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"Don't Let Your Loved Ones Get Involved With a Fataki!"

Addressing Intergenerational Sex in Tanzania Through the Fataki Campaign

Photo courtesy of STRADCOM.

A child walks by a Fataki banner in Kilwa, Tanzania.

By Jessica Ogden and Heather Bergmann

A market woman sits in the shade in Morogoro in eastern Tanzania, the site of the pilot radio campaign about "Fataki," the laughable, girl-chasing older man. Like everyone in this highland region, she's heard of Fataki. As she stacks tomatoes into small piles, she explains how the Fataki campaign helps girls avoid the sexual advances of much older, wealthier men. "From the Fataki program, we learn that many older men still trick our children. In these relationships a girl gets intimidated, she gets pregnant, and cannot continue with school; she has lost that opportunity. And then those old people that trick them will leave them and that girl will suffer alone…"

The Fataki radio campaign in Tanzania uses humor, recognizable characters, and a familiar story to draw public attention to, and create dialogue around, intergenerational sex (IGS). Relationships of this type, in which older men offer young women money or goods in exchange for sex, increase young women's risk of exposure to HIV, yet receive little public attention. In 2007, development began on a unique contribution to this emerging area of prevention practice. The Fataki radio spots use the roguish, always thwarted Fataki to highlight the dangers of IGS, demonstrate responses to an older man's advances, and break the silence on the subject of IGS.

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BOX 1. TRANSACTIONAL SEX AND INCREASED HIV RISK

1. Exchange of material goods for sex encourages sexual activity that might not have occurred if young women had other sources of income or other ways of acquiring goods.
2. Transactional sex can lead to frequent partner change—and multiple, overlapping partnerships—as young women seek out different partners to meet their economic needs, and as men use their comparative wealth to have sex with a number of different women.
3. Material exchange links men's desirability as sexual partners with their perceived affluence. This increases the potential for risk because more affluent men are able to maintain more than one partner and change partners frequently, or because they come from towns where overall prevalence of HIV tends to be higher than in rural areas.
4. Material exchange could create a barrier to condom use because men feel that they are not getting good value for their money with a condom.

(Wamoyi et al. 2010)

Background on Intergenerational and Transactional Sex in Tanzania

Transactional sex (TS) is the practice of exchanging sex for goods, or for financial or lifestyle rewards, usually in the context of an ongoing relationship. Distinct from commercial sex work, TS is thought to be a fairly common sexual practice in parts of southern Africa (Leclerc-Madlala 2003, 2009; Luke and Kurz 2002). In this region, TS often takes place between young women and older men in a relationship dynamic known as "intergenerational" or "cross-generational" (when the age difference is 10 or more years), or "age-disparate" (when the difference is 5 or more years).

These relationships make sense in resource-constrained settings. Older men tend to have relatively greater wealth, while younger women may have limited access to resources; however, older men have also had more time and opportunity to acquire HIV and other sexual infections, which can be passed on to the young women with whom they have relationships. Furthermore, power differentials may play a role in condom negotiation (see Box 1).

Boys may also engage in age-disparate and intergenerational relationships. However, health experts believe that relationships between older men and younger women are of greater epidemiological importance in southern and eastern Africa, where young women are 2 to 4.5 times more likely to be living with HIV than men of the same age (Joint U.N. Programme on HIV/AIDS [UNAIDS] 2008). In Tanzania, where overall prevalence of HIV is 6.2 percent (UNAIDS 2008), sex distributions at younger ages show girls at higher risk than boys, suggesting significant sexual mixing between older men and younger women (Tanzanian Commission for AIDS [TACAIDS] et al. 2008). Transactions often fuel these relationships.

According to the most recent Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria Indicator Survey, approximately eight percent of teenage girls have sexual partners 10 or more years their senior (TACAIDS et al. 2008). Several studies have identified promising practices, such as microeconomic approaches (Baird et al. 2010); interpersonal and community-level activities, such as mentoring youth (Hall 2006); and a few multilevel communication campaigns, notably the programs of the Soul City Institute in South Africa. The Fataki Campaign uses a series of targeted radio spots, followed by a set of tools for community action, to create a language for discussing IGS as a way of initiating the process of normative change.

Development of the Fataki Campaign

The Fataki campaign began with a collaborative workshop held in Dar es Salaam in November 2007, convened by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and led by the Strategic Radio Communication for Development (STRADCOM) initiative of the Johns Hopkins University Center for Communications Programs. Participants included the National AIDS Control Program (NACP; in concert with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare), TACAIDS, local media organizations, representatives of national and international nongovernment organizations (NGOs), and a number of artists and other creative people who were involved in development and production. The intensive, week-long workshop proceeded as follows:

- Day One: Overview of *Made to Stick* methodology; identify problem to address; design and produce messages
- Day Two: Test and redesign messages
- Day Three: Produce and test redesigned messages
- Day Four: Second redesign of messages and test the third-round messages
- Day Five: Finalize campaign.

The campaign was based on an approach articulated in the book, *Made to Stick: Why Some Ideas Survive and Others Die.* This book offers a model, SUCCES(S) (see Box 2), for improving the chances that worthy ideas will take hold in a population. USAID in Tanzania wanted to explore how this method could be applied to HIV prevention. Dan and Chip Heath, authors of the book, were invited to facilitate the workshop.

After the Heath brothers presented their approach, workshop participants identified the drivers of HIV infection most in need of creative intervention. NACP and other key stakeholders suggested IGS as a critical factor. It bears noting that workshop participants did not discuss TS as a distinct risk factor; IGS and TS are understood to be intertwined in Tanzania.

Aims and objectives of the program: Workshop participants next established a set of goals supporting reduced incidence of IGS. A critical concern was that, while people generally disapprove of IGS, they see it as inevitable because young people often lack resources and economic opportunities. Participants were also concerned that,

BOX 2. APPLYING THE HEATH BROTHERS' SUCCES(S) MODEL OF "STICKINESS" TO THE FATAKI CAMPAIGN

- ***S*implicity:** The core idea is that people should help their friends or relatives dodge the advances of men like Fataki.
- ***U*nexpectedness:** The campaign uses humor to address a serious issue. This surprises and engages audiences.
- ***C*oncreteness:** The Fataki scripts make use of specific scenes and sensory details (e.g., the sounds of a bar) so that the message is more realistic and memorable.
- ***C*redibility:** People find Fataki's behavior familiar and thus credible. They know, from their own experience, that there are men like Fataki out there.
- ***E*motions:** Our disgust at Fataki's behavior turns to delight when we see his flirtatious behavior foiled.
- ***S*tories:** Each public service announcement (PSA) tells a story that prepares community members to act if they witness a Fataki.

(For a full discussion of the model, see Heath and Heath 2007.)

according to their understanding, some families even encourage their daughters to accept gifts from men to take economic pressure off the household. Discussion therefore came to center around how to shift these potentially harmful cultural norms and make IGS unacceptable. Many workshop participants felt that it would not be appropriate to put the onus on the shoulders of young women, who are under economic and social pressure to obtain resources and whose youth makes it difficult to refuse an elder's advances. The group concluded that it is the responsibility of a girl's family and community to keep her out of harm's way. They wanted to create a PSA campaign to empower the family and community to do so.

Thus, rather than directly targeting the men and young women involved in IGS, the aim of the program was to change the environment in which the liaisons take place—the "social atmosphere" (Heath and Heath 2010) of risk by:

- Making individual and community-level discussions about IGS easier and more likely to take place
- Providing a new way to discuss these relationships
- Creating an uncomfortable social environment for older men who wish to engage girls in these relationships by:
  1. Providing specific scripts that community members can use to prevent or stop such relationships
  2. Stigmatizing—or at least creating a social censure for—men who seek to engage young women and girls in sexual relationships.

To achieve these goals, the group developed images and messages that were "sticky," which, according to the Heaths' paradigm, involved telling simple, unexpected, concrete, and credible stories that would appeal to people emotionally. Humor would be critical to the program as a way to reduce the discomfort people feel when talking about IGS. The group decided to create a caricature of the "sugar daddy": an older man who pursues young women and girls "constantly, relentlessly, shamelessly" (Heath and Heath 2010, 237). A participant suggested the name "Fataki" for the protagonist. The word means "explosion" or "firework" in Kiswahili and invokes the danger inherent in IGS. The character himself would be a villain that the public would enjoy mocking.

Workshop participants agreed that creating a visual image of the protagonist would be useful for character development and script writing as well as print media products. Therefore, during the workshop, the creative team (including staff from STRADCOM partner Media for Development International [MFDI] and other local artists) developed PSAs displaying a number of images of Fataki and pre-tested them in communities near Dar es Salaam. Pre-testing revealed that the PSAs did not need to mention HIV in part due to "HIV program fatigue" (whereby people are weary of too many prevention messages and tend to "tune out" when they hear them) and in part because communities understood the relationship between IGS and HIV.

The pre-testing clarified the most effective images (see photos) and messages for the Fataki Campaign. "Don't let your loved ones get involved with a Fataki" and "Don't get involved with a Fataki" became the campaign slogans. By the

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end of the week, STRADCOM left the workshop with a set of goals, the character of Fataki, and a number of prototype PSAs and sketches to guide the development of the campaign.

Pilot testing the campaign: The next step would be a pilot PSA campaign, scheduled to take place in Morogoro. To guide development of PSAs that resonated in the community and motivated people to act, STRADCOM partnered with Synovate (formerly The Steadman Group) to conduct a quantitative baseline survey. The survey examined whether the community perceived IGS as a problem, whether there had been other attempts to address the issue, and whether there was already a local term for IGS. STRADCOM engaged local government and health authorities in the pilot's development, increasing its overall validity, credibility, and acceptance.

STRADCOM used findings from the survey and pre-testing to develop 10 pilot PSAs, which aired in three blocks (two sets of three and one set of four) over 120 days in four districts of the Morogoro region. This region, about 100 miles west of Dar es Salaam, was selected for its relatively high HIV prevalence (5.1 percent; TACAIDS et al. 2008); its proximity to Dar es Salaam, which facilitated monitoring; and its relative geographic isolation, which would reduce contamination by other interventions. Two stations were selected to initially broadcast the PSAs with a third added later. In addition to broadcasting the PSAs frequently (ensuring high exposure), the team reinforced the messages by hanging banners in high-visibility areas, such as markets and roadsides, in a number of communities. The banners read, "Don't let your loved ones get involved with a Fataki" in Kiswahili, echoing the closing line of the radio spots.

To assess the effect of the pilot PSA campaign, STRADCOM held six focus group discussions with youth and community members—girls, women, and men—and engaged Synovate to survey 2,000 respondents during and after the four-month pilot. In September 2008, three months after the pilot ended, Synovate carried out a final survey. Findings suggested strong promise by the end of the pilot, 97 percent of respondents reported exposure to the Fataki Campaign and 44 percent spontaneously used the term "Fataki" to refer to an older man who tries to seduce younger women. Three-quarters of respondents reported discussing Fataki, and the majority of respondents identified IGS as a problem. Also, 88 percent felt that they could do something about IGS.[1]

The surveys showed that communities viewed IGS as a problem and now had a common language for discussing and acting on it. Quantitative and qualitative data from these monitoring efforts were then used to refine the PSAs and banners to prepare for the national launch.

Another crucial finding from the pilot testing relates to the element of partnership. STRADCOM learned that authorities were willing to get involved in the campaign as long as they felt they had some form of ownership. Once engaged in the process, for example, the Municipal Council and the District councils provided security and free deployment of campaign materials (i.e., "Fataki" banners) and identified locations for strategic placement.[2]

[1]Results were not disaggregated by sex.

[2]Local councils and Regional Medical Officers in Morogoro, Tabora, Iringa, Mbeya, Shinyanga, Mara, Mwanza, Pwani, Dar es Salaam, and Tanga were all involved at various stages of the project to assist in approval of the PSAs and with posting and providing security for the banners.

The first version of Fataki was rejected for being set in a bar (inappropriate for a young girl), oversexualizing the girl, and portraying Fataki as too Western. People in rural areas did not connect the depiction of this man and his jewelry to someone in their community.

The second version of Fataki was rejected for appearing too urban—a rural Fataki might not have a car.

The third visual was rejected for the physical contact between Fataki and the girl, which was considered inappropriate.

The fourth (final) and current version shows Fataki and the girl interacting but not touching, with some ambiguity in the girl's response. (Illustrations provided by STRADCOM)

Technical Content of Fataki Campaign

Radio and complementary media: The revised spots first aired nationally in November 2008. Initially, three PSAs were aired nine times daily for three months. Within the first year, the frequency increased to six PSAs aired nine times per day, but because of resource constraints, this dropped to four PSAs per day. In the second (current) year of the campaign, the project was ramped up to reach a threshold of audience exposure to the messages: six PSAs were aired 12 times daily. The PSAs, which last approximately one minute, use humor and dramatic dialogue and feature the same actor for the voice of Fataki; other actors are brought in as needed for the other voices. All PSAs directly mention the age difference between Fataki and the younger girls he seduces. The story also implies the transactional nature of the relationship. Typical PSA scenarios (see Box 3) are the following:

- A young woman calls Fataki "ATM" (automatic teller machine) when she sees him trying to pick up another young woman, exposing him as someone who dispenses cash in exchange for sex.
- Fataki tries to give a young woman 10,000 Tanzanian shillings (about $6.50), but her friend reveals Fataki's many girlfriends.
- Fataki gets caught by his wife while buying groceries for another (younger) woman.
- Fataki tries to buy chicken and chips for a girl, but is thwarted by a waitress who sends the girl out the back door.[3]

STRADCOM and partners including MFDI, the FHI Ujana Project, the Academy for Educational Development (AED) Tanzania Marketing and Communications Company (T-MARC) Project, and others continually develop new PSAs in response to listener feedback. For example, listeners in rural areas do not identify with the "ATM" spot, because ATMs are rare in these areas. PSAs are regularly adapted in response to focus group testing and responses to the spots once they air (see Box 4).

A total of 29 spots have been developed. Three national radio stations broadcast the Fataki spots across the country and 11 local radio stations saturate the six areas with the highest HIV prevalence. Stations play a critical role by approving spots for airing and providing primetime slots for the PSAs. In addition, stations broadcast the spots with complementary programs. For example, the PSAs might be aired during a talk show focusing on health issues, which draws an audience interested in related topics from health and well-being to relationships and HIV, priming them to hear the Fataki messages broadcast immediately afterwards.

In 2009, to reach a growing television audience in Tanzania, one of the PSAs (the "ATM" spot) was transformed into cartoons that aired during the popular seasonal music idol program, *Bongo Star Search*. The PSA was subsequently aired for eight weeks between regularly scheduled television programming. The scripts are the same as the radio spots, and artists developed simple animation to accompany the audio component. Fataki cartoons also appear with a condensed message in a limited number of print publications developed and distributed by STRADCOM partners, on posters put up in schools and communities, and on 1,000 banners displayed in areas with the highest HIV prevalence.

Broad appeal: Because they are aired nationally, all Fataki materials are designed to be as generic as possible so they can resonate with a range of local settings, circumstances, and diction. The intention is for the PSAs to be believable and relevant in any Tanzanian community.

[3] See www.stradcomtanzania.org/pr_fataki.php for full English translations of the first 10 scripts developed.

BOX 3. TRANSCRIPT OF A FATAKI CAMPAIGN RADIO SPOT

"Brother," originally aired during the pilot in Morogoro in 2008.

Mother: Lulu, he's here…

Lulu: I'll be right there!

James (brother): Who is it? Oh, not him again. How can you allow my sister to see Fataki, mama?

Mother: He's an important man, my son. He has money. He knows people. He can help us. He has promised to get her a job… a good one…

James: But mama, look at the age difference between Fataki and Lulu… wait a minute, I have to do something…

Fataki: Ah, James… How are you?

James: I am fine. Oh, it's you Fataki. I thought it was Samba; he had promised to come here.

Fataki: Samba? The boxer?

James: He promised to come. Do you know he is proposing marriage to Lulu?

Fataki: Samba is a great boxer… anyway, I had another appointment… somewhere, and I thought I could stop by to greet Lulu. Tell her I send my regards!

James: Well, OK. Look! I see Samba coming!

Fataki: What??? I am out of here!

Mother: Now tell me, where does this story about Lulu having a fiancé come from?

James: I was just scaring him away. I don't like this relationship between Fataki and my sister. I don't think he will ever come here again.

Announcer 1: Protect your loved one from a Fataki!

Announcer 2: This message has been brought to you by the National AIDS Control Program.

BOX 4. PROCESS OF REFINING PSAs

- Stage 1: Creative team reviews results of pre-testing or monitoring then develops a new draft script that is reviewed and revised.
- Stage 2: Consultants pre-test the revised, recorded PSAs.
- Stage 3: Draft PSAs are pre-tested with focus groups; STRADCOM, MFDI, and the creative team reviews feedback.
- Stage 4: Scripts are refined based on pre-test.
- Stage 5: Record refined PSA, gather feedback from listeners, and pre-test the new PSA.

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Leveraging community resources: Partnering with other organizations working to address IGS in Tanzania, STRADCOM led the development of a Community Resource Kit, entitled *Tujadiliane,* which translates to "Let's Discuss." Each partner addressed a different angle according to its strengths—John Hopkins University's STRADCOM project focused on IGS; the FHI Ujana Project focused on youth, gender, IGS, and TS; and the AED T-MARC Project focused on partner reduction. The result is a DVD that can be used as a tool for working with community groups concerned about these issues. The DVD has nine chapters that focus on different approaches and populations, including a chapter on faithfulness and chapters targeting adults and youth. Individuals and communities receive guidance on intervening or changing behavior to reduce risk. Each chapter combines short movies, cartoons, or dramas, and comes with a discussion guide. STRADCOM relies on its partners with community reach—including Walter Reed and Balm in Gilead—to implement the kit and develop print materials for use in communities that lack a DVD player and television set.

NGO partners in three regions trained peer educators (PEs) to conduct education sessions and discussions using the kit's materials. PEs target both in- and out-of-school youth and bring the theme of IGS to village meetings and community sessions on voluntary counseling and testing for HIV. To reinforce the Fataki message at the community level, PEs also reach out to groups of people living with HIV and to income-generating groups.

Program Results

The commercial firm Synovate conducts Nielsen-style market research surveys annually to collect basic information, such as geographic reach. STRADCOM regularly collects and compiles published reactions to the campaign and other evidence of the campaign's influence, such as news stories that borrow campaign language in their discussions about real-life Fatakis. The qualitative research that accompanied the pilot phase was not continued on a regular basis during the national campaign. As no formal baseline was established, the formal evaluation of the campaign, planned for late 2010, will use sophisticated statistical methods to measure the effect of campaign exposure on interpersonal communications about IGS within households and assess community-level normative change.

Shortly after the pilot began, 30 percent of listeners reported that they had heard the spots and could recall the name "Fataki" and what it meant. By the end of the pilot, 78 percent recognized the term. Further, listeners could recall and discuss specific PSAs. Now that the campaign has been scaled up to the national level, the Fataki program has achieved its objective: it is reaching people throughout Tanzania.

A second important result is that the campaign provided communities in Tanzania with a new language to discuss the issue of IGS. The campaign was intended to stimulate community opposition to this practice, under the assumption that getting people talking about Fataki and his

unacceptable behavior was a first step. Using clever and entertaining content, the PSAs enjoy sustained appeal among listeners, who report initiating dialogue with their daughters about "Fatakis." Communities at all levels are talking about and using the language of Fataki. There have been numerous mentions of the program and uses of the "Fataki" term in Parliament and the media; even the president of Tanzania mentioned Fataki in a national address.

While community members report feeling more empowered to publicly object to Fataki-like behavior, this may be driving a few more equivocal outcomes. Increased public objection to men who appear to be soliciting young women could drive the behavior underground, making the behavior harder to address. Jokingly calling out "Hey, Fataki!" to an older man seen with a younger girl—or even, as observed in a Morogoro market, a young man adopting the mantel of Fataki by saying, "…a Fataki like me"—show the potential of glamorizing rather than stigmatizing the behavior.

As girls hear the spots, they too pick up the dialogue modeled for them. Some, campaign critics report, are now willing to talk back to their elders. Again, this flags a challenge for the program, because community members tend to view this behavior as rude and foreign to their culture. However, the general feeling remains that girls should say "no" to Fatakis, and the program helps them do so.

What worked well: The research for this case study indicates that the campaign has achieved its principle objectives. According to stakeholders, the reasons for this success include the following:

The entertainment value of the PSAs. A key factor in the "stickiness" of the campaign is the humor. Fataki himself is such an endearingly pathetic character that people are compelled to listen and find out how his plans are going to be thwarted.

Communities at all levels are talking about and using the language of Fataki. There have been numerous mentions of the program and uses of the "Fataki" term in Parliament and the media; even the president of Tanzania mentioned Fataki in a national address.

The frequency of the broadcasts. Fataki "flooded the airways" to such an extent that every person interviewed for this case study (whether an AIDS expert, student, market vendor, or taxi driver) had heard the PSAs and knew what they were about. The term "Fataki" entered the Tanzanian lexicon, even appearing in local newspaper articles referring to specific real-life cases of "Fataki-ism."

The use of familiar and culturally relevant concepts, language, and scenarios. Fataki appears in a range of familiar settings, such as a café, a market, and a grocery store, and the spots model specific scripts allowing waitresses, girlfriends, police officers, and community members to intervene to thwart him.

A fresh approach to HIV prevention. Circumventing the challenge of HIV prevention fatigue—in which overly familiar HIV prevention messages have become background noise—none of the Fataki PSAs directly mention HIV, although most of those interviewed for this case study (including students) made these links for themselves.

Reinforcement of messaging and extension of reach by partners. STRADCOM's strategic partnerships to create a Community Resource Kit and support its implementation by peer educators have likely contributed to the campaign's overall impact.

Beyond these interpersonal activities, partners have reinforced campaign efforts with the following:

- FHI's Ujana Project has developed imagery and messaging complementary to the Fataki campaign, such as taking the girl's perspective and focusing on resisting the temptation to go out with a Fataki.
- Femina HIP has aired STRADCOM's animated Fataki cartoon on their own television programs, during which young people are interviewed about the campaign.
- Femina HIP has also incorporated Fataki messages into their own print media, which are disseminated through an extensive school distribution mechanism. In one instance, a Fataki cartoon was coupled with articles on youth entrepreneurship in an effort to direct young people to some alternatives to IGS.

Campaign challenges: While the Fataki Campaign appears to have been largely successful in raising dialogue around IGS and generating critique of "Fataki-ism," there are factors in the program's design—and perhaps even in its stickiness—that may pose challenges in moving from normative change to behavior change. These challenges include the following.

Striking a balance between humor and messaging. The lighthearted approach of the dialogue in the PSAs grabs the attention of listeners and facilitates dialogue, making the messages sticky. However, some individuals interviewed for this case study suggested that because of the humor, the issues addressed by the spots may not be taken seriously by all listeners. Can humor be both engaging and impactful?

Reaching young women. For the campaign's print media components, STRADCOM faced the challenge of creating a generic yet memorable character for Fataki and the girl he is chasing. Yet, critics note that Fataki is not physically appealing and that older and out-of-school girls may not easily relate to the image of the (very young) schoolgirl. STRADCOM's emphasis on radio circumvents some of these visual challenges, but the decision to avoid placing responsibility for change on the shoulders of the girls themselves may create others. The decision by STRADCOM and its partners to put the onus for intervention on the community has merit for a number of reasons: children may be unable to intervene on their own in a situation in which they have little power, and communities may, in various ways, perpetuate the practice of IGS. However, the approach also underplays the agency of girls, which is increasingly viewed as important in instigating and perpetuating IGS in some settings (see Leclerc-Madlala 2003, 2008, 2009; Masvawure 2010; Wamoyi et al. 2010). Can creating a context intolerant of IGS be effective without addressing the complex behavioral and structural motivations behind it?

Alternatives to material acquisition. It is not uncommon for young women to proactively seek out IGS to obtain desirable luxuries and the status that goes with them (see Hunter 2002; Leclerc-Madlala 2008; Maganja et al. 2007; Masvawure 2010; Wamoyi et al. 2010). But some young women engage in transactional relationships to help support their basic needs, such as food, clothing, soap, or school fees. In the absence of economic alternatives, a girl may think engaging in a sexual relationship with a Fataki is her only way to obtain these goods, and she may be right. "Making individual and community-level discussions about IGS easier and more likely to take place" is an objective of this campaign. Do economic realities interfere with supportive community-level dialogue? Might financial empowerment of girls and/or their families (for example through programs incentivizing parents to keep their girls in school) create platforms for such dialogue? If efforts to shift social norms are not linked with programs that foster economic opportunities for girls and young women, will they accomplish enough to counter IGS?

Modeling negative male stereotypes. The campaign models negative male stereotypes to stigmatize certain practices. Public health experience elsewhere, however, has demonstrated that generating positive role models and engaging with men to transform unequal gender norms can be effective in changing men's behavior (Promundo's Program H is an example; see "Resources"). Without modeling behavior change for men engaging in IGS, the question again arises: Will reducing social acceptability of IGS be enough to end the practice? Furthermore, there is particular concern in Tanzania about teachers who pressure girls to exchange sex for good grades. Is the image of Fataki so foolish that his behavior will not be seen to apply to trusted figures that may also practice IGS?

Engaging communities. Aside from pre-test focus groups, STRADCOM and its partners have not fully engaged the community or key populations in the development of the campaign on a regular basis. Although the partners do seek input from listeners, community members have specifically asked for opportunities to discuss these issues in seminars and workshops to address questions and concerns evoked by the campaign. The partners did try to respond to such requests with the development of the Community Resource Kit, but while the kit has been used to good effect in some communities, the DVD format is impractical in most locations.

In collaboration with partner Femina HIP, STRADCOM visited two regions (Morogoro and Tabora) in 2009 to interview community members, schools (students and teachers), and local and government leaders about the Fataki campaign, to obtain their feedback, and to catalog community-based efforts to address IGS. Over a three-week period, three 30-minute television shows covered government, community, and youth reactions to the campaign; many radio stations invited listeners to call in or send feedback via text messaging during talk shows. This program ran on television for three weeks. Are there ways to further increase the interactivity of the Fataki campaign, such as formalizing opportunities for dialogue around the radio spots or offering new television or radio content with an interactive component?

Recommendations and Future Programming

The Fataki program has achieved its objectives, and the hope is that STRADCOM can reinforce these achievements and move from creating dialogue to generating change. Funding for the current Fataki campaign continues through September 2011, and STRADCOM is engaging stakeholders in discussions to determine the best way to continue the momentum generated thus far—whether to continue the radio campaign in its current form or move to a different set of activities.

Borrowing from private sector concepts of stickiness in marketing, the Fataki campaign offers an innovative approach to normative change. Results of a planned evaluation are eagerly anticipated. In the meantime, the campaign raises important questions for practitioners considering the implementation of similar programs elsewhere, including the following:

- Would modeling more positive and gender-transformative male attitudes and behaviors sacrifice the stickiness of messages discouraging IGS?
- Would it enhance effectiveness to link with initiatives that address the economic drivers of IGS?
- What role could such a campaign play in a combination prevention model that incorporates behavioral, biomedical, and structural approaches?

- What are the relative strengths and weaknesses of approaches that rely on participatory community involvement versus traditional private sector marketing approaches to campaign development?

The Fataki campaign successfully generated a buzz around IGS and gave communities an easier way to talk about this complex HIV prevention challenge. In so doing, it provided a foundation for broad-scale prevention programming to address the root causes of IGS and ultimately reduce vulnerability to HIV among young Tanzanian women. ■

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