007). We do not explore these in detail here save to note that, as observed earlier, communication studies is a field with no consensus. Absolute coherence is neither possible nor even desirable (Craig, 2003, p. 10).

In exploring the coming of age of the field of communication, Craig is arguing that:

> *Communication studies has acquired many of the institutional-professional trappings of an academic discipline but as an intellectual tradition it remains radically heterogeneous and largely derivative. What mainly explains the field's disciplinary emergence is the significance of communication as a category of cultural practice, and it is by reconstructing its intellectual traditions around that category that the field can best hope not only to become more intellectually coherent and productive but more useful to society as well. Communication's specific character as a discipline can thus be understood in terms of its contributions to knowledge in certain intellectual traditions, its evolving institutional forms, and its relevance to "communication" as a sociocultural category of problems and practices, but the third of these factors—the sociocultural context of disciplinarity—has a primary role (Craig, 2003: 4).*

Nordenstreng (2004) has applied the analysis of socio-cultural environment as a useful tool in understanding the framing of the phases of the field of communication. He focuses on specific decades and explores the dominant influences during those epochs; what he called "the ferments". For instance, he notes that the 1950s were essentially formative years in the field with the pioneers focusing their attention, and drawing from their desperate backgrounds into what Schramm would characterize as communication. It is the force of Schramm as a communicator himself and his ability to attract resources to the field that then helped consolidate it into the field of communication. But this period also marked the birth of the International Association of Mass Communication Research which in 2012, and for the first time in its history, was held in Sub Saharan Africa. But the 1960s were a different era all together. In Africa, it was characterized by the emergence of former colonies from colonialism into independence. Elsewhere it was a time for reconstruction where nations that had just emerged from war were focusing their attention on how they could apply knowledge and technology into developing their societies. But there is another factor, particularly in the United States that informs the development in the field. The restless spirit in the United States of America itself may have fueled the thinking. Martin Luther King Jr was not only leading the match to demand for greater civil liberties but the agitation for universal suffrage not just for people of color but minorities including women. As fate would have it in the turmoil of the decade, Martin Luther King Jr was assassinated. But apart from that the period also coincides with the coming to an end of the Vietnam experiment, and the campus riots among others. In Nordenstreng's estimation, it is the period when the left leads in the assault of the center and this influence is felt in the kind of problems that communication field deals with during this period including cultural and critical studies. It is no wonder that it is within this period that such studies as Gerbner's cultivation theory emerged.

The 1970s were marked by a consolidation of the field and a reaching out to what was happening in the rest of the world; in a sense, according to Nordenstreng, (1968) a period of correction of sorts with the right seeking to assert itself in some ways. The right seeks to take some of the grounds they had ceded. The decade closed with probably the biggest communication issue of that era, the demand for balanced information flow, and later the MacBride report. But probably the more exciting period for the field is in the 1980s. The decade was ushered in with a bang by Ted Turner's launch of the 24-hour news flow that probably announced the arrival of the age of information. From then, there is acceleration in the evolution of technology, the massification of the Internet would soon follow and with it a completely new world of communication problems and research subjects including methods. George Orwell should have been alive. The subsequent decades were not only building on the decades of the 80s but were also influenced by the acceleration of technology in this field.

Nordenstreng's is just one view. As is typical in this study, there is often no consensus in the approaches to be adopted. For example, Berelson had, in the decades of the 1950s used a framing based on the research traditions. Even then, Schramm was disputing that, and later Nordenstreng considering Berelson rather sympathetically would argue that the American tradition probably had too much activity and little light emerging from the period. He summarizes his metaphor thus:

> *In short, my diagnosis of the patient is: 'Too much physical growth and too many toys to play with, too little intellectual growth and too few problems to think over'. Considering the total amount of research effort in the field of communications in the United States, it seems to me that simple thinking is poorly represented in relation to all kinds of sophisticated measurement. The field concentrates on being correct in the technical methods at the expense of being loose on the conceptual level: it is hyperscientific and therefore quasiscientific. The field lacks theory: a solid conceptual framework exact and broad enough to relate the empirical data to the body of accumulating knowledge (Nordenstreng, 1968: p. 208).*

When George Gerbner, then editor of the Journal of Communication, in 1983, convened a gathering of communication scholars to assess where the field was headed, Nordenstreng, has observed that the occasion served a useful function in pointing out, not a blending of thinking in the field, but the liveliness in the field, and the amount of work that was going on (Nordenstreng, 2004). A decade later, when the Journal of Communication convened a similar gathering, the outcome was not much different. While previously as Schramm had noted scholars came and contributed to the field and then withdrew back to their home disciplines, there were no resident scholars in communication, but at least the field has continued to mature, and as the 1993 conference demonstrated, there are resident scholars who have come into the field and have remained actively engaged, considering the field of communication as their home. It is worth noting that this is true not just of the West but of Africa as well.

That the field remains in a flux is best illustrated by the changes occurring in universities, sometimes seemingly with little coordination. Take for example my alma matter, Temple University. At the beginning of the decade of 2000 the variants of communication studies were offered through the School of Communication and Theater. But since then the school has been renamed, and renamed again. "Theater" was moved to the School of Arts, and later "Mass" was retired from Mass Media and Communication leaving Media and Communication instead. The school of Journalism at Columbia University a while back also shook the world of journalism by suspending some of its activities in order to reexamine its orientation. The same story can be repeated for many other universities.

The Debate in Africa

Back to Africa. The danger with generalizing Africa is that it is such a vast expanse of space that it is worthwhile sometimes just focusing on a piece rather than the whole of it. Africa is in many ways, a young old continent. On average, we are about just a half a century old as independent state – no older than the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Indeed, it is instructive that South Sudan, the youngest of them all is just getting off the independence block with all the challenges that go with it. How do some of the criteria used as a basis for building a discipline apply to Africa? “In order for a practical discipline to flourish, three factors must be present. First, it must address cultural practices that are regarded as both important and problematic. In other words, it must be socially relevant. Second, it must have something useful to say about those cultural practices. It must have intellectual content. It must offer access to intellectual resources, rooted in traditions of academic thought that can be productively applied to understand and reconstruct those important and problematic cultural practices. Third, it must find a place in academic institutions (Craig, 2003, p. 14).

But is this criteria wholesomely accepted in Africa? Just as there is no consensus in the West on some of these issues, there is hardly any consensus in Africa as well. Charles Okigbo has argued that

> *The ferment in the communication field which is evident in American and European communication scholarship had not been felt in Africa. The African communication environment is still very dormant and tranquil because of the social and political climate that are primarily anti-intellectual, and the dearth of trained communications scholars with active interest in expanding the horizon of knowledge and inquiry in the field (Okigbo, 1987: p. 19).*

Granted, Okigbo, writing in 1987 is somewhat dated today. But his countryman James (1990) seemed to concur. Okigbo, unlike Berelson three decades earlier, was not writing the obituary of the field, but issuing a call to arms. But for the field to progress, he underscored three essentials: scholarship, research and theory development.

On the first pillar, he does concur with Craig. But what Okigbo refers to in research is probably what Nordenstreng would consider as hyperscientism – too much activity without movement. However, his focus of research is different as he calls for solutions to social problems. Nordenstreng is not critical of science as such but rather simply asking: what kind of science? On this he probably would agree with Okigbo, for Okigbo says that "African communication scholars have not yet developed authentic theories of African communication, nor has a veritable research tradition been established as a means of dealing with the myriad social communication problems prevailing on the sprowling continent" (Okigbo, 1987, p. 10). On the question of an African theory, Guy Berger dissents asking why an African theory? To which Okigbo would probably respond: "the discipline has not made the mark expected of it". Then Okigbo offers an answer, that the reasons for the malaise in communication in Africa is because of "lack of African communication philosophy?" Okigbo explores African philosophy in great detail. He concludes that an African philosophy of communication has not yet emerged. Obviously in the more recent past, there have been some debates on the place of ubuntuism in African communication from people such as Fourie (2006), Ramose (2002), Blakenberg (1999), Christians (2004) and others. It is safe to frame Okigbo's philosophy within the wider socio-cultural factors in Craig.

Okigbo's concerns are not isolated. Other scholars such as James (1990), and Murphy & Scotton (1987) among others agree with him on, what are the African challenges institutionally, intellectually and socio-culturally? Starting with institutional concerns, Okigbo notes that "Mass communication as an academic discipline is a new comer in African higher education, which itself is not yet fully developed. Today, even after more than three decades of teaching mass communication and journalism in African institutions of higher learning, the discipline has not made the mark expected of it" (Okigbo, 1987, p. 10). Three decades later, the concerns raised by Okigbo remain valid. But what should have been the mark to indicate that some activities were going on? Sybil James argues that Mass media should contribute to national development, "facilitate the use of traditional media as opposed to their theorizing about the virtue of these media as channels of communication" (James, 1990, p. 5). They should influene government policy and bring people and government closer; communication should help identify, plan and execute development projects. There is both agreement and disagrement between James and Okigbo. Both agree on research for social change. But while Okigbo would advocate theory development as well, James would not focus on that.

In exploring the institutionalization of the field further, we limit ourselves in this discussion to just two areas: academic institutions and how they are structured; and professional organizations both for academic and for practice, and lastly the respect the discipline draws from other institutions.

The problem with lumping Africa together is that too often it could lead to a distorted picture. There are some fine institutions which could lead one to think this is the situation across the continent. But there are also wide varieties. While the field of communication may be decades old in a country such as South Africa, in many African countries that is not the picture. Taking the case of Kenya to illustrate the point, the country has over seventy universities and university campuses both public and private. All these campuses offer some form of program in communication although majority of them are offering mainly media studies. Various tracks of communication studies have been offered. For example at Daystar University, over the last four decades, various tracks of communication have been offered including intercultural communication, media studies, development communication, corporate communication and now film studies. All the public universities are offering mainly media studies with the exception of the University of Nairobi that has, besides media studies, development communication and corporate communication. The question that has to be explored is the health of most of these programs. Who are the faculty? What are the academic background of these faculty? What is the state of library collections? What are the physical infrastructure in place to support these programs?

In most of these institutions, the rationale for establishing these schools and departments of communication have been, largely, to attract students and contribute to the bottom line of the universities in light of the cost sharing regimes that were brought in by the World Bank in the decades of 1980 and 1990. Most of the departments have been set up by departments of linguistics and educational technology among others. That in itself is not the problem since, as we have noted, the genesis of the field is multidisciplinary. The problem is that the driving motive has not been to address existing theoretical or practical intellectual challenge but rather to provide for the economic rationalization of some departments. Once these departments start offering various tracks in communication studies, they do not engage in any critical and substantial exploration of the field or contribute to it in any meaningful theoretical way. Consequently, Africa has not produced career communication staff whose commitment is to the discipline, instead the staff have stayed in academic for the convenience and moved on to NGOs and other engagements whenever better offers have opened up.

The point here is that the departments and schools have mostly been set up haphazardly without having the field of communication in mind but with economic survival in mind. The departments have also been staffed by people whose commitment is not in the field so that they can make a critical contribution from a research and theory building point of view. There are isolated exceptions of course. Francis Kasoma (1996) of Zambia, in his short academic life, proposed the concept of Afri-ethics even though Fackson Banda (2009) has credibly questioned it. Again, in his short academic life Ugboaja focussed attention on oramedia. In the 1980s Traber and others argued in the 1980s for an alternative framing of journalism values. These efforts which would have been important for the health of the field have not been sustained. This paper deliberately does not focus on South Africa where the Tomasellis have done important work at the University of Kwazulu Natal, and there has been important focus on media studies at Rhodes University with Guy Berger, Fackson Banda and later Herman Wasserman before he moved on, and Prof Arnold de Beer who made equally important contribution previously at the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education before moving on. The reason for excluding South Africa is so as not to distort the picture. But there is another reason – South Africa has not been available to Africa. For decades, and the democratisation of South Africa has not changed the situation that much, what happened in South Africa has remained in South Africa and there has been little interation between the rest of the continent and its largest economy. Guy Berger deliberately tried to change that. For many years, the Journalism program under Berger at Rhodes University tried to bring Africa on board in the Grahamstown indabas, but it is difficult to access the works of South African scholars in the rest of the continent. There has been no deliberate effort by South African publishers to market their publications in the continent.

Secondly, with respect to academic organization, there has been neither a body nor academic journals to sustain the field in the continent. In South Africa, SACCOM has been active for many decades hosting annual conferences and publishing journals. The African Council of Communication Education was once vibrant in Africa but has since receded to the corner of West Africa. While still based in Nairobi, ACCE published the journal African Media Review that contributed significantly to the conversation around communication in the continent. Today, there is no such towering body and no such journal. South Africa alone has Ecquid Novi, Communication, and The Review among others. The development of communication in the West owed its roots to such journals as Journal of Communication, and Public Opinion Quarterly among others. Africa must engage in conversations and contribute not just to the continental debate but to the global one as well. One would hope that the hosting of IAMCR in South Africa nearly a decade ago, and the possibility of the conference coming back to

Africa again in the next two years would have served to focus attention on communication work in the continent and revive interest in the discipline from Africa. East Africa now, as a start, has an association, the East African Communication Association and a journal to go with it.

Professionally communication related professions have made a strong foot print in the continent and beyond whether from an organized stand point, such as through organizations including Media Institute of Southern Africa, MISA or at an individual level. As media organizations the Media Institute of Southern Africa, MISA, is probably the most established. There are, across the continent, national unions of journalists with varying degrees of importance, and national media councils with varying degrees of significant contributions. Africa boasts some important media houses that are publishing professioally. The Nation Media Group in Kenya is one such example that could hold its own anywhere just as would the Star or the Sowetan. But we have also had individual journalists that have demonstrated great courage and leadership from across the continent and Barrat and Berger (2007) have immortalized some of them.

The other professions, i.e. corporate communication and development communication have not yet made similar footprints to explore. The Public Relations profession in Kenya is making deliberate efforts to professionalize the trade and efforts are underway to anchor this development in law. Equally, in terms of curriculum development, there is still too much reflection of western models. It is surprising how in many African universities students have to answer questions relating to First Amendment and American founding fathers of journalism instead of the roles that African pioneers played and continue to play.

James argued that "The important task for African journalists and journalism educators is to find the meeting point between advocacy journalism for Third World development, the national communication ethos and the canons of Western journalism, which must still be regarded as useful points of reference and departure" (James, 1990, p. 6). This is a continuing debate. Unlike James there are many who are less inclined towards advocacy journalism. The important thing however is the opportunity to debate just what kind of journalism should Africa adopt and why that is important.

What then are the challenges of African communication education? The first is the still strong dependence on western models and western textbooks. Ansah, Kasoma and Traber did propose new approaches and alternatives but they remained just that proposals (Rowlands & Lewin, 1985). Secondly, "training of journalists and other communication specialists has not always contributed to a new communication ethos because it is often simply a transfer of professional education in Western nations with a very different set of presuppositions". Most of the text-books, reference materials, educational methods and communication ethics are still based on public philosophies that differ from those in most African countries (James, 1990, p. 6). Journalism today is being learnt in formal classroom settings by students with varying levels of competence in the official language of communication, and whose primary concern is job opportunity. For some, it is the apparent prestige and glamour of the profession (James, 1990, p. 10). But this is not where journalism began in Africa. That history is one of activism, risk taking, and a public cause. The argument is not for statism and being stuck in the 1960's glory. But can journalism be, for most journalists, of a higher calling than just job opportunity? In every part of the continent, there are journalists like Nigerian Dele Giwa, who have given their all to the course of the profession. For the academy, the task is to record these contributions and place them in a wider canvas.

What is the role of communication in Africa? Lewis Odhiambo explored two ends of the continuum. On the one was the social responsibility self regulating approach advocated by Kenya's famed editor Hilary Ngweno. On the other was the developmental model embedded in government structure championed by Kwameh Nkurumah. Odhiambo notes that most African countries explicitly stated that it was the role of the mass media to create national unity and foster development. To this end, they nationalized many electronic media houses as Bourgault (1995) has documented. Odhiambo notes that journalists "suddenly became civil servants and government spokespeople" (Odhiambo, 1991, p. 23). "Nkrumah believed that a journalist should have high ideals, be a political activist and party member, and 'His newspaper a collective organizer, a collective instrument of mobilization and a collective educator, a weapon first and foremost for the overthrow of colonialism and imperialism and assists total African independence and unity". Ng'weno and Nkrumah's arguments remain the two most powerful inspirations and justifications for African's mass media policy. They also provide the utilitarian underpinnings of development journalism as an occupational self-perception and a theory of the press" (Odhiambo, 1991, p. 24). Media scholarship must make a critical contribution in this area whether it is in South African emerging democracy, Kenya's evolving search for identity or in Ghana's incipient democracy.

Conclusion

We conclude with an exploration of the situation in Africa today. The world today is said to be less poorer than it was a decade ago. This is good news for Africa even if poverty is not going down as fast in Nigeria. The decline in poverty has got implication for access to education and the expansion of civil rights. Child mortality rate is going down. Africa still has malaria, but the rate of HIV Aids infection is declining. Adoption of technology in Africa is amazing. The digital broadcasting platform means that even Africa has the whole world at her fingertip, but at a cost. The implication of course is that the information gap will increase. Minerals are poping up across the continent: oil, coal and natural gas in Kenya Uganda and Tanzania alone. There is some soberness returning to such countries as Rwanda, Liberia, and Ghana's democracy is getting better established. Old habits die hard in Eriteria, in Zimbabwe and in both Sudan and South Sudan. New Media legislation in South Africa is something to watch just as is Boko Haram and Al Shabab in West and East Africa respectively. And what is the implication of all this for communication studies? This is the challenge that African communication programs and communication institutions must address itself to.

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BIO

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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 behaviou 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 particpants 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 obsrved 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 spendingmoney 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 intepreted 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 Sivyo 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 sivyo 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 understading 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 targetting 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 'competely'.

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 embarrased 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 promiscous 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 favors 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 stratergy 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 promiscous. 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 embarrassement associated with purchaing 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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Kenya's Media Representation of Mental Health and the Role of Stigma Communication

Julia Kagunda and Sr. Justin Nabushawo

ABSTRACT

Globally, mental health challenges have increased yet public education remains low with cultural beliefs and stereotypes being some of the social constructions used to perpetuate mental illnesses, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. In view of mental health promotion, Mental health stakeholders in Sub-Saharan Africa identified media as a critical partner in mental health public education and policy advocacy. However, review of literature shows that little research has investigated how the media represents mental health issues in the region. This article reports results of in-depth interview research on how the Kenyan mainstream media represents mental health issues and the role of stigma communication in that representation. 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 in-depth interviews and analyzed thematically. Trustworthiness was ensured through methodological and data source triangulation and peer review. Ethical standards were upheld through seeking of relevant approvals, informed consent, upholding anonymity and confidentiality of the participants. The findings show mental health issues are underrepresented and more emphasis is on the 'ill' and not mental health. The Kenyan media links mental health issues to violence and crime and mental illnesses are represented as 'a disease' that affects the poor, rural and uneducated. Stigma communication exists amongst journalists and influences the way mental health issues are represented in Kenya.

Key Words: Mental Health, Representation, stigma communication, Health Journalists and Mental Health Experts

Introduction

In Sub-Saharan Africa, there is widespread ignorance about causation, diagnosis and remedies available for mental illnesses, and mental illnesses are hardly attributed to brain disease (Audu et al., 2013). Globally, media has been recognized as a critical partner in advancing public knowledge and de-stigmatization of mental health. Further, the mental health stakeholders in Sub-Saharan region have pointed at media as a strategic partner in mental health literacy and said out that: "Being the information hub of most civilized societies, the mass media reflects and also shapes public knowledge in relation to issues of life, including mental ill-health," (Atilola, 2016, p. 2).

However, as much as media has been discussed as a critical partner in public health education and policy influence, Kenez, O'Halloran and Liamputtong (2015) say that media's role in destigmatizing and promoting help seeking behavior in health issues is dependent on how journalists select and frame mental health information. Therefore, examining media representation of this pertinent issue of mental health, which is on increase, becomes important, "given much of society's knowledge and understanding about public health issues stems from interactions with, and consumption of the news media – particularly where individuals lack first-hand experience," [ibid, p.1]. Mental health challenges have been described as an endemic issue in Kenya,with statistics showing that 25 percent of outpatients seeking primary healthcare present symptoms of mental illness (Marangu et al., 2014; Nyayieka, 2018). With Kenya's media landscape increasing, it was necessary to investigate how the mainstream media in Kenya represents mental health issues and the role of stigma in that representation. Furthermore, it was necessitated by the fact that globally, media practitioners have been accused of negatively skewing mental health messages (Adamkova, Nawka, & Admkova, 2012; Goulden et al., 2011; Kenez, O'Halloran & Liamputtong, 2015; Kigozi, 2013).

Discussing media representation, Hall (1997) says that media as a principal form of ideological dissemination does not just present reality, but produces re-presentation of the social world via images and portrayals. The re-presentation does not give the whole picture but part of the reality based on the perception of the issue or other factors such as desire to make news. Ultimately, such ideologies are likely to become 'naturalized' and become part and parcel of society as the way people make sense of issues.

Talking about the importance of paying attention to media representations, Dorfman and Krasnow (2013) say that public and policy makers tend to take issues seriously when they are visible, and media is one vehicle for creating visibility. However, as critical as 'visibility' is, the way issues are re-presented influences how the public and policy makers will embrace and handle them. Although media is a critical social agent, it can limit understanding of issues or perpetuate societal negative beliefs and stigma; and thereby affect social change (Happer & Philoa, 2013). Therefore, media representations can be real in some ways and not in others hence the need to interrogate how the mainstream media in Kenya, which is considered credible, represents mental health issues and the role of stigma communication in that representation(Mogambi, Kiai & Ndati, 2013).

Literature Review and Theory

Studies show that media representations of mental health are often stereotypical, negative and contributes to stigmatization of people suffering from mental illnesses. Some of the studies looking at how the media represents mental health issues involve an international comparative, content analysis study that looked at the media messages about mental health/illness in terms of stigma in three central European countries(Nawkova, Nawka & Adammkova, 2013). The findings showed that more than half of all articles were negative and reflected stigma towards people with mental illnesses, with psychotic disorders being the most stigmatized. Media's association of aggressive behavior to the people with mental illness emerged while a sensationalized style of writing was noticed.

Kenez, O'Halloran, and Liamputtong (2015) who examined the portrayal of mental health in three Australian daily newspapers using mixed methods, reported that newspaper coverage of mental health focused on illness over wellbeing while psychotic disorders were overrepresented and often linked to violence. However, positive improved portrayal of mental health featured highly, where media stories focusing on managing mental illness and maintaining good mental health were predominant, while stories mentioning examples of people who had recovered was noticed hence "refuting the myth that mental illness is an incurable life sentence… encouraging self-help," (ibid, p. 516).

Atilola (2015), who, using mixed methods, investigated, the attitudes and perceptions of mental illnesses in Nigerian and Ghanaian movies (called Nollywood) and its impact on mental health awareness, found out that the movies often contained scenes depicting mental illnesses in line with culturally entrenched explanatory models. The content analysis showed frequent use of words like 'mad man or woman' and 'curse' while stereotypical images of violent person suffering from mental illnesses were depicted in a sensational style. However, continued filmic portrayal of mental illness solely from the point of view of cultural explanatory models tends to provide an incomplete representation of the issue. As Shon and Arrigo would argue, "public consumption of such explicit images and charged words raise many troubling policy questions and questioning of media ethics," (2005, p. 6).

Using quantitative content analysis, Rasmussen (2015) analyzed how Swedish online-press represented mental illnesses after the Anders Behring Breivik's, a terrorist attack in Norway in 2011. The study showed that press reinforces stereotypes about people with mental health challenges and labelled them as unpredictable and dangerous. More than third of the articles from the opinion section used names such as 'mad man/lunatic or crazy/mad' while describing those with mental health challenges.

The literature review paved the way for this study, which is a qualitative perspective study interrogating health journalists and mental health experts perspectives on how the mainstream media in Kenya represents mental health issues and the role of stigma communication in that representation. Framing and stigma communication theory were used in the study. Framing theory helped in categorization of representation that emerged from the data towards understanding salient frames and vice versa. Framing is described by Entman (1993) as a process by which some aspects of reality are selected and given prominence so that a problem is discussed, it's causes diagnosed, moral judgement suggested and action proposed. The way issues are framed can increase public understanding, and challenge the actions to be taken, like improvement of policy or allocation of more resources.

Bearing in mind the role of communication and education in addressing stigma, the stigma communication theory describes four types of content in health messaging, which may influence framing of mental health issues. Smith and Applegate (2018) point the 4 stigma frame as; marks, which are cues identifying membership in a stigmatized group; labels, which are terms used to refer to a stigmatized group; etiology or responsibility, explanations for why someone became part of a stigmatized group; and peril, which is how stigmatized group threatens group functioning and well-being.

Method

Qualitative approach was employed to interrogate how health journalists and mental health experts perceive and interpret the way mental health issues are represented in the media while seeking to understand determinants of that representation. Qualitative approach centers on the way human beings make sense of their subjective reality and attach meaning to it, guided by the belief that multiple realities of a phenomenon exist and can only be understood by interrogating people in depth (Jwan & Ong'ondo, 2011; Kimotho, Miller, & Ngure, 2015; Silverman, 2013; Yin, 2014;). Therefore, the study design entailed conducting in-depth interviews with 13 health journalists and eight mental health experts. Ethical permission was obtained from Kenya National council of Science and Technology.

Sample and Population

The four daily newspapers in Kenya and the five leading TV stations have at least a journalist(s) designated as health journalist/reporter but that is not the typical case for radio stations. In view of that, health journalists from the mainstream media houses who had covered health issues for more than three years were purposively selected to participate in the study. The by-lines of those who covered health issues were identified and called via phone. Through snowballing sampling method, other health journalists who met the criteria of the study were identified. Through purposive sampling, the directors of mental health institutions were selected and the first step was to get a list of mental health organizations in Kenya from the Mental Health Department in the Ministry of Health. The criteria used for the selection of the institutions was a representation of institutions offering different mental health services, including hospitals, Non-Government organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations (CBO), research institutions and mental health professional associations and rehabilitation centers.The next phase of the sampling was to choose the actual participants that were going to be involved in the in-depth semi structured interviews and the criteria was people at the top management level. The directors of those institutions were identified and after getting their contacts, each one was called, and appointments were granted and interviews carried out. Besides one participant who was a middle level staff, all the other participants were directors of their respective institutions and majority of them were professionals in the areas of psychiatry and psychology.

While some interviews with health journalists were held in their respective media houses, a few were held outside their offices. All the interviews were held in mental health expert offices. The procedure of the interviews included an introduction to the study and informed consent was obtained prior to the commencement of the interview sessions and all the interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants.

Two separate interview guides were used, with each population having its guide. Pilot testing of the research instruments was done amongst radio journalists who had covered mental health issues and with a mental health expert working in a rehabilitation center. Based on the feedback, a few questions were changed slightly.

All the interviews were conducted in English and transcribed. Thematic analysis was employed in analyzing the data collected with a view of matching the themes emerging from the data with the research questions. As noted by Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011), data analysis included the following steps: familiarization with the data; coding; searching for themes; reviewing themes; refining and naming themes and writing up the report.

Results

The results from the study showed that there are four major themes that characterize the way the Kenyan media represents mental health issues while stigma communication content emerged, especially stigma marks and labels.

Stigma is linked to underrepresentation of mental health

Media representation of mental health issues is of low interest as compared to other prevalent non-communicable diseases due to stigma associated with mental health. One print health reporter described it this way:

> *Mental health still has a stigma and the media is not left out. It is like those people out there who are helpless and there is nothing we can do about it. Although there are mental health stories from time to time, mental health has not generated enough attraction from the media (Print Reporter).*

The mainstream media ostracizes mental health patients and one editor said:

> *Like that's how they are (people with mental illness), there is nothing we can do about it. And also, the same apathy that makes the society to*

> *ostracize a person diagnosed with a mental illness, it is the same with media. We have ostracized mental health patients from the media (Print Media Editor).*

There exists no 'bars' (interests/hooks) created around mental health; "although they might be there, they are not creating the kind of excitement that cancer and HIV is creating," said one of the health journalists. Misinformation about mental health also exists in the Kenyan media where different types of mental illnesses are confused. Describing the frequency of mental health coverage as minimal, one participant who had worked as a health reporter for five years asked, "If I hardly cover the topic and I am the health reporter specialist, how about other journalists?". It was apparent that health reporting struggled in the politics dominated media; with mental health reporting emerging as the lowest in the ladder.

Mental health media stories are reactive and event based and they are dominant in the media when a national disaster, ethnic conflict or terrorisms acts like the Westgate terrorist attack in 2014 and Garissa University attack in 2015 occur or when a prominent personality is involved in a crisis related to mental health challenges. In times of conflicts and national crisis, almost all the participants said that the Kenyan media highly consult with psychologists and psychiatrists and they dominate the airwaves and media spaces but the issue is "shut until another crisis occurs. It is periodic in terms of coverage" said one participant.

However, mental health content does not generate a lot of interests from media audiences as compared to other diseases. The Kenyan media is consumer oriented even in production of health messages and just like in the public domain where mental health discourse is scarce; the media audiences portray lack of enthusiasm in interacting with the mental health medics and experts. One TV health reporter narrated an occasion where she invited mental health experts as guest in her TV health show following the Garissa University Terrorism Act in 2015, but the audience engagement and feedback turned out to be low as compared to other shows. She put it this way:

> *I only received 10 short messages from the audience which was quite low for a show that attracts ninety plus sms from the audience! So, if I invite a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and the response is lower, definitely I will take some time before I call one. I will call doctors who bring viewership and response to my program. That's how we rate media. We rate it by viewership. How many people are texting me and calling in order to know people are actually watching this show. So, it holds us back from bringing specialists who do not attract audience engagement.*

Marks associated with mental health dominate Kenyan media

Stigma marks associated to acute mental illnesses are more prominent in the Kenyan media, which include dirty and unkempt people, walk around half naked, and violent people. Although the mental health experts pointed out that only 2% of the population suffering from mental health portray visible symptoms, the Kenyan media, especially through their pictorial presentation, highly depict that mental health is associated with outward visible symptoms. It was pointed out that constant usage of 'dramatic' images in mental health reporting, is making sensational news on medical matters without considering the consequences. The mental health experts described mental health illnesses as silent killers where many suffer quietly; and sometimes the disease is not noticed until it is too late, with majority suffering from psychosomatic illnesses.

Another stigma mark that dominates the Kenyan media is marking people with mental health as dangerous and violent people involved with crime. Majority of mental health stories in the media are to do with people who have committed an act of violence and crime. One print journalist put it this way: "the ugly, the dark and the dramatic side of mental health attracts the Kenyan media'; further, the health journalists pointed out that with many media players fighting for the same audience, "selling" of news shapes the media agenda as pointed out by the discussion here below:

Interviewer: *What kind of mental health stories or issues tend to make viable news from a media perspective?*

Interviewee: *I think the biggest one is suicide. I think that makes the biggest kind of impact.*

Another one said:

> *Unfortunately, media today is viewer-driven. So, at the end of the day, editors and reporters are looking for stories that will attract viewers to their station. For instance, a story of a violent person, may be somebody hacked another person… when such stories that are linked to mental illness run, there is a lot of response from the viewers. So, when any such stories come in, editors will say, definitely this is a good one. Like now the story yesterday about the vampire woman who was mistreating the house help, sucking their blood and even biting them. I mean, it was put number one in a couple of stations. The other day we covered a woman who killed two children, the neighbor's child and what have you. We just link those stories to mental illness but do not go further to understand the context (TV Health Reporter, Nairobi)*

An example of an article on mental health that featured in one of the leading daily newspapers during the data collection of this study was discussed by the participants. The op-ed article pointed out that one out of four people in Kenya are suffering from different forms of mental illnesses, but the photo accompanying that story was that of Thomas Evans, and through its photo caption, it explained that he who was one of the 11 terrorists shot dead by Kenya Defence Force. The participants questioned the link between a terrorist and a story featuring about the increase of mental health in Kenya.

Further, mental-ill health is marked as a disease associated with crisis, which makes mental health facilities like Mathari National Teaching & Referral Hospital(one of the biggest mental health hospitals in East

Africa) to be perceived as institutions that are always in crisis. One psychiatrist had this to say:

> *A journalist sees me and all what they ask me is "how is Mathare Hospital?" …is there a disconnect somewhere? They are just interested in sensational information that will make their stories to sell. 'Mathari National Teaching & Referral Hospital' was even rebranded but they still refer to it as Mathare Hospital in a derogatory way. (MH expert, Psychiatrist).*

Besides 'selling' of news being the factor that makes majority of mental health stories to be marked as violent diseases, there exists a belief amongst some journalists that mental health patients are violent as one journalist put it:"…many mental health conditions are accompanied by violence, at some point people become violent." Others believe that the same people need to be chained because they tend to be violent towards others or themselves; "If you are covering mental health programs, if somebody is violent then that's an important thing to highlight" said one of the long serving health reporter who had received awards in health reporting. Besides being marked as a violent disease associated with crime, peril stigma exists where people with mental health challenges are perceived by journalists as violent people who pose as a threat to the community. Some health journalists said that they fear going near those suffering from mental health because they saw them as dangerous. For example, one of the long health journalists had this to say:

> Interviewer: *For example, did you attend last year's world mental health day?*
>
> Interviewee: *I wasn't around, so I did not. By the way I haven't attended any mental health forum in the last six years.*
>
> Interviewer: *How come?*
>
> Interviewee: *Many reasons… I believe our attitude is a mad person; we need to keep away from a mad person. They are dangerous.*

Another participant described them this way; "many of them are like children locked in the houses and chained because they might harm themselves and harm others" Mental health experts shared experiences where journalists have expressed a lot of fear towards those ill when invited for mental health related events. One health journalist shared an experience of a media event where they were invited to a rehabilitation center and found patients doing chores such as cooking and one of them was cutting vegetables; but she was so afraid to go near due to fear of being attacked by the patient. However, one of the health journalists who had received mental health reporting training differed,and narrated her experiences of visiting health facilities and interviewing patients as narrated here below:

> *I was able to interact with persons with mental health conditions at Mathari Referral Teaching & National Hospital, and similar persons in communities in Nyeri, Nakuru and other places. I travelled to Kisumu as well and Nairobi and did stories. It was an enlightening point and I was able to influence how my stories were used in terms of the choice of words… I was able to understand the patients as I asked them questions like: ''How would you prefer to be referred to?''; ''What are some of the challenges you face as a person with mental illness?'' (Print Health Reporter, Nairobi)*

The mental health experts shared that people suffering from mental health are more subjected to violence at the community level; and only about 2% of those with acute mental illnesses, who have not received treatment are violent. One of the mental health experts involved in economic empowerment of mental health patients said:

> *Media legitimizes the stigma in the public domain leading to members of public being courageous to even interfere with one's business calling them 'mwenda wazimu na hawezi kuuzia watu, hawezi fanya biashara hapo' (mad person who cannot engage in business and he cannot trade from here). It actually affects the way these people live in their day to day lives because the public has the right to say these people cannot go to school, these people cannot go to work or if they work they do not deserve equal pay... Media legitimizes the perception*

> *and stereotypes that people hold in their own minds about persons with mental health and treat them accordingly.*

Interviewees further said that the Kenyan media marks mental-ill health as a weird and an outrageous 'disease', hence when prominent personalities in the society face mental health crisis, their stories dominate the Kenyan media"because it is not expected of them to suffer from such diseases" said one of the health journalists. To illustrate that kind of representation, an example was given of a former female Kenyan boxer who developed mental health challenges in 2012 and her story was highly publicized by the media. It was noted that if the boxer had suffered from another disease, she could not have been accorded the extensive media coverage she received; "it is like although she was a heroine, she broke down mentally and she is headed to the grave. It is like drawing public sympathy towards her," said a print health journalist while others said that the case of the female boxer attracted the media because she suffered from a "weird" disease.

A disease marked for the poor, rural and uneducated population

Both health journalists and mental health experts concurred and pointed out that the Kenyan media marks mental illnesses as diseases for the poor, rural and uneducated. "Majority of mental health stories are always about some poor people in a remote village suffering from mental illness," said a print health journalist. Describing that kind of attitude, one editor illustrated it this way:

> *We feel like mental health issues should have been left in 1980s. As in, if you are having mental health issues in this day and age, you know, it is weird. (Print Editor, Nairobi)*

Further comment about the former popular female boxer, one health reporter had the following to say:

> *…mental problems, it is something we expect with people, whom we don't know and who are uneducated and poor. But it was strange*

> *that this disease affected Kenya's biggest female boxer (Print Editor, Nairobi)*

One editor put it this way:

> *Like these mental health issues are for poor people. And it is like the community takes no responsibility completely. And so even in our reporting it is not like we are telling people the responsibilities upon the community to support these people. It is mostly just a "woiyee story"(pity story) that will pull out people's heartstrings but there is no action expected…media stays away from pity stories. We don't want stories that just depress. And mental health is one of those" (Print Editor, Nairobi),*

Although stories of people living productive lives in spite of mental health challenges hardly feature in the Kenyan media, the interviewees shared that the media personnel in Kenya are faced with mental health crises. Mental health experts said that there are several media personnel and other professionals seeking their services quietly while some are in treatment rehabilitation centers.

The study also showed attribution of responsibility, where mental health patients are blamed for their illness. The major attribution is witchcraft, so some health journalists believe that mental health patients are bewitched, hence the lack of care from family and the society. It was also perceived as a curse in a family, with one journalist saying: "It is like mental health issue is a thing of our traditions. That thing for this family that has 'mad' people". On the other hand, there was a belief that mental health patients did outrageous things that caused their stigmatizing condition. One health reporter's sentiments in the following extract illustrates such a case: "Because I remember a case of one person who had carnal knowledge with a mad woman. But he also became mad at some point." On being asked some of the images they had of persons with mental health challenges, some of the responses showed that journalists blame them for such conditions. Some of the images included: 'unproductive in the society'; 'not willing to deal with their issues' and 'Wanakaa nyumbani kumeza meza dawa tu' (they stay at home just swallowing medicines).

Language and Label stigma in media representation of mental health

The labels used in reference to people facing mental health challenges by the Kenyan media include 'mad people, mwenda wazimu and unstable'. During the interviews, it was observed that majority of health journalist used the terms 'mad'and 'mwenda wazimu' in reference to those suffering from mental- ill health ('mwenda wazimu' is a common derogatory Kiswahili word used in the public domain to refer to mental illness or people suffering from the same). The following excerpt from a discussion of an incident in 2013 when patients run away from Mathari National Teaching and Referral Hospital complaining about poor services, illustrate the language that is used by the health journalists during the interviews:

> *The media made fun of that case and it became the joke of town. How can a 'mad' person just get out of the hospital? People who are 'mad' are not taken seriously and so the assumption is that they don't even have the capacity to stage-manage something like an escape or something like that. So, it becomes drama and definitely made news.*

Further the participants discussed in length one of the articles that appeared in one of the leading newspapers during the data collection period of this study, with a headline: 'How do we get rid of terrible 'madness' that has taken our society hostage?'. The following was the introduction of that story:

> *I heard a statistic that shocked me that one in four people in this country are either mad now, have been mad in the past, or are likely to become mad before they die; that is 25% of Kenya current population of 44 million, which translates to over 10 million mad people.*

It was reported that during the Alcoholism and Drug Abuse (ADA), which caught media's attention, especially in 2015 when the President of Kenya issued a restraint against alcohol and drugs, and the media disclosed the identities of the victims of ADA. Referring to one of the TV shows, one of the mental health participants said that words such as "kawara, bubuwazi, wazimu wakupindukia" were used by journalists while reporting on ADA. "I wondered, have we reduced the value of a person whose face we can see just because he is an addict.?" said one of the psychologists from a rehabilitation center. The mental health experts said there are different types of mental illnesses and they should not be depicted as a single "disorder' under the umbrella of madness.

Whereas there was a belief that the media trivializes and sensationalizes mental health issues through such labels, the Kenyan media are not deliberate in their labelling of persons with mental health issues. Besides the health reporter who had received training in mental health, the other participants said they were not aware of the language to use to describe mental illness: "But the problem here is that there are no those words. We don't have the language. We just put it like it is "ni mwenda wazimu, mad people," said one of the health journalists. Commenting about the labels used by the media, one print health journalist put it this way:

> *I think they (labels) are discriminatory, they are derogatory, but the media doesn't do that deliberately. It is the lack of awareness of how to technically refer to persons with mental illness. Do you call them mad people or you call them persons with mental illness, or um, mental impairment? And because the media lives in the society, they pick up the terms and use them in their publication…out of ignorance not of our deliberate or malice.*

In retrospect, some of the participants recalled the emergence of HIV when the media had to make a deliberate decision to demote HIV stigma messages. "In reporting about HIV, we used terms such as the HIV scourge, the malady, HIV carriers, HIV pandemic and other stigmatizing words but somewhere along the line we toned down and the language changed. It should be the same thing with mental health reporting" said one of the media editors, pointing out that they were yet to get there in mental health reporting.

However, a conflict exists between 'Economy of Words' principle and the words to use when reporting on stigmatized diseases like mental health, HIV or albino. The principle results in media editors dismissing statements such as 'persons with mental illness' as NGO language saying that such language dehumanizes media stories and robs media of it's power. Narrating about her struggle with editors in terms of the language to use, the trained health reporter shared the following experience:

> *I remember there was a time I was working with…(one of the mainstream newspapers) and we had a very big debate with the editors. I was writing a story about albinism and I referred to them as 'persons with albinism'. And conflict arose because the editors replaced those words with 'albinos' and they don't like being called that. So, people started saying, "you know if we are going to qualify them as persons with albinism, then everybody else is going to say that they live with something.". So, it actually went into a level where it became a joke in the newsroom. They didn't see like it was really serious, you know, but I remember I stood my ground and I said "don't call them albinos even if it was going to take longer words."*

Unfortunately, the study showed lack of existence of health reporting policies within the Kenya media, without which there is no standardized guidelines on issues like language to be used in reference to the ill. Additionally, whereas all the health journalists' who participated in this study had received training from Intra News in reporting health issues such as AIDs/HIV, cancer , and sexual reproductive health, among other diseases; none of them had received mental health reporting besides the print health journalist, whose opinion varied from other similar participants.

Discussions

The representation of mental health issues has increased slightly in the last couple of years. However, it still remains a low priority area as compared to other health issues in the Kenyan media. Although media has been identified as a critical stakeholder in public education and policy influence in Sub-Saharan Africa (Atilola, 2016), the Kenyan media representation of mental health issues tends to be skewed, characterized with stigma communication. The leading stigma content are marks and labels where as responsibility and peril are also there. A study done in Uganda shows that the Ugandan media is actively involved in health initiatives, but with little attention devoted to mental health (Kigozi et al., 2010). The lack of interest in mental health by mainstream media is a mirror of what happens in the society.

Marks of the stigma include mental health patients being represented as dramatic people who are dirty, unkempt, violent and people who commit crime while at the same time they are marked as poor,rural and uneducated people. That kind of mark makes episodic, sensational/alarmist, conflict and controversy frames dominate the Kenyan mainstream media whereas thematic, contextual and economic frames remain unexploited. Corroborating with this, a study on the portrayal of mental health in Australian daily newspapers, showed that the newspapers favored stories about mental illnesses over the spectrum of mental health (Kenez, O'Halloran, and Liamputtong, 2015).

Media or other representations that emphasize socially undesirable features not only destroys the image of the organization, but also the very self-concepts of its members (Gioia et al., 2013; Kjærgaard, Morsing, & Ravasi, 2010). Along the same lines, sensational frames that mark mental health facilities as institutions that are always in a crisis may contribute to people shying away from those institutions as depicted by this study; which ultimately hinder health care services. This study showed that although Mathari Teaching and National Referral Hospital is the biggest mental health facility in East Africa, which also offers other diverse medical services, some patients shy away from it due to the stigma associated with the hospital.

In op-ed article carried by one of the Kenyan newspapers, The Daily Nation, Kaberia (2015) wrote an article titled "Let's treat the mentally ill as patients and stop thinking they are criminals". He argued that dealing with mental health is a collective undertaking and "citizens need to be sensitized that these are sick people, not criminals," (p. 15). However, this study shows that the Kenyan mainstream media contributes in that criminalization as the dominant stories mark those people as criminals and dangerous people (peril stigma). Other studies have shown that the recurring theme of extreme violence at the hands of mentally ill characters is the norm in mass media portrayals (Beachum, 2010; Smith, 2015).

Labelling of persons suffering from mental health challenges is one of the most salient stigma communications that exist amongst the Kenyan media and the stigmatizing labels include 'mad', 'unstable' and 'mwenda wazimu'. These are common labels used in the society from a cultural and social point of view, and Nyakundi (2015) found the fear of being labelled 'mwenda wazimu' or 'mad person' was top on the list for young people not seeking mental health ailments treatment in Nairobi. It means that such labels have far-reaching implication on health seeking behaviors, as Andrew (2012) points out that language and labels play a critical role in socialization. Other studies have shown media label people with mental health in abusive and demeaning way (Adhikari, 2007; Birch, 2012; Goulden, et al., 2011;). The constructionist approach emphasizes the ability to create realities through language, in its varied forms of presentation, and stimulating a process of continuous creation (Gilban, 2014). It means that when the media uses the word 'madness' in description of the mentally ill, it is reinforcing the socio-cultural mental representation of mental health, where 'madness' may conjure the image of half dressed psychotic person out in the streets.

With respect to peril, a belief exists that people suffering from mental health are violent and dangerous hence they need to be avoided while there is blame placed on the ill due to link with witchcraft. In corroboration, Atilola and Olayiwola (2013) found out that in the Yoruba genre of Nigerian movies, psychotic symptoms were the most commonly depicted, while treatments of the ill took place in "the most commonly depicted etiology of mental illness was sorcery and enchantment by witches and wizards, as well as other supernatural forces," (p.1). Commenting on that kind of representation, which also features in the Kenyan mainstream media, Atilola (2015) says that the media portrayal of mental health issues solely from cultural explanatory models tends to provide an incomplete representation, which is characterized by culturally sanctioned stereotypes about causation and treatment. With that kind of perspective, health service utilization remains low because mental health challenges are hardly attributed to brain disease (Audu et al., 2013).

This study shows that journalists mainly use their social and cultural lens in their representation of mental health issues; and such content fail to emphasize about symptoms, assessments, interventions and treatment for mental illnesses. Besides commercialization that leads to sensationalism, media need for a 'news peg' upon which they would hinge their stories, contribute to dominant representation of violence and crime linked to mental health. Ireri (2013) points out that conflict and controversy frames attract the media hence stigma marks emphasizing and linking mental health to violence, unpredictability, outrageous and people incapable of taking care of themselves, which reinforces the public stereotypes and stigma (Adhikari, 2007; Birch, 2012; Boykoff, 2006; Goulden et al., 2011; Ritterfeld & Jin, 2006; Shon & Arrigo, 2006).

Conclusion

It is clear that media is a critical partner towards addressing stigma, public knowledge ignorance and outdated policies surrounding mental health. However, to achieve that goal, it is critical for key collaborations to be formed between the Kenyan media and mental health stakeholders. Capacity building of health journalists, as the custodians of health issues in the mass media industry needs to be considered towards an effort of exploiting thematic, contextual and economic frames in their reporting of mental health issues. Further, this study recommends a paradigm shift, where like any core public health program, an integral strategic media plan is needed with clear targets, training, leadership and funding in order for the Kenyan mainstream media to contribute in mental health promotion, which will ultimately make significant contribution in positive mental health outcome in Kenya.

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