Thesis by LENGWE JOHN-EUDES KUNDA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

'They have ears but they cannot hear'. Listening and Talking as HIV Prevention: a New Approach to HIV and AIDS Campaigns at three of the Universities in KwaZulu Natal

2008

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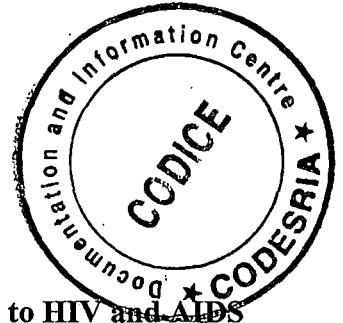
Supervisor: Professor Keyan Tomaselli

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LENGWE JOHN-EUDES KUNDA

Student Number: 206521374

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To Mum and Dad, who might have found it difficult to embrace the eventualities of my calling to noble leadership, that they may see the truth of the scriptures: "the sword will pierce your heart".

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Dedication
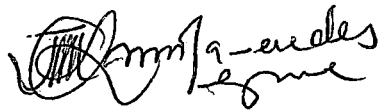
This work is dedicated to God, the sacrifice and love of Limpo, Lengwe and Namasiku, and to my adopted sons and daughters who, in silence endured my absence. I further dedicate it to Emmanuel Kasongo of happy memory, who believed in me and inspired me to take up doctoral studies. And to my brothers and sisters, Prudence (of happy memory), Linus, Michael, Musenge, Quintino, Musunga, Muleba and Mapalo, to all of you I say, 'I could never ask for more'.

Certificate of thesis

I certify that the ideas, research, results, analysis and conclusions reported in this thesis are entirely my effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I further certify that this work is official and has not been previously submitted for any award, except where otherwise acknowledged.

Signature of candidate:

Date: 09 - 11 - 2009

Endorsement

Signature of supervisor:

Date:

Abstract

Sexuality is made relevant in the way language is used as a matter of the identity of a group or individuals. Sex, for human beings, is not merely instinctive behaviour. It is meaningful-cultural behaviour and as such is semiotically loaded with meaning. Listening and talking about sex highlights conventions, taken-for-granted assumptions about the way things have to be done. Language as the most powerful representational system shapes our understanding of what we do and how we do them in relation to sex. Our understanding of sexual scripts about the sexuality of a particular group of people is through language as a signifying practice. The study of listening and talking is not merely an investigation of how sex is talked about, but how respondents enact sexuality and sexual identity vis-à-vis its linguistically loaded forms of representations in a variety of discourse genres.

Representation and its inherent process of signification draws on lived experiences and the daily talk of people in interaction. A theoretical perspective is presented not as a model to be tested, but as testimony to the rich literature on the nature and function of language as a political arena, semiotically loaded with meanings that are taken for granted. It is concluded that the appropriation of cultural myths is encoded in language and as such language is a legitimate area of inquiry especially in understanding sexual scripts in the context HIV/AIDS.

The study engages reported high risk sexual encounters such as multiple and concurrent partnerships, as well as unsafe sex practices which have been identified in literature as fanning the embers of the epidemic. Ideologies influencing developing communication campaigns in light of these discourses become a serious challenge as the conventional basis for such campaigns is in socio-cognitive theories, few of which can be assumed to apply with regard to the discursive representations of sexual practices and the inherent risks.

Drawing on a cross-sectional survey of 1400 students on seven campuses, conceptually triangulated via focused-ethnography, listening analysis and discourse analysis, this

research examines perceptions, interpretations, attitudes, and practices of sexuality and HIV/AIDS. The research is a multi-method and inter-disciplinary approach located within cultural studies to interrogate the gap between knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour modification in the light of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This research discusses these findings and offers a critical appraisal of sexual behaviour in the context of ABC (Abstain, Be faithful, Condomise) as ideologically encoded in cultural and relational myths.

I found that students are sexually active with reported multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships. Postgraduate students were less likely to report having had used a condom at their last coital encounter compared with the often younger undergraduate students. Condom use continues to be a norm in the universities surveyed. This is truer for students who reported multiple sexual partnerships. Amongst the dominant scripts that came out in the ethnographic inquiry are: sex as uncontrollable biological drive; females are responsible for safe sex practices; strong social scripts elevate male sexual prowess and show disdain for female affirmative sexualities, risk is discounted using a form of post modern fatalism (resistance to regulation); and physical status, based on appearance of a possible partner, is used to select 'sexually safe' partners. I have concluded that a deeper understanding of the cultural and sexual scripts obtained from students is critical for appropriate design and implementation of interventions aimed at stemming the tide of the HIV epidemic. I have also demonstrated that interventions that only emphasise the rational dimensions of human behaviour are more likely to miss their target audience as sex is more than a choice of Cartesian rationality (linear choice).

Keywords: Myth, ideology, sex, concurrency, discourses, HIV/AIDS, sexuality and multiple partners

List of abbreviations

AAHA	Applied Arts for Awareness of HIV/AIDS
ABC	Abstinence, Be Faithful and Condomise
ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CA	Conversation Analysis
CADRE	Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation
CCMS	Culture, Communication and Media Studies
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
DUT	Durban University of Technology
DramAidE	Drama in AIDS Education
HEAIDS	The Higher Education HIV/AIDS Programme
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HIVAN	Centre for HIVAIDS Networking
HP	Health Promoter
JHHESA	Johns Hopkins Health Education in South Africa
KAPB	Knowledge, Attitudes, Practices and Beliefs
LSHTM	London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PPASA	Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAUVCA	South African Universities' Vice-Chancellors' Association
SFH	Society for Family Planning
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UNAIDS	United Nations AIDS Program
UNIZUL	University of Zululand
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WHO	World Health Organisation
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

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Chapter One

Introduction

"To Talk about AIDS is to talk about sex" (Mary Crewe, 1991)

The HIV and AIDS pandemic is complicated by its necessary link to sex and sexuality. Efforts to mitigate the impact of the epidemic, in the absence of a cure, have largely been focused on prevention. Prevention demands health promotion strategies, which not only break the silence surrounding HIV/AIDS but also vicariously, sexuality. Universities have been identified as potentially high-risk areas. Robert Kelly's (2001) research on universities' responses to the epidemic is lucid in pinpointing the silence that pervaded policy and its implementation during the 1990s. However, since the late 1990s, significant policy efforts have been advanced in mitigation of the impact of HIV/AIDS under the leadership of the Higher Education HIV/AIDS program (HEAIDS). *Talking and listening* is my attempt to grasp how students are responding to the threat of HIV/AIDS in South African universities. CADRE is conducting a major study in 2008/9 that investigates knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and practices, but goes further in actually conducting HIV tests in order to ascertain biological outcomes. This is the first time that such a comprehensive study is being conducted in universities nationally[i].

My study is both cross-sectional and ethnographic. I explore what happens in daily interactions. I have taken this approach so as to appreciate the daily interactions in the lives of students at the three universities under study[ii]. Listening and talking captures social interaction. It is in the dynamic of talk that interactions are negotiated, meanings are circulated, and discourses are reproduced. The key assumption is that talk draws on ideologically-taken-for-granted assumptions, which are uncritically appropriated in interactional discourses. Talk therefore is not a neutral activity that merely communicates ideas or feelings in a relationship.

Talking, in its various forms, is a site of ideological exchange. As such engaging students in talk and advancing an agenda of peer ethnographic engagement may build stronger prevention strategies by observing the obtaining conditions of behaviour and

listening to the voices of students on issues of sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS. This thesis acknowledges that to talk about AIDS is to talk about sex. Silence on sex concomitantly affects silence on HIV/AIDS. This is because the two are intimately connected. "They have ears, but do not hear", reveals the paradox of being aware of the need for safe sex as well as the challenges of everyday sexual behaviour. Knowledge is high, but safer sexual behaviour seems inconsistent (Maharaj and Cleland, 2006, Petersen et al., 2002, Petersen et al., 2004). These indications motivated the need to engage with the overall goal of this thesis i.e., to document how students are talking about the different choices of sexual behaviour especially with regard to three areas of prevention, Abstinence, Be faithful and Condomise. In order to achieve this goal, this thesis has the following structure:

Chapter One offers an introduction and background, by providing, a brief context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. In this chapter, I also offer a brief introduction to the overall map of the thesis by offering a snapshot of what each chapter essentially encapsulates.

Chapter Two offers the policy context of the study, Aims and objectives are outlined, details the research questions, provides the rationale for the study and summarises contributions of this study to the wider body of knowledge. This is followed by an explanation and assessment of the ABC concept (Abstinence, Being faithful and Condom use) as a prevention strategy.

Chapter Three gives a detailed background by contextualising the HIV/AIDS situation in Africa, then southern Africa and narrowing it down to South Africa. Southern Africa, in general, is disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS. South Africa, in particular has become the epicentre of the epidemic. A number of factors have been identified as drivers of the epidemic, such as, early sexual debut and having multiple and concurrent sexual partners. Concurrency in itself is not a problem if condoms are correctly and consistently used (Halperin 2008). The danger of multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships is the creation of sexual networks which provide fertile ground for the distribution of the virus. Having discussed the general picture of the epidemic, the chapter narrows the problem down to the province of KwaZulu-Natal in which the study is located. This study is contextualised within three universities located in this province. The chapter thus provides an overview of the problem of HIV/AIDS in

universities and the efforts that have been put in place to mitigate its impact. In the context of university efforts, this research is justified by highlighting university policy and the desire to contribute to the halting of the epidemic. Universities within South Africa do not operate within a vacuum. As such, national HIV prevention efforts in South Africa are noted. South Africa's efforts to halt the wave of the epidemic have not been smooth sailing. A culture of denial in South Africa has fanned the embers of the epidemic. Whilst other nations in the region were marshalling their collective energies to implement programmes that would mitigate the impact of HIV, South Africa was embroiled in a debate that saw the Presidency enmeshed in politics of denial. On another level of denial, the President of the African National Congress, Jacob Zuma was accused of raping a woman he knew to be HIV+. He told the court that he took a shower afterwards to rid himself of the virus.

Chapter Three further discusses the role of some donor-funded prevention campaigns. A critique is undertaken of these campaigns in the light of a literature review. A religious, historical and public health policy analysis approach has been taken to provide an exegesis of the ideological structures operating behind the ABC framework. An analysis is provided of the relationship between science, ideology, and public policy. It is not the intention of this thesis to offer a comprehensive exegesis of the historical, cultural, and religious ethos that have informed some of the contemporary practices, but simply to show that the notions I have highlighted in this thesis have some roots in the mentioned ideologies.

Chapter Four offers an added background through a critical assessment of the available literature. The role of language in sexuality is analysed with specific reference to Susan Sontag's (1999) notion of metaphor and the militarisation of disease. Other works dealing with language, talk and sexuality are also reviewed. With the HIV-sex link in mind, literature that concomitantly links to HIV/AIDS and stigma is assessed for its linguistic import in reproducing meanings. Talking about sex, and its surrogate HIV/AIDS, is critical in demythologising the pathologisation of sex. Literature linking to the need to get the nation talking is also reviewed. So has literature on the nature of language and its role in the reproduction of meanings.

Sexual scripts are embedded within processes of human interaction which inform and guide human behaviour. They also have been used in the study of sexuality. Literature relating to sexual scripts and their role in understanding sexual behaviour are highlighted. Sexuality is scripted as an irresistible biological sex drive, affecting male behaviour especially (Kirkendall, 1958). An added review of factors affecting sexual behaviour amongst young people and the chapter concludes with the need for context in assessing sexual behaviour.

Chapter Five lays the foundation for the discussion of the main component of this thesis, i.e. the results of the focused peer ethnography. It succinctly showcases patterns of sexual behaviour. It presents two main areas of interest: concurrency and condom use. This is presented by giving overall patterns and in some cases controlling for confounding factors. In achieving this aim, the chapter starts with a theoretical framework underpinning the cross-sectional study. A three-fold layer of factors associated with sexual behaviour is presented. Results are discussed as general patterns with diagrammatic representations. As stated, this chapter offers the bird's eye view of sexual patterns. It addresses the question of whether or not students are having sex in its varying forms.

Chapter Six discusses the notion of representation as a signifying practice. The gist of the argument is that we find ourselves in language. We participate in cultural spaces within which language is the locus of the exchange of meaning. In human interaction language is the way we negotiate our daily lives. It is formed in the ambit of culture. But culture is never static. It renders itself amenable to changing norms and circumstances. In order to appreciate the force of this notion, a critical view of theoretical perspectives is undertaken in the context of language, meaning and culture. Philosophical underpinnings of theoretical approaches are invoked in order to locate development within a history of contested meanings.

Social experience as it is lived in daily lives bears testimony to the constructed nature of meaning. Social constructionism is therefore explored and linked to discourse analysis and conversational analysis. Metaphors are vehicles of meaning. They are part of our conceptual system of making sense. Erving Goffman's (1970) dramaturgical performance is presented in order to show that sexuality is prone to performance. Since

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sex is a private subject, sexual behaviour is more likely to be performed in order to showcase a preferred public character. Silence on sexuality is pervasive. A frame for a critique of sexual discourses is drawn from the work of Michel Foucault (1979).

Chapter Seven describes the study population and study setting. The methodological approach is outlined. I discuss the nature of participant observation and the inherent ethical dilemmas. The research model, the frame for analysis, and an adapted phaneroscopic table are also provided.

Chapter Eight presents the results and analysis section of the ethnographic data. Firstly I examine notions of sex and love. Herein, I explore the meanings that students ascribe to notions of love and intimacy. This is fundamental to any discussion of sexuality because it highlights perceptions that may inform behaviour and as such are a basis for interventions. Since in this thesis I explore meanings attached to sexual behaviour especially abstinence, being faithful and condom use, talk discourses are explored within the context of dominant oppositional assumptions i.e. abstinence implies

Sexual intercourse, marriage or cohabitation precludes a state of singleness. In the light of these discourses, notions of marriage are discussed. Male and female stereotypes are also discussed with the aim of establishing how these stereotypes inform interpersonal relationships and the negotiation of power. Living in a university brings in its own challenges. It is a liminal space in which students experience a certain amount of freedom away from home. The experience of sexuality is framed within peer expectations. In this vein, this chapter documents talk around sexual notions within university interactions.

Chapter Nine picks up on the theme of sex as a biological drive. This notion is explored in the tradition of looking at human sexuality, especially the male sexual drive as uncontrollable. This has implications for sexual relations and sexual health. It challenges other assumptions, which see sex as primarily rational. To what extent would a student perceive self-control as an integral component of the experience of sexuality? Talk around sex is thus revelatory of students' beliefs that are explored in this chapter.

Perceptions of risk are an important ingredient in health promotion. Student perception of risk vis-à-vis HIV/AIDS is assessed in representation of talk. Amongst the questions explored in this chapter are the implications, according to student talk, of sexual drives for safe sex. Further themes discussed include anonymous sexual partners (fuck buddies), and attitudes to female and male infidelity.

Chapter Ten discusses notions of sexual health. The analysis addresses the question of how students may perceive sexual health within a context of differing views. This is more so in the light of South Africa's politicisation of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The Jacob Zuma trial provided opportunities for discussing implications of safe sex in an environment where HIV is a major threat. The chapter concludes with strategies for sexual health; a glossary of nicknames used to depict different states of sexual status; and a language of what is perceived as safe sex.

Chapter Eleven draws out lessons that have been learnt from the discussions by highlighting dominant themes and a critical analysis. Results from the cross-sectional study are referred to in order to unpack the meanings teased out from ethnographic data. A succinct depiction of how major questions have been answered is presented. This chapter further addresses the notion of theory, ideologies and how unquestioned assumptions may be legitimised in social interactions. It concludes with a synthesis and critical appraisal of the ABC recommendations. Chapter Eleven then presents the conclusions and areas of policy action.

Conclusion

This chapter laid the foundation for the thesis. It introduced the research problem, research questions and key assumptions. The research is justified, definitions pertinent to the thesis presented, the methodology is briefly outlined and justified and the thesis is outlined. A further detailed elaboration of the context of study follows in Chapter Two.

Chapter Two

Policy Context

HIV/AIDS in South Africa

Introduction

This chapter sets the context of the HIV/AIDS situation in South Africa. It shows that the problem of HIV/AIDS in South Africa is serious and is in need of mitigation. This picture of the epidemic in the context of the research objectives of this study is important in showing the prevailing 'cultural sphere' in which HIV/AIDS is embedded. The aim of the background is not merely to list the facts of the problem, but to show that HIV/AIDS is part of the discourse of meaning within the broader structures within which interaction takes place. Universities are part of this milieu since they are situated within the bigger social structures. It is acknowledged that universities may manifest a unique popular culture that may not be representative of the broader communities within which they are situated. Universities are identified as high risk places and as such need to galvanise HIV prevention efforts. It is also,acknowledged that efforts have been made in university policies with regard to prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS. This is in line with South Africa's investment in HIV prevention. In this context, the aims and objectives of the study are introduced and the key questions elaborated. The chapter concludes with a brief rationale of the study and the sets the tone for the following chapter that extrapolates the problem of HIV in context.

In South Africa it is estimated that 5.5 million people are living with HIV (HSRC, 2005). Prevention and treatment efforts are not without controversies regarding the content and direction of national policies on HIV/AIDS prevention (Fassin and Schneider, 2003). Despite the disagreements, debates on HIV/AIDS are high on the agenda of national government, provincial leadership, social movements, NGOs, universities and other stakeholders (Department of Health South Africa, 2007, DoH, 2000-2005, Warren et al., 1998).

Universities have been identified as potentially high risk environments (Kelly, 2001, Kelly, 2002b), but very few studies have documented risky sexual behaviour and practices amongst students. This study has opened a 'window' into the unexplored world of student interactions. It has undertaken a predominantly 'ethnographic approach' to unveil students' behaviour *in situ*. The only other comparable study of which I am aware, is Bjarke Oxlund's study conducted at the University of Limpopo in South Africa (Oxlund, 2007)

Communication efforts in South Africa have targeted general populations with attempts at segmenting populations for specific audience-tailored messaging (Tomaselli et al., 2002). These have included 'Lovelife', 'The Beyond Awareness Campaigns', and various entertainment education programmes (see also Delate 2008; Parker 2000). South African universities have made comprehensive efforts in response to the threat of HIV/AIDS under the Higher Education HIV/AIDS program:

> *The HE HIV/AIDS Programme (HEAIDS) is South Africa's nationally coordinated, comprehensive and large-scale effort designed to develop and strengthen the capacity, the systems, and the structures of all HEIs in managing and mitigating the causes, challenges and consequences of HIV/AIDS in the sector and to strengthen the leadership role that can and should be played by the HE sub-sector (HEAIDS, 2006).*

Aims and Objectives

The main aim of this study is to investigate sexual practices in the light of Abstinence, Being faithful and Condom-use as strategies for HIV prevention. The key research questions are:

1. How are students talking about the key constructs of the ABC approach?

2. What and how are discourses of ABC constructed in students' daily interactions?

The detailed questions guiding this research are:

1. How are students relating and talking to each other about the different choices in the ABC approach?

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❖ How are students talking to each other about ABC?

❖ How are students relating ABC to their understanding of an ideal relationship?

2. How are students appropriating HIV/AIDS discourses in their daily interactions?

❖ How are students relating to issues of HIV/AIDS in their daily interactions?

❖ Are ABC strategies salient components of daily interactions?

3. How are students responding to competing discourses and to dissident views about HIV/AIDS issues?

❖ How are students talking about HIV/AIDS?

❖ How are students talking about dissident views of HIV/AIDS?

❖ What are the feelings that student express about HIV/AIDS campaigns?

4. What names, phrases, terms, and nicknames are students using for ABC strategies?

Rationale for the Study

Despite recommendations to seriously tackle HIV/AIDS as an urgent task within universities, the practical engagement with the quotidian experience of students remains to be established. This may be the reason that policy-makers are surprised when they gain an insight into the 'everydayness' of students' life, for example, when rape occurs within supposedly secure environments, or when sexual harassment is reported. No data are available to inform policy in these areas.

Alongside the use of focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and cross-sectional surveys, the characteristics of HIV/AIDS and sexuality require additional methodologies to be used. The fact that HIV is predominantly transmitted sexually relegates it to the private sphere. It is not mere silence of HIV/AIDS but a surrogate silence that is intrinsically connected to sexuality. Ethnographic studies of the kind presented here have the advantage of intrusion into 'private spaces'. This data complements surveys and other methodologies by giving more dense descriptions (Anspach and Mizrachi, 2006). I would suggest that they fill in the missing link of the knowledge, attitudes, practices and beliefs gap (KAPB-Gap) by opening up the joys and hopes, the adventures and risks, within which student sexualities are enmeshed. The

idea behind KAPB is that knowledge, attitudes, beliefs inform actual behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). As such, knowledge of these factors may inform the innovation of interventions that target either the raising of knowledge, change of attitudes or beliefs in order to influence behaviour modification (Godin and Kok, 1996, National Cancer Institute, 2005).

The ABC approach is underpinned by a desire to reverse the epidemic as was purportedly done in Uganda[iii]. The logic guiding the ABC approach is understandable, but is this the same logic within which students are living when they relate and talk about sex and HIV/AIDS? This is the key feature of this investigation. That is, to find out whether and how students talk about the principles enshrined in ABC strategies for HIV prevention, and to document how discourses around these constructs are scripted.

The ABC policy document outlines how US federal funds are to be used in prioritised, audience-appropriate, and hierarchically arranged prevention activities. The key issue here is whether the hierarchical arrangement resonates with data that is reflective of the interactional order of students. The study aims at providing answers to the raised questions in order to inform university policy and health promotion services[iv].

Contributions to Body of Knowledge

The study has contributed the following to the existing body of knowledge:

- Identifying existing patterns of sexual behaviour amongst students within the selected universities. There are positive indicators of condom use amongst students. But there are also risky sexual patterns especially concurrent sexual relationships.

- Based on focused ethnography, discourses around sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS have been discussed. These have further been subjected to semiotic analyses through an adapted framework from a phaneroscopy and scripts to produce a scriptoscopy.

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- Through the identified discourses, notions of love, marriage and the nature of risk in the context of an epidemic have been elaborated. This has unveiled the taken-for-granted assumptions that inform sexual behaviour within, but not exclusively, a university context.

- This study provides an entry point into engaging students in HIV/AID prevention. It offers an insider's view which is further collaborated with an omnibus survey approach. Focused peer ethnography may be of great significance in understanding sexual behaviour which is prone to secrecy and shame.

- Listening and talking is a critical collaborative endeavour between-policy makers and subjects of interventions. The university is a unique place that offers challenges and promises for scaling up prevention activities. The study has open up areas of taken-for-granted notions that may need to be further explored especially an ethnic oriented analysis of qualitative assumptions about the nature of sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS

Chapter Three

Local Perspective: AIDS in Southern Africa

Introduction

This chapter presents the global perspective of the problem of HIV and narrows it down to Southern Africa which is the epicentre of the epidemic. The picture of the epidemic is narrowed down to South Africa in order to present local perspectives. This is based on the assumption that beliefs inform interaction and interaction informs categorical behaviour. Most of the factors that determine sexual behaviour are anchored within broader belief systems which have become hegemonic. These taken-for-granted/assumed value-systems are propagated in talk, reproduced in behaviour and further reinforced. With time, they begin to take on the form of norms. With this understanding, factors that are determinants of the epidemic are highlighted in order to showcase areas that may be in need of attention.

Having multiple and concurrent sexual partners is identified as a key driver of the epidemic, *inter alia*. Further in assessing local perspectives, I narrow the view of the epidemic onto the province of KwaZulu-Natal which carries a heavy disease burden. The situation of the universities is contextualised and policy measures and efforts are illustrated. The Abstinence, Be Faithful, and Condomise (ABC) strategy is presented as a prevention effort with a selected number of prevention efforts forming part of the HIV prevention landscape in South Africa. But HIV prevention in South Africa has not lacked controversy, hence the discussion on the culture of denial. The ABC approach, though deemed a necessary prevention strategy, has also been criticised for drawing on ideological approaches which militate against harm reduction strategies. The ideological ethos operating within the ABC strategy is unpacked and argued within the history of its development. The chapter concludes by recapping the major themes dealt with. As in the basic tenet of the phaneroscopy, meaning is embedded in ideological structures that have been made normative through habitual practice. They provide the phaneron for understanding subsequent behaviours (See figure 23). It is the argument

of this thesis that talk is symptomatic of ideologies within a group's cultural space (Cameron and Kulick, 2003).

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has covered the world in a cloud of despair. The PANOS Institute expresses it thus: 'so much energy for so little hope' (Scalway, 2002). In 2007, UNAIDS estimated that 33million people were living with HIV worldwide (UNAIDS, 2008), while sub-Saharan Africa continues to bear the largest burden of the disease (Piot et al., 2001, DFID, 2003, The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2004). By 2004, sub-Saharan Africa was home to 66% (25 million) of people living with HIV/AIDS (The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2004). The region accounts for two-thirds (67%) of the total global total of 33 million people living with HIV (UNAIDS, 2008). Contrary to the optimism of the Kelly-led report, the battle is far from being won (Kelly, 2002a). Latest updates from UNAIDS give little hope of abating the epidemic, though stability is being recorded in some areas;

The global epidemic continues to grow and there is concerning evidence that some countries are seeing a resurgence in new HIV infection rates which were previously stable or declining. However, declines in infection rates are also being observed in some countries, as well as positive trends in young people's sexual behaviours (UNAIDS, 2006).

What is particularly worrying is that in places where success was initially recorded, improvement is either slow or infection rates are increasing, for example in Uganda (UNAIDS, 2006, WHO, 2007).

HIV/AIDS has affected individuals in a variety of communities. Young people form the largest percentage of the world community. More than half of the global population is under the age of 25 years (UNAIDS, 2004). Young people between the ages of 15-24 years are the most threatened and account for all new global infections (ibid). This was also true in 1999 (Kelly, 2002a). The power to change the tide is in the hands of young people and is seen to lie in encouraging safer behaviour choices among them (UNAIDS, 2004). This is because in most affected areas of the sub-Saharan Africa, the majority of the infections occur through heterosexual intercourse (ibid). Other factors placing

young people at greatest risk include lack of information, education and access to reproductive services. The latest picture of the epidemic still presents a gloomy picture:

> *According to the latest figures published ... in the UNAIDS/WHO 2006 AIDS Epidemic Update, an estimated 39.5 million people are living with HIV. There were 4.3 million new infections in 2006 with 2.8 million (65%) of these occurring in sub-Saharan Africa and important increases in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, where there are some indications that infection rates have risen by more than 50% since 2004. In 2006, 2.9 million people died of AIDS-related illnesses* (WHO, 2007).

AIDS in South Africa

The epidemiology of the disease in Africa locates the sub-Saharan region as the most affected. South Africa is located within the sub-region which is described as the epicentre of the epidemic with 35% of HIV infections occurring in this sub-region (UNAIDS, 2008).

> *Sub-Saharan Africa, and the SADC region in particular, carry the heaviest burden of HIV/AIDS in the world. It is estimated that by the end of 2005, the average adult prevalence of the SADC region was about 11 percent as opposed to the global figure of 1 percent. The SADC region with 4 percent of the global population is home to about 40 percent of people living with HIV/AIDS in the world. The SADC region continues to have a large share of new HIV infections, in 2005, 1.5 million new cases were estimated, representing about 37 percent of global infections* (SADC, 2006).

In South Africa alone, by 2005 the estimate for people living with HIV was 5.5 million (HSRC, 2005). By the end of 2003, 5.3 million people were HIV positive in South Africa (UNAIDS, 2005). The epidemic in South Africa is at a stage where there are more people dying of the than are being treated (WHO, 2006). Young people are most at risk (Bankole A et al, 2004; Erulka, 2004; Mkandawire, 2001), but the rates for those aged between 15-24 are stabilising (WHO, 2006) and there is, as a result, scope for strategic interventions to save young lives. The epidemic in South Africa is being

defined by UNAIDS as hyper-endemic as a result of having more than 15% of the population aged 15-49 living with HIV (UNAIDS, 2008).

Multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships by men and women with low consistent condom use, and in the context of low levels of male circumcision, is a critical determinant of HIV transmission (SADC, 2006, Sishana et.al., 2009). A study in Malawi found that in seven villages 64 percent of sexually active adults were linked in one sexual network (Helleringer and Kohler, 2007). This network theory may explain the disproportionate effect of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa with due regard to the possibility of a malaria anti-gene predisposition which has also been found to be a determinant of HIV transmission (Weijing et al., 2008). In this light, it has been further recommended that the reduction of multiple and concurrent sexual partners, that is, interruption of concurrent sexual partnerships, should be seen as cardinal to HIV prevention (ibid). The identification of sexual networks as the central driving force of the epidemic is taking on prominence in research (Halperin and Epstein, 2004, Liljeros et al., 2003). The inclusion of young people in this scope of preventive efforts is seen as integral to the prevention strategy (SADC, 2006 674:8). Countries within Sub-Saharan Africa, with generalised epidemics, which have recorded significant behaviour change have focused prevention efforts and adapted them to the population at risk of infection (UNAIDS, 2006, Zaba et al., 2004b Sishana et.al, 2009). There is need for adequate knowledge of the drivers of local epidemics, if intervention efforts are to meet their target audiences leading to a new approach to the epidemic known as "know you epidemic, know your response" (Potts et al., 2008, Wilson and Halperin, 2008).

While delaying sexual debut has been found to be a protective factor in HIV prevention, it is not sufficient in itself and must form a synergistic relationship within the context of condom programming and reduced partnerships (Pulerwitz et al., 2003b). This is in line with evidence which links delay of sexual debut as a factor which is fundamental to slowing the upsurge of the epidemic (Hallett et al., 2007, Harrison et al., 2005).

Abstinence is lauded as one of the ways to prevent HIV infection. It helps young people delay sexual debut. But caution has been urged against a 'catch-up' picture in which previously abstinent youth succumb to higher infection rates as evidenced in

Uganda (SADC, 2006:6, Altman, 2005, Berer, 2006, Paul et al., 2000, Roehr, 2005, Santelli et al., 2007, Underhill et al., 2007, Younde, 2007). .

Multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships are at the nerve-centre of the driving factors of the epidemic. Institutional efforts to discourage this form of behaviour are another pillar in reversing the drive of the epidemic (Shelton et al., 2004). The promiscuity matrix of African sexuality has been challenged by showing that African demographic surveys revealed lower rates of reported multiple partners compared to Western countries (Wellings et al., 2006). But concurrency has been noted as a feature that may explain the dynamics of the epidemic in Sub-Saharan Africa (Epstein, 2007). Sexual networks have also been identified as key drivers also in other STI studies (Adimora et al., 2007). Below is a graphic depiction of a typical network:

The figure below gives an example illustrating a sexual network in London: "overall network structure of 138 individuals linked over an 18-month period. Individuals are shown as boxes: those known to be HIV positive (black boxes) and HIV negative (grey boxes) and those with unknown HIV status (white boxes). The striped boxes are women, the rest are men. Boxes with A or C indicate an unknown (?) or estimated (number) of anonymous and commercial contacts, respectively. Lines indicate sexual partnerships" (Ward, 2007).

Figure 1. An example of a Sexual Network, (Adimora, Schoenbach, & Doherty, 2007).
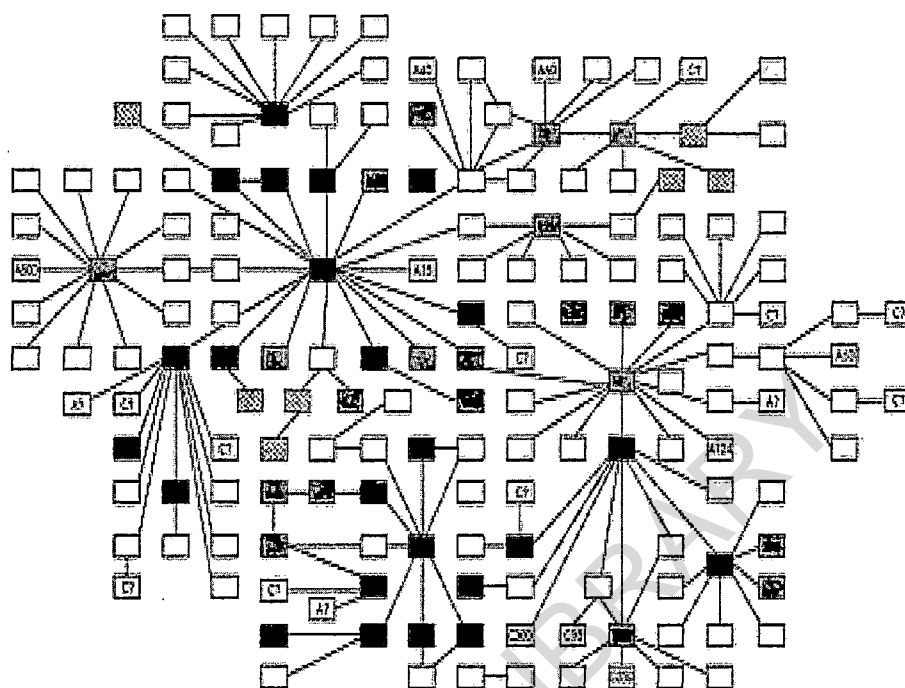
The basic rationale of the network theory is that if a person is HIV positive and has concurrent sexual intercourse with more than one partner, who in turn is involved in a concurrent relationship then, the virus is more likely to spread to many individuals within the network. It is this rationale that is currently being used to explain the epidemic in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Condom use is about 80-90 percent effective at preventing HIV infection when used correctly and consistently, but the practice is difficult in the context of marriage and stable relationships (Maharaj and Cleland, 2006, Maharaj and Cleland, 2004). A systematic review of literature found inconsistent condom use may mitigate the efficacy of condom protection (Norman Hearst, 2004). As for young people, a number of factors play a role in condom use, amongst them, attitudes towards condoms e.g. perception of condoms as signifying immorality or infidelity, communication skills, perceived enjoyment, motivational issues (Catania et al., 1989). Overall, condom availability n sub-Saharan Africa is estimated at 19 percent (ibid.). Despite extensive efforts in promoting condom use, young people in sub-Saharan Africa still engage in risky sexual behaviours with low levels of condom use. A systematic review of studies assessing

condom uptake showed significantly low use of condom use amongst youths (Foss et al., 2007, Norman Hearst, 2004). As much as providing male condoms has been scaled up, use of female condoms as a female-driven method is still lagging behind (SADC, 2006).

Locating the Study: Provincial profile of KwaZulu-Natal

My study is located in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. This province, together with Mpumulanga and Free State, has the highest HIV prevalence (Avert, 2007; Sishana et al. 2009). KwaZulu-Natal is the province with the highest prevalent rates of the pandemic (16.5%) (Dorrington et al., 2002). There has been some reduction in HIV prevalence amongst young people aged 15-24 in some provinces in South Africa but there has been significant rise in prevalence amongst adults aged 24 years and more (see Sishana, et al. 2009). Life-expectancy declined to below 50 years (WHO, 2006). Figure 2 below, which depicts HIV prevalence among antenatal attendees, illustrates an average of 37.7% prevalence over a period of six years in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, which is higher than the national average (28%) over the same period of time. Figure 3 shows data from the general population which also shows KwaZulu-Natal as having the highest prevalence in the country standing at 16.5%.

Figure 3: Prevalence rates by Province

Province	Number surveyed	Prevalence %
KwaZulu-Natal	2,729	16.5
Mpumalanga	1,224	15.2
Free State	1,066	12.6
North West	1,056	10.9
Guateng	2,430	10.8
Eastern Cape	2,428	8.9
Limpopo	1,570	8.0
Northern Cape	1,144	5.4
Western Cape	2,204	1.9
Total	15,851	10.8

Source: Demographic Health Survey (Avert, 2007).

Universities' response to the threats of the epidemic

By way of illustration, a modelling exercise conducted among the tertiary institutions of South Africa concluded that the university undergraduate HIV infection rate was estimated at 22%, rising to 33% in 2005; that the Technikon undergraduate infection rate was estimated at 24%, rising to 36% in 2005; and that the infection rate among post-graduate students was estimated at 11%, rising to 21% in 2005 (Kinghorn, 2000).

In 1999 the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) commissioned a number of case studies to assess the impact of HIV/AIDS in African universities. It was observed that issues of HIV/AIDS were being relegated to the domains of secrecy, silence and denial; sex was not talked about and action on HIV/AIDS was slow (Kelly, 2002a). However, the report acknowledged that students were aware, despite the shortcomings, of the presence of HIV/AIDS in the university:

Although university students display shortcomings in their basic knowledge about both HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases (STD), they seem to be

generally aware of the existence of HIV/AIDS and to know the basic facts about its transmission. Yet students do not generally regard themselves as being seriously at risk of HIV infection. Their dominant attitudes towards AIDS are denial, fatalism and an air of invulnerability. Nevertheless, students tend to acknowledge that HIV/AIDS is a problem on campus. In fact, the majority allege that they know of fellow-students who are HIV -positive and of students or staff who have died of the disease (Kelly, 2002a).

Universities are places of innovation where research is carried out and ideas are developed. However, usually little attention is paid to internal processes of self-critique within universities in Africa (Saint, 2004). Despite calls for a creative response to the epidemic within the parameters of the university (Saint, 2004), there has been what Professor Michael Kelly of the University of Zambia describes as a "conspiracy of silence" operational on almost all levels of university interaction (Kelly, 2001):

The most striking feature of the university response to HIV/AIDS is what can only be described as the awe-inspiring silence that surrounds the disease at institutional, academic, and personal levels. Notwithstanding some qualifications, for all practical purposes both individuals and institutions conduct themselves as if the disease did not exist (Kelly, 2001)

Michael Kelly argues that HIV education must be streamlined in the curricula as a strategy for scaling down the epidemic (Saint, 2004). What is significant to my research is the force of what Kelly talks about in the following words:

*The case studies provide rich information on norms and practices pertaining to social and sexual life on university campuses in Africa. They show that the culture of campus life appears to be ambivalent about – or even open to –"sugar daddy" practices, sexual experimentation, prostitution on campus, unprotected casual sex, gender violence, multiple partners, and similar high-risk activities. In the context of HIV/AIDS, **student communities with such a culture are in danger of encouraging risk more than safety, thereby abetting death more than life. As a result, a residential university must be regarded as a high-risk environment for the transmission of HIV** (author's emphasis in bold) (Kelly, 2002a).*

Entering the campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal became an opportunity to open a small window into the students' world of sexual talk, and what this talk reveals about their cultural environment. A cultural world that informs behaviour, builds social norms, expectations, identities, and more thus shapes a collective cultural response to sex and HIV/AIDS.

Rationale for the research: Entering the World of UKZN

The University of KwaZulu-Natal, founded in 2004 after the 2004 merger of four universities consisting of five campuses, is situated in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The University of Durban-Westville (UDW) was founded in the 1960s whereas the Natal University College of Pietermaritzburg was founded in 1910 was granted independent status in 1949. UDW was primarily intended for Indian students on Salisbury Island in Durban Bay[v]. It was granted university status in 1971 at which time it relocated to Westville. The merged University has five campuses; Edgewood, Pietermaritzburg, Nelson Mandela medical school, Westville and Howard College. It has a student body totalling 37,068 making it one of the biggest universities in the country. Apart from the data presented in the first paragraph on HIV prevalence in South African universities (Kinghorn, 2000), at the time of writing there were no data available on the current prevalence of HIV amongst students.

Justifying research

There are things that students talk about and do that are in the blind spot of the university administration. Some of these are better observed than asked about. It is for this reason that I decided in this work to document first the observations and common things that students talk about regarding sex and sexuality.

The impact of the epidemic is felt in social and economic terms, for example, in relation to a loss of skilled labour as highlighted in the University of Natal's report that one-third of the nurses who graduated three years previously are now dead (Saint, 2004). For this reason, the vice-chancellors' initiative to address the malaise (HEAIDS, 2006) was instituted at the University of Natal before the merger developed the policy on HIV/AIDS through its AIDS Committee (University-Natal, 2002). The policy outlined

the need to institutionalise, within the curricula, education aimed at creating awareness for both students and members of staff (University-Natal, 2002:9).

An integrated response to HIV/AIDS within the curricula of the University will be developed with the appropriate assistance and guidance of national norms and standards, that are developed through a consultative process with other tertiary institutions, and those with expertise within the University (University-Natal, 2002:9)

In renewing its commitment, the University of KwaZulu-Natal reaffirmed its policy position in 2005 through a revised policy document (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005). On the practical implementation of some of the policy recommendations, UKZN has an HIV/AIDS programme based the in Research office, Westville and this is supported by an assistant. The programme employs five primary health care nurses, one in each of the five UKZN campuses, who provide VCT. Alongside these, the programme has an HIV/AIDS Coordinator on each of the five campuses who are responsible for all the prevention and awareness programmes including peer education (Mokolatsie, 2008).

In addition to this pledge, the University committed itself to maximize prevention efforts through reduction of exposure to HIV infection of students, staff and members of the public who participate in university activities; deal with risk reduction and prevention and communication of new prevention methods to students and staff. Condom provision is specifically spelled out as a major preventive tool: "The University of Natal shall continue to support preventative measures and programmes, including the accessibility of condoms and the effective treatment of sexually transmitted infections" (University-Natal, 2002:11, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005).

Student support programs also recognise the need to face the problem, hence the existence of an HIV/AIDS support unit which targets students as its primary focus in mitigating the impact of the disease. Through this programme, peer education programmes and campaigns are run alongside the provision of condoms. Students have carried out research projects within the university to highlight the reality of the problem

(Rawjee, 2002, Morrison, 2005). These local efforts fall within the Higher Education HIV/AIDS programme (HEAIDS). HEAIDS is a national programme designed to contribute to the mitigation of the disease as it affects students in higher learning institutions (HEAIDS, 2006). These University efforts are aimed at coordination, collaboration and advocacy of programs that may alleviate the effects of HIV/AIDS. DramAidE is another unit, based at the University of Zululand with an office at UKZN linked to CCMS (DramAide, 2007), which uses drama for sensitization on issues of HIV/AIDS (Ndhura, 2004). The Durban University of Technology (DUT) established a department for counselling aimed at; *inter alia*, awareness creation and education of students on HIV/AIDS (DUT, 2007). Student awareness of HIV/AIDS is high (Kelly, 2002b), but then the question remains as to what impedes low-risk behaviour among students. It is also critical to note that these reports leave out the informal moments of student interaction. The question is how to best incorporate the daily interactional perspectives of students into programmatic discourse.

University of Durban-Westville developed a programme entitled 'sex and risk' which was aimed at developing confidence among students in their ability to deal with sexuality. This was a module targeted at students and was offered to first years on issues relating to their sexuality, self-esteem needs and practices of safe sex and increasing knowledge of HIV/AIDS. "This was an important programme. Students were taking ownership of the programme. It was meant to give them an opportunity to understand the processes involved in their sexuality. But the programme was abandoned after the merger of the universities because it had become unsustainable with the increase in the number of students" (Interviewee, 2006). The situation of the youth is not at all a hopeless but it is important to note that HIV infection is likely to occur in the period beyond adolescence (Parker, 2003:6), so such programmes should be reintroduced. This is the time that sexual activity is likely to increase with experimentation. The majority of the general student body is made up of this age group, 20-30s. Prioritisation of interventions must be targeted to this age group (Parker, 2003:6).

ABC: Curtailing the tidal wave – HIV Prevention in South Africa

In the context of South Africa, it is apparent from the media landscape that the tools for health communication have been comprehensive. It should be noted that South Africa only gave full attention to the HIV/AIDS epidemic post-1991 elections (Posel, 2004a). This is sometimes interpreted as the reason for the fast escalation of the epidemic from late 1991 (ibid). The initial case diagnosed in South Africa was in 1982. Between 1988 and 2003 South Africa, grew from a low prevalence country to the highest in Southern Africa.

Figure 4:. The history of AIDS in South Africa is short but escalated fast (Avert, 2007)
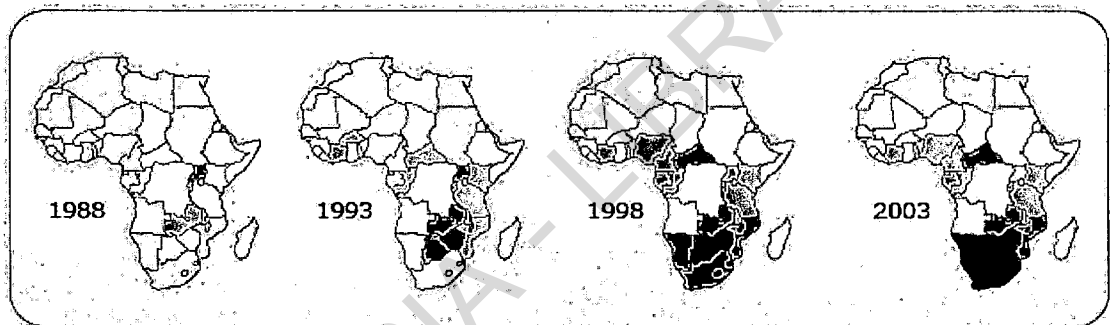
■■20%-30% ■■10%-20% ▭5%-10% ▭1%-5% ▭0%-1% ▭data unavailable

Amongst the programmes that the government of South Africa, together with NGOs and cooperating partners have promoted include: *Sarafina2*, Soul-city Project (1994), Soulbuddz, the Beyond Awareness Campaigns, the Treatment Action Campaign, Khomanani, and Love-life (1999), and the JHHESA Health Promoter's project run by DramAidE.

Sarafina 2 was a play, devised in the popular musical style of Sarafina 1[vi] aimed at increasing awareness of the epidemic. It, however, received a lot of criticism as fraudulent (Schneider and Fassin, 2002). Its content was judged as theoretically unsound and a waste of money (Mutume, 1996). It is an entertainment education-based NGO, which was founded to promote health through the use of drama (Global Media Initiative, 2004). It produces Soap Operas which run to meet the contextual needs of its

audiences (Bertrand et al., 2006). The Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication is a multi media project that has spread its wings of influence in the sub-Saharan region, branding itself with local frames of reference in the countries in which it is broadcast (Bertrand et al., 2006).

The two Beyond Awareness campaigns, commissioned by the Department of Health adopted a comprehensive umbrella strategy with a multi-faceted approach to meeting the communication needs in this era of the epidemic (Warren et al., 1998). Its comprehensive approaches included, inter alia, pamphlets, murals, drama wokshops, and posters. Khomanani is "...is a national social mobilisation campaign focusing on the impact of HIV/AIDS – promoting Community Action, Partnership and Awareness"[vii]. Khomanani day is nationally celebrated on 9th October.

Figure 5: Khomanani symbols

(Khomanani [viii])

Figure 6: The Red Ribbon [ix]
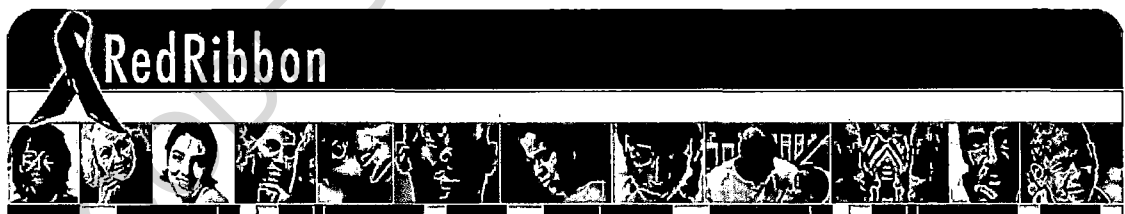
Lovelife[x] is another multimedia communication-based intervention tailored for various youth[xi]. It segments youth in groups so as to design age appropriate messages. Lovelife aims to encourage the public to talk about issues around HIV/AIDS in order to confront the epidemic. It has come under sustained criticism from a number of quarters for an apparent lack of evidence-based messaging in its billboards and newsletters which form a major part of its awareness campaign[xii] (Parker, 2000, Delate, 2007). This has led to major cuts in its budgets.

Figure 7: Lovelife billboard campaigns
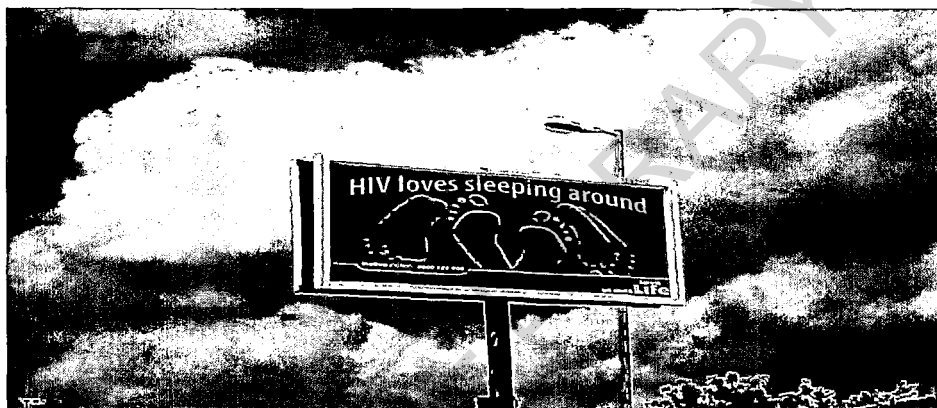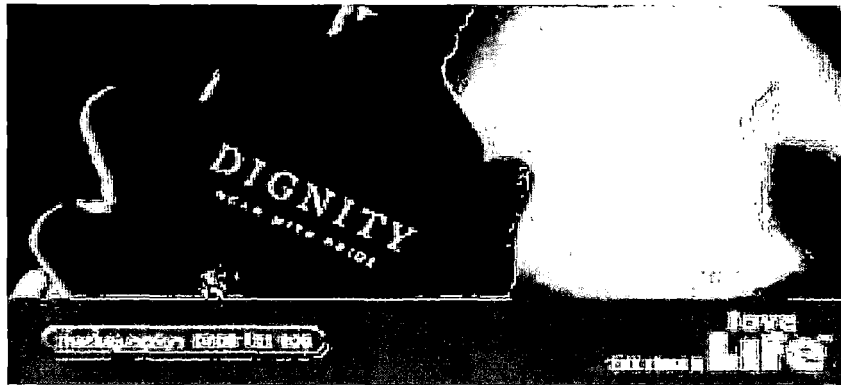
Source: LoveLife (Billboards talking about safe-sex are meant to elicit discussion)

Tsha Tsha, a television series commissioned by the SABC, is another edutainment programme aimed at mitigating the impact of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. It is produced by Centre for AIDS Research and Evaluation (CADRE)[xiii] and JHHESA.

South Africa has also seen an introduction on national level of programmes in peer education and sexual and reproductive health for example, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Old mutual, Society for Family Health (SFH), PPASA, Youth Commission's National Youth HIV/AIDS programme. There have also been sexuality and life-skills programmes i.e. national life-skills education provided schools and peer education training. DramAidE works in schools and is running programmes on university campuses. In 2008 – a 'Scrutinize campaign' and an 'AAHA' campaign were run on campuses throughout the country. 'Scrutinize' is a JHESSA initiative with partners DramAidE, HIVAN, Matchboxology and Ulwazi Radio. It uses animated TV

adverts, trains Health Promoters and other students and includes arts festivals on raising awareness of HIV/AIDS. In many Higher Education Institutions, programmes work in collaboration with research centres within the university as well as the clinics and HIV/AIDS support units. There is currently no exhaustive assessment of the impact of HIV/AIDS interventions in the higher education sector. This is due to lack of a coherent joint strategy within the universities in which synergistic efforts are put together on various levels with some programmatic coordination of the interventions. There are a number of studies funded by the UN and undertaken by various national and international organisations underway in South African universities. One such effort is the study being conducted by HEAIDS in collaboration with CADRE to assess the state of HIV knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, practices and also the actual prevalence of HIV in South African universities.

Fanning the Embers of the Epidemic: The Culture of Denialism

The HIV/AIDS space in South Africa is an area of political embattlement ranging from denialism right through to contradictory public comments which further cast a shadow of doubt on the authentic messages of the reality of the epidemic. The former President is accused of denying the link between HIV and AIDS (2007, van Rijn, 2006); whilst the former minister of health, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang Minister of Health advocated for the use of beetroots and other herbal remedies as a response to the epidemic. The current President of the African National Congress (ANC), Jacob Zuma, who was in court on rape charges made some controversial statements regarding methods of prevention. He was accused of raping an HIV positive woman, but he claimed consensual sex and judgement was passed in his favour. What fans the embers of the doubt about the epidemic is the fact that a man of apparent public stature, who is HIV negative, could engage in sexual intercourse with a woman he knew was HIV positive without using a condom. He further claimed to have had taken a shower after having sex and to then publicly declared that the risk of contracting the virus was very low. It is not the question of whether he was innocent or not, but it is the denialism that surrounds the disease in this context that renders this picture quite difficult to fathom. This denialist discourse has serious ramifications for HIV prevention efforts. From initial interviews with students, it seems that probable doubt was reinforced in some

students' perceptions of the reality and severity of the HIV condition based on this public denial. The figure below is a satirical illustration of the ABC campaign.

Figure 8: Satirical depiction of the sex scandal

ABC: Ideology or Science – A moralisation of harm-reduction

> *The problem with ideology is if you got an ideology, you already got your mind made up, you know all the answers, and that makes evidence irrelevant and argument a waste of time, so you tend to govern by assertion and attack. The problem with that is that discourages thinking and gives you bad results.* — Bill Clinton, Centre for American Progress, October 18, 2006

This section analyses the historical, philosophical and theological underpinnings of the ABC strategy. A summary of the debate is given and the focus of this study is outlined.

ABC is a well-known strategy for the prevention of sexual transmission of HIV. The concept was initially introduced in the late 1990s in Botswana with the slogan 'preventing HIV is as easy as ABC'. In this slogan A stands for Abstaining from sex

altogether, 'B' stands for being faithful to one partner and 'C' represents using condoms (Avert, 2007). However, in the light of the escalating epidemic this slogan has been reinterpreted and transposed into more complex strategies notably by PEPFAR which has its source of funding from United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Abstinence, Be faithful and Condomise (ABC) is a three-faceted supposedly single approach to both primary and secondary HIV prevention. (repeated point) . Abstinence is a state of self-control or self-restraint meaning waiting to have sexual intercourse until marriage. Being faithful encourages partner fidelity in the context of marriage or stable relationships. Condom use is a barrier method encouraged for prevention of STIs and HIV especially for high-risk groups, viz. sex workers, truck drivers (Smith et al., 2004). The US ABC guideline is not specific about this risk group in its hierarchical arrangement of the ABC approach (Hena, 2005, Cohen, 2003, Pulerwitz et al., 2003b). It however, acknowledges that it is not a method but an approach that can be used in strategic interventions. Ugandan experts call for a strategy utilising the three-fold ABC campaign as it is proven to be synergistic, inseparable and complementary (Okware et al., 2005, Green and Herling, 2006, Santelli et al., 2007).

Abstinence has always been viewed as an aspect of risk reduction. Traditional African society encouraged its practice and sees it as a link to the ancestors (Crentsil, 2007, Ahlberg, 1994). This link is as a result of the perception of the sexual state as availing either warm or cold energies. Individuals who are sexually active may not offer sacrifices for example as young people may be preferred or women who have reached menopause (Mbiti, 1969). Though in some cases the expression of sexuality by young people through non-penetrative sex was facilitated (Ahlberg, 1994). In religion, it has been used as a mark of distinction (Norman, 2006). As such, distinctive women, for instance, in the Catholic tradition have been hailed as virgins (Adland, 2006). This was a mark of consecration and a reason for most of them to be canonised as saints (Schaeffer-Duffy, 2001). In sexuality, abstinence follows the structures of society and its social relations. In Judeo-Christian tradition, abstinence is also lauded because the sexual faculty is seen as suspect (Foucault, 1979, Sheridan, 1980). Pleasure is deemed carnal concupiscence (inherently disordered desire) which needs to be kept in constant check. The practice of moderation was the advance of the Greek orientation (Sheridan, 1980, 2006) but the Christian moral tradition hailed abstinence as a mark of

virtuousness. The idea of moderation was advocated by Aristotle in whom moral virtue needed to be aligned towards the mean in the pursuit of happiness and a good life. Augustine, a Manichean, introduced into the Catholic moral tradition elements of neo-platonism. He is a neo-platonist whose ideas on the body and its inherent desires are influenced by platonic dualism with its suspicion of the body and an elevation of the 'nous' (mind over matter) (Stumpf, 1993). The training of the mind (aklasia) to take hold of the waywardness of the body is strongly lauded by the Christian tradition with its sexual casuistry (Foucault, 1986). Abstinence as a virtue is also reflected in marriage which is an institution in which sex is both unitive and procreative (Flannery, 1975). In the context of marriage, abstinence is embedded within the virtues of temperance in which it is tied in to chastity. Chastity means the proper use of the sexual faculty. This means that love-making must conform to the standard of procreation and pleasure but the duo must never be separated (Flannery, 1975). Every sexual act must be open to procreation (Flannery, 1975). Condom use in such a situation militates against this orientation and is therefore intrinsically disordered (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1997:229). The two goals of the sexual faculty are not mutually exclusive. One cannot be had without the other (Ibid). With this in mind, artificial insemination is also condemned as it removes the intimate and retains only the procreative function (Peschke, 1993). Homosexuality is judged on the same premise as intrinsically disordered, going against the natural orientation of sexuality[xiv] (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1997). The individual person with this orientation is not condemned, but the act is (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1997, Gula, 1989).

Condoms in the ABC approach are prescribed with hesitation for high-risk groups and are not to be made normative in generalised epidemics (Younde, 2007, Green and Herling, 2006, Okware et al., 2005). There is silence in, for instance, the catholic moral tradition on condom use in discordant couples. The rigidity seen in the moralisation of the epidemic is contrary to the principle of the *epikeia* in which given norms may be transcended in order to service a greater public good. This is the reason that civil obedience can be sidelined in favour of insurrection in moments of extreme tyranny (Pope Paul VI, 1967). The guiding principle being 'the cost benefit effect'. The principle of beneficence or good will must take precedence before any moral impediments.

Fidelity is a Christian theological virtue. It does not admit of polygamy, cohabitation, and extra-marital relations (Catholic Church et al., 1999:1148). Fidelity is seen as only possible in the context of a committed long-lasting relationship of love, by which is meant marriage. Christian tradition gives room, not for divorce, but separation under special circumstances where love is presumed non-existent (Catholic Church. et al., 1999). The AIDS situation is a crisis situation which demands marshalling energies which are protective and oriented towards the good health of populations. Fidelity or being faithful is a virtue at the service of a good life. It is not a strategy but can be incorporated into programmes in order to cement a strategy (Altman, 2005, DiCenso et al., 2002, McClelland and Fine, 2008, Roehr, 2005, Underhill et al., 2007)

Appropriating ABC to the Epidemic

In its purest sense, the B of ABC entails practising sex with just one partner, in a long term or lifelong relationship such as marriage and only after determining that both partners are not infected with HIV. Shades of grey do exist, however, with, for example, polygamous marital relationships and also those who engage in serial monogamy (Okware et al., 2005).

In Uganda, fidelity or faithfulness has been taken up under the metaphor, 'zero grazing' (Okware et al., 2005, Roehr, 2005, Wakabi). A lot of Ugandans took up the practice to feed only within the 'paddock'; "there is strong evidence that a large portion of the Ugandan population has taken up the practice of zero grazing, a phenomenon that has been described as being "equivalent to a highly effective vaccine for HIV" (Okware et al., 2005, Bass). The B is thus deemed a firm and tried strategy for HIV prevention which is in need of reinvigoration (Okware et al., 2005).

The ABC approach takes a view of a structured human being within structured social relations. It locates human behaviour within structured benchmarks. This is the reason, for the approach attracting attacks as an ideological front alienated and alienating what it seeks to avert. The religious ideal with its suspicion of pleasure and uncontained freedom is not the normative ideal. Cohabiting is a trend that wishes to know a partner before making a life-long commitment. This is a trend which is becoming a part of our cultural experience (Paola, 2002).The basis of this approach is in monotheism.

Monotheism is a religious belief in one God as sovereign as opposed to one amongst many equals[xv]. The ideology here is that since God is one, his spouse i.e. the people are one, therefore his relationship to this his people is monogamous. The logical deduction therefore is,

- Polygamy or multiplicity=idolatry; and cohabitation=infidelity.

The only morally acceptable relationship is a monogamous one as it represents the one true God in the purity of his love.

The C, which means the use of condoms, has been lauded as an effective prevention barrier method strategy. "When used consistently and correctly, the male condom is effective for the reduction of sexual transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections. However, the extent to which condoms have been embraced by the Ugandan public has fluctuated considerably over the years, and they have recently become the focus of an increasingly bitter public debate" (Okware et al., 2005). There was confusion as to the understanding, adoption and promotion of condoms in Uganda. These ranged from personal, moral, religious, or ideological standpoints, as sections of the community felt the promotion of condom-use was in contradistinction to the fidelity component of the prevention strategy (Barnett and Parkhurst, 2005). The Ugandan government in 1991 advocated the slow and cautious approach to condom involvement in HIV prevention programmes. This is what constituted the launch of the widely acclaimed ABC strategy in Uganda (Hena, 2005, Pulerwitz et al., 2003a) and in the process created a desire for condom use leading to its eventual demythologisation and gaining widespread acceptance (Okware et al., 2005). The image of the condom became a positive one. This programme involved stakeholders from a wide representation of the Uganda landscape, churches, social movements, business communities, government, health workers inter alias. Some researchers believe that the decline of the epidemic should be credited with the Ugandan grown A and B since it was only later that the C emerged on the scene (Okware et al., 2005, Cohen and Tate, 2006, Singh et al., 2004, Blum, 2004). Amidst recommendations for abstinence, condoms are deemed an absolute necessity in the following areas:

- People who are on ART should have access to condoms

- People at risk in 'friendly fires' i.e. Discordant couples
- Commercial sex workers
- STI patients with their partners
- The non-adherents to A and B need regular supplies of condoms

Science, Ideology and Public Policy

HIV/AIDS has moral connotations in its representation, but the real question for public health intervention is safeguarding the common good, and creating an environment where individuals can pursue self-actualisation. The debate over ABC as a preventive strategy has grown as part of efforts in mitigating the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The arguments persisting in this debate can be reduced to two polarities: whether ABC is based on sound science or whether it is a mere moral intervention. The important question arising out of this debate is one that evaluates the role of scientifically adduced evidence in informing public health policy as opposed to policy formulation and implementation being advanced by dominant religious ideologies (Younde, 2007, McClelland and Fine, 2008, Schneider and Fassin, 2002, Ahlberg, 1994). This poses the question: what should and should not inform public policy that is meant to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS? Milio aptly discusses this position:

Ideologies are weak, even counterproductive, as guides to government policy. Science, basic or applied does not claim to be "truth", only to reveal plausible, testable hypothesis, methodologically acceptable, transparent, and replicable. It is an essential ingredient to responsible and responsive policymaking, not the sole criterion. It can help develop, implement, evaluate and uncover potential consequences of policies, thereby clarifying the moral and economic choices facing decision makers. Ideologies preclude the input of new information or compromise with non-believers (Milio, 2005:814).

The American government, under G.W. Bush, was accused of giving priority to ideologically-driven beliefs propelled by a fundamentalist brand of Christianity (Gap, 2005, Milio, 2005, Altman, 2005). This approach was advanced because it is cheaper and politically expedient (Milio, 2005, McClelland and Fine, 2008). The Administration is accused of putting too much faith in religious organisations for the

success of the ABC strategy. The subjects under sanction include abortion, and abstinence-only sex education programs for young people and the practice of prostitution. In this vein, "the administration has increased funds – $170 million – for abstinence only sex education for youth" (Milio, 2005)[xvi]. Abstinence-only programmes have gotten priority whilst in these same programmes emphasis is placed on the failure rates of condoms in educational efforts (ibid). The US government, under G.W. Bush required that a third of preventive funds go to abstinence but not the use of condoms (Cohen, 2003, Boonstra, 2007). This influence is attributed to faith groups whose beliefs on sex and sexuality are seen to permeate US foreign policy in the area of condom use, abstinence and fidelity. The US government is also accused of allowing faith-based groups to have growing influence on US international programmes (Giroux, 2005), especially regarding birth control, HIV/AIDS prevention, and drug misuse control (Milio, 2005, Stricherz, 2003, Boonstra, 2007).

It seems in the case of Uganda religious ideology is taking over in health promotion, preferring the AB over the C in emphasis (Robinson, 2005). "There is a new wave of stigma attached to the use of condoms. Those of us who promote condoms are looked at as immoral people" (Robinson, 2005). There is suspicion that the stigmatisation of condoms is in part being driven by the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) conditionalities (Robinson, 2005, Bellis et al., 2004).

The subject of HIV/AIDS should be seen as a crisis situation which calls for crisis management. Morality driven ideologies must be subordinated to the act and value of harm reduction. The value of saving lives is superior to casuistic fragmentation of moral ideologies which are an important component of the human social order. Issues of sex usually cause protests from sections of the community. As such there is need for cultural sensitivity which may serve the goals of interventions. Cultural sensitivity must to be at the service of intervention and not vice-versa. There is need for insistence on "realistic portrayals of sex, condom use, and safer sex practice in the media…" (Bellis et al., 2004). The number of the high risk groups may be small but they do need condom education.

At UKZN, HIV/AIDS campus support unit seeks the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy through integration of HIV awareness information in curricula as well as engaging in extensive peer led training and sensitization programs[xvii]. This project is part of the broader research in South African universities to assess the plausibility of implementing ABC specific prevention efforts in higher learning institutions in order to inform policy formulation, implementation and assessment. UKZN does not specifically have an isolated ABC campaign framework but follows the generally accepted form of ABC which means Abstinence, Being faithful and Condomise, unlike the PEPFAR-driven approach AB and 'other'. It relies on established centres like HIV/AIDS campus support unit to offer comprehensive student-tailored awareness campaigns. Despite these efforts, there has not been an evaluation of the efforts for purposes of re-focusing prevention priorities.

Sexualities in Southern Africa: Cultures, Ideologies and Meaning

Contemporary notions of sexuality in Southern Africa cannot be fully appreciate if divorced from its colonial history (Deevia et al., 2007). Sex was and continues to be an explosive site of interaction because of its gendered constructions especially in the context of intimacy and the social mores undergirding its lived realities (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). These mores are embedded within an ideological structure which provided and continues to influence the construction of sexual identities and their performance. The influence of colonialism saw the infusion within local frames of reference notions of sexuality rooted in European modernity. In Africa, it should be noted, gender rigidities and binaries were not a dominant feature as in Europe (Deevia et al., 2007, Gausset, 2001). The African gender order did not "systematically discriminate and subordinate African women nor did it seek to regulate the expression of sexuality other than in contexts where this resulted in pregnancy and childbirth" (Deevia et al., 2007).

The introduction of Islam and Christianity[xviii], through missionaries, ushered in an ethos of casuistic morality[xix] which provided justification for the subjugation of women by men. "Colonial discourses about sex and gender separated men and women, carving out a racially divided male world of work in the public sphere and a domestic world of child and house-care for women" (Deevia et al., 2007). In the context of HIV/AIDS, there

has been a re-thinking of African sexualities. Due to the link of HIV infections to heterosexual relationships, especially in cases of multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships, there has been a hyper-sexualised construction of African masculinities. These have recuperated racist colonial notions of African male lust and desire where women are often seen as passive recipients of sex and sexuality (ibid.). Some of these masculinities put sexual prowess on the same footing as having multiple sexual partners. This comes out clearly in the notion of *isoka* amongst the Zulu men of KwaZulu-Natal. The *isoka* celebrates sexual penetration with multiple partners (Hunter, 2002). While modern masculinities are emerging, women in contrast were expected to be passive and innocent in sexual practices. They were considered subservient to male sexuality. In South Africa, notions of culture have been used, as in other societies, to define normal or acceptable sexual behaviour. The constructions of female sexuality as confined to the home and matrimonially oriented, unlike that of men, create unequal gendered relations which are propitious for the transmission of HIV. These patriarchal and hetero-normative discourses and scripts tend to silence and repress female sexuality and label it as un-cultural and against religious ethics.

Abstinence in cultural practice – the disruption of safe-sex

Traditional Zulu culture accepted non-penetrative premarital sexual activities but these practices were lost during colonialisation and Christianisation in South Africa (Buthelezi, 2006). This had meant that there was room for young people to explore their growing bodies and meet their body's physical and sexual needs in a safe way. Abstinence in this context meant non-penetrative sex. This idea in which non-penetrative premarital sex was acceptable is not unique to South Africa, East and Central Africa shared similar notions (Ahlberg, 1994, Caldwell et al., 1989, Caldwell et al., 1991). The influence of religion can be noted in the traditional Zulu notions of sexuality as taboo, limited to the sexual act and oriented towards childbearing (ibid). Permanence may not have been expected as even prior to marriage a woman had the freedom to withdraw from the process of the contract (Buthelezi, 2006).

As a result of the moralisation of sexuality and its casuistic policing, sexuality was transformed from being a reality that was open within social interaction to being tabooed, private and shrouded in silence. Religion prescribed abstinence before

marriage but did not directly deal with sexual feelings, urges, and the quest for intimacy. When practices of non-penetrative sex were abandoned, there was no alternative available to young people. In traditional Zulu culture, there were positive notions of sexuality for young people, but with contacts that traditional culture had with colonial cultures, these notions appear to have undergone a transformation or hybridization. This position has led scholars to ask if at all there is a distinct African sexuality which is distinct from other continents, specifically, Eurasian sexuality (Heald, 1995, Ahlberg, 1994, Caldwell et al., 1991). The conclusion on the debate agrees that there is a distinct, non-homogeneous African sexuality that is based on unique African socio-economic, political, religious, cultural and historical experiences (Ahlberg, 1994). There is need to understand these processes and how they impact on sexual behaviour if interventions are to be effected (ibid). This is further complicated by the various ideological standpoints that are advanced by agencies working within the African HIV/AIDS scenario. This notion is aptly summarised thus:

It is possible to isolate four types of moral regimes: the Christian, the 'traditional' African, the administrative/legal and the more secular 'romantic love'. Campaigns emphasised at least two conflicting messages, depending on the agency doing the advocating. Some promote moral chastity, including sexual abstinence before marriage and marital monogamy. Others emphasise 'safer sex', which mainly means reducing the number of sexual partners and using condoms (Ahlberg, 1994).

It is thus important to appreciate the complex nature of sexuality within Africa and realise that Africa does not operate in a vacuum. There is a global influence on meanings attached to sexuality.

Confronting sexuality and HIV/AIDS: Sex and Risk

Sex and risk was the first manual for a risk reduction programme which was specifically aimed at university students at UDW (Petersen et al., 2002). This manual was aimed at Abstinence, Be Faithful, Condomise and Imagination (ABC and I). The aim of the intervention was to engage with meanings and social constructions of sexuality that students appropriate in their daily experiences. These constructions included

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stereotypical male and gendered perspectives, the vulnerable of entry-level students into a new environment without the support of families; and the raising of awareness through self-reflection on gendered views which impact on sexual relationships. Sex and Risk was designed with a view to enhance self-mastery and capacity for self-determination in the context of the liminality of university space of social interaction. The initiative was informed by an initial focused ethnographic study which explored risk behaviours and life context of tertiary level students (Petersen et al., 2001, Petersen et al., 2004).

Conclusion

HIV/AIDS continues to ravage individuals, families and communities in Southern Africa. In South Africa the situation is not showing signs of hope. It is with this in mind that context specific research aimed at social action is an urgent call. The ABC debate is bringing in an extra-voice, albeit a moral voice, to the public health demands for addressing and mitigating the impact of the epidemic. This background has also noted that debate on HIV/AIDS has resulted in bringing to the fore dominant issues in sexuality. Sex as a subject is shrouded in mystery and silence. As such, HIV/AIDS, apart from being a threatening terminal condition with its own stigmatising elements, vicariously shares in the silence attached to sexuality because sex is the primary mode of transmission. This silence is further compounded by the dominant heterosexual, Judaeo-Christian ethical code which is part of the cultural sphere and an inherent referral system for connotative and ideological meanings. I have traced the ABC virtues within their theological history in order to unpack the ideological assumptions and to shed light on current undertones in the ABC movement.

The debate on the role of ABC strategies is not pursued as an end in itself, but a proxy for interrogating approaches to health promotion within the context of the universities in South Africa. This background sets the tone of discussion by highlighting the shifting moral order with regard to human sexuality and contrasts the language of policy makers which is based on an idealised moral state with the language of students within their 'popular culture'. The urgency of the epidemic demands emergency action based on obtaining cultural practice with an orientation towards harm reduction. Most epidemiological studies seek to unpack trends and patterns in sexual behaviour. This

study shows scripts as common sense meanings associated with the subject of sex, and HIV/AIDS. It posits that the phenomenon of AIDS and sexuality is constructed in social interaction. The researcher looks at language, not for the ontological meaning of sex and HIV/AIDS, but as a site where meaning is created and negotiated and consequently a point where interventions may also play a critical role. This site, where meaning is hegemonised, is language. The following chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual framework within which the research is presented.

Chapter Four

Language, HIV/AIDS, and sexual behaviour

Sexuality must not be thought of as kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain in which knowledge tries to gradually uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct (Foucault, 1979:105)

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss language as discourse. The chapter anticipates an appreciation of the perception of the phaneron as represented in language. The gist of the argument in this study is that language functions as discourse, which produces and legitimates sexual practices (Cameron and Kulick, 2003). Language also functions to construct reality as experienced by a given discourse community, in this case that of students. In order to appreciate the importance of language as discourse, we draw on the foundational works of Susan Sontag (1989) on metaphor as a signifying practice that creates an attitude to experience and offers scripts that individuals draw from and appropriate in their interactions. The chapter thus gives a landscape of the role that language plays and goes further in articulating its role in attitudes and behaviours. Literature on language use and sexuality is heavily moralized and as the role of language as a discourse for legitimating forms of stigma is examined. These foci are important as they lay the ground for discussing the role of language in Goffman's presentation of the self and attitudes to stigma (Goffman, 1959, Goffman, 1963, Goffman, 1981). Also, the notion of the presentation of the self in Goffman's dramaturgical framework is assessed within the notion of scripts formulated by Gagnon and Simon (Gagnon and Simon, 1970, Simon and Gagnon, 2003, Simon and Gagnon, 1986). These scripts are assessed in terms of the study of sexuality with a view to revealing how these scripts help in understanding sexuality from a relational perspective. The notion of sex as an uncontrollable biological drive is explicated. The

chapter concludes with a discussion on the double tragedy of HIV/AIDS and sex which share surrogate silence.

The role of language and metaphor

Talk represents a text of the spoken mental picture. It gives us images that are socially constructed. We get a lexicon of how sex and concomitant practices are represented. This is important knowledge if we are to select the appropriate, audience-specific medium to reach university students. Social construction of sex and HIV/AIDS in public consciousness is dependent on already existing 'socially constructed reality' of the understanding of sex. These already existing constructs are frames within which knowledge, attitudes, and practices are experienced. I have drawn upon social constructionism; in particular analysis of discourses to discern how sex, condom use, abstinence, and HIV/AIDS have been represented in the way students talk about sex and sexuality in the context of the HIV epidemic.

Susan Sontag (1989) was amongst the first researchers to assess and record the role of metaphor in framing HIV/AIDS discourses. In particular, Sontag noted the use of military metaphors like, "invasion" "combat", 'villain and victim' (Sontag, 1989) and how this could enhance a particular view of the disease. At the heart of this metaphorical representation is the depiction of HIV/AIDS as an invasion that must be fought against. Those carrying the disease carry within them the enemy. This particular view of HIV was seen to have implications on the way people living with HIV/AIDS were treated in communities. The result was stigma and discrimination. The gist of the argument is how language is used is reflective of an attitude towards an issue, idea, or people, in this case individuals living with HIV/AIDS.

Nathan Oyori Ogechi studied the language of sex and HIV/AIDS among university students in Kenya (Ogechi, 2005). The study was an examination of language and linguistic expressions used by Kenyan youths when talking about sex, the HIV virus and the AIDS pandemic. A number of studies have been carried out in Kenya about the perceptions of AIDS by young people, but not the nature of the language used (Ogechi, 2005). Students, he feels, need to be streamlined in the battle against HIV/AIDS, hence the AIDS intervention community needs to understand the language that these young

Kenyans use. Ogechi sought to answer the question; "Do university students talk about sex and HIV/AIDS? If so, do they use a special type of language?, if yes, what are the expressions and how are they coined, sustained and spread?" (Ogechi, 2005). Ogechi, using the functional theory of language and the concept of lexicalisation[xx], presents his work within a socio-linguistic tradition. He elaborates the functions of language as:

- Informative; language gives information of varying types to the listener or reader

- Descriptive or imperative; transmitting commands or orders. Special attention is given to the imperative use of discourses

- Emotional; The use of language to express feelings and emotions such as anger, love, likes and dislikes

- Evaluative: gives prevailing status serving a judgemental or ceremonial function

This functional aspect of language does not give meaning, hence the need for the concept of lexicalisation, which explains how concepts are translated into meaningful sounds. This is the particular assignment of meaningful sound to ideas in order to express phenomena. The researcher used 42 undergraduate students who were asked to write down the kind of words used to talk about sex and HIV/AIDS in daily interactions and gossip (Ogechi, 2005). He concludes that the features of the language students use to discuss sex and HIV/AIDS is a popular culture language known as *Sheng*. The implication of this study is:

> *In its efforts to deal with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, society needs to involve the youth in all its endeavours if the anti-AIDS campaign is to succeed. It is my contention that success will always be elusive unless and until those leading in the campaign understand and incorporate the youth code when dealing with the youth. Thus it is recommended that youth language is used in the oral discussions, literature, posters, drama, etc. that target the youth. University counselling and Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) centres need to employ the services of people who know the language (Ogechi, 2005)*

In similar light, Francis Moto carried out research in Malawi in which he examines the type of language and linguistic expressions used in describing sex and sexual behaviour in a predominantly conservative and male dominated society (Moto, 2004). He worked from the premise that language is reflective of a people's culture and the inherent perceptions of social relations. In addition to linguistic investigation, he also assessed

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the language used to discuss HIV/AIDS (Moto, 2004). The study is undertaken with a view to present sexual issues in 'straight talk' form. For instance, calling a penis (*chida*) i.e. weapon may not be an explicit enough message (Moto, 2004). Having studied the lexicon of the language used, Moto concludes;

...that through the language studied, one gets the impression that despite the obvious awareness of the prevalence and the devastating socio-economic consequences of the pandemic, there is a sense of denial as well as acceptance of fate and determinism in some sections of the community (Moto, 2004)

Language use is indirect, euphemistic, and gendered by reflecting a predominant male society. For instance, the description of a man as beast (*chirombo*) represents power, authority and dominance (Moto, 2004). HIV/AIDS is also called *magawagawa*, meaning to share. The connotation is that the disease is passed on from one to another which literally symbolises a giving of the virus to someone. When describing sex words like, *kugonama* (sleeping on each other) *owongolera msana* (curing the waist) (Moto, 2004) are used. The conclusion is that, it is important to be aware of what people say if we are to share in their cultural frames for understanding reality.

Talking about Sex: Contested terrain

Deborah Posel in her article, 'Getting the nation talking about sex: reflections on the discursive constitution of sexuality in South Africa since 1994' examines some of the ways in which sex, and sexuality have been incorporated as the locus of public examination, assertive display, contested knowledge and political mobilisation (Posel, 2004a). She contextualises her study in a country which for long had seen strict regulation and prohibition of sex and sexuality that marked the dawn of capitalistic openness (Posel, 2004a). Sex was not a common feature in the public domain. Sex between whites and blacks was strictly forbidden. Any sexuality deemed transgressive was forbidden and criminalised. The media was forbidden from explicit depictions of nudity, sex or sexual avowed conversation. Pornography or public display of eroticised bodies was unthinkable. She further acknowledges the contestation of the subject of sexuality:

Given these extremities of the apartheid era, the changes post-1994 have been nothing short of dramatic, and remarkably swift. There has been a veritable explosion of sexual imagery, display and debate. Yet these changes are neither

wholesale nor uncontested, but not in ways which indicate widespread comfort or acceptance of their profile or substance. Indeed, the anxieties, denials and stigmas which persist in the midst of new and unprecedented declarations of sexuality contribute directly to the new sites and intensities of the politicisation of sexuality (Posel, 2004a)

After the independence of South Africa, sex is depicted in terms of individual rights. Sex is talked about in grand fashion as depicted in magazines (Posel, 2004a). The extent to which sex talk is prevalent is depicted in the number of magazines depicting sex and sexuality. Posel notes the increase in the prevalence of HIV/AIDS as coming with the transition into democracy (Posel, 2004a). South African media has emphasised sex and risk much more than other facets of the AIDS epidemic and this has in part worked to put a lid on questions of prevailing sexual norms. Lovelife, a multi-media campaign aimed at normalising HIV/AIDS talk in order to legitimise sex talk, is one of the most well-funded South African NGOs (Posel, 2004a). Other edutainment programmes have fostered a desire to talk about sex.[xxi] This openness of sex talk in the media has not been without resistance as a feeling of loss of traditional modesty on matters sexual. This resistance has largely come from parents who are being encouraged 'to love their children enough to talk about sex' (Posel, 2004a). HIV/AIDS, as a predominantly sexually transmitted disease, is associated with images of robust and rampantly excessive sexuality hence the dominant denials of the sickness and the stigma that comes with the disease (Posel, 2004a). Posel's study is a critical reflection of media, but brings to the fore the subject of sexual talk, its historicity, and as a barometer of shifting socio-economic and political factors.

Sex talk has had to battle with prescriptions and regulations as where, when with whom and how it can be had. Lambert and Wood made a comparative analysis of communication about sex between India and South Africa (Lambert and Wood, 2005). They studied how and by whom sex was or was not talked about both in private and in public discourses. They noticed that rather than using the local frames of reference in language, a new one was emerging especially in matters pertaining to sex and sexuality. They use an ethnographic approach to studying the local cultures with reference to sex and sexuality (Lambert and Wood, 2005). They assessed how sexual desire and intention is communicated indirectly and para-linguistically. Talk about sex and surrounding subjects i.e., sexual health, menstruation, reproductive health, is not a

subject of public discussion especially amongst women in India. Individuals especially women, and girls, are believed to be protected from corruption by this silence:

> *In this hegemonic discourse, sex is understood as a private act that can occur appropriately only within a legitimate marital relationship, and even there the sexual dimension of such relationships should remain as far as possible unacknowledged to the wider family and others (Lambert and Wood, 2005).*

Names, metaphors, and the nature of disease

Metaphors have been used as representations of peoples' attitudes, perceptions and knowledge about certain factors of life. In the area of HIV/AIDS analyses of talk has employed images that reflect a people's collective understanding of a given phenomena. For instance, research carried out in Zimbabwe found that stigma is constituted and reproduced in language (Mawadza, 2004). The researcher unveils various linguistic constructions of HIV/AIDS discourses in Zimbabwe. For example the HIV/AIDS is depicted as '*makizi ya ku mochari*' (keys to the mortuary) (Mawadza, 2004). This implies that the death is inescapable and treats people living with HIV/AIDS as inevitably on the queue to the mortuary (death). In some cases it is called '*Jemeza*' – sad times awaiting – (Mawadza, 2004), and depicts people living with HIV/AIDS as a sign of the advent of sorrowful times. Similar studies undertaken in Zambia, Tanzania and Ethiopia indicate related discursive construction of HIV/AIDS (Nyblade et al., 2003). Discourse analysis was used to unveil linguistic constructions of stigma. Interventions depend on understanding the knowledge; attitudes and practices of people from given cultural vistas, hence the necessity of studying the use of metaphors in communities where interventions may be desired as a lead into local frames of reference.

People's experiences and knowledge of stigma are constructed, based on deductions of connotations between AIDS and perceived promiscuity and or sex[xxii]. These connotations are then represented in metaphors which are hidden from the 'unintended audience' (Campbell et al., 2005). Some of these metaphors may be based on incomplete knowledge about HIV/AIDS transmission and prevention and also the inherent problem between HIV and AIDS. Analysis of the language used to describe an individual's status may be a maladaptive form of behaviour arising out of fear of causal transmission through communal sharing of common utensil or mere social interaction;

and perceived non-productive nature of HIV positive individuals who are seen as destined for the grave (Mbwambo, 2003). Through the analysis of language used in stigma some researchers have concluded that there is a widespread pessimism in HIV/AIDS discourse in which the gloomy image of death and dying is invoked (Jones, 1997). The conclusion is that the study of metaphor and the language people use gives insight into the internal states of the individuals within a culture and their shared worldviews.

Naming, perception and social discourse

The naming or labelling of a problem allows not only the identification of the problem, but also an inherent desire for a solution. The naming of sex and HIV/AIDS reveals a peoples' hopes, fears, meanings, understanding, and attitudes towards this experiential fact. Due to lack of scientific names for HIV/AIDS in African languages, the disease is given names that reflect a people's feelings and fears (Mawadza, 2004). More often than not, people with the disease are named after their appearance (permed hair, way of walking or body size). This comes handy as visual diagnosis is used to isolated individuals who may be seen as infected. The people living with HIV/AIDS are thus described in terms of those harbouring the foreign disease. Other metaphors which further stigmatise people living with HIV/AIDS relate to death, the lethal nature of the disease, the advent of death, a self-inflicted disease[xxiii], and a modern disease (Mawadza, 2004). Language is therefore an important vehicle used to constitute and construct meaning and attitudes in public discourse.

Further research has indicated the role of language in constructing reality. Horne carried out research on 'some aspects of AIDS-related discourse in post-apartheid South African culture' in which she concluded that language does not just describe a condition but constructs it (Horne, 2004). It can never be separated from thoughts and feelings or from the context of its use. This is shown in how language has been used in South Africa to talk about and concomitantly shape attitudes towards HIV/AIDS. According to the findings, different metaphorical representations have revealed varying conceptions and attitudes towards the disease (Horne, 2004)). It has been called the 'three words' (Leclerc-Mdlala, 2000), and the 'modern disease' (Posel, 2004b), the indirectness employed in describing the cause of death in HIV/AIDS cases is indicative

of fear associated with the disease (Horne, 2004). The mystery surrounding the disease is partly due to lack of medical explanation for its existence and cure (Posel, 2004b). Some of the words used, for example in isiZulu are '*ilotto*' '*iace*' referring to the risky nature of the sexual activity with regard to the disease, but also it reveals that people are not always in control of whether they contract the virus or not (Horne, 2004). This metaphorical representation shows deeply imbedded the use of metaphor, in the appropriation of meaning, is within the fabric of human interaction. The use of metaphors to describe sexuality and AIDS (Sontag, 1989, Ross, 1988, Watney, 1989) has demonstrated how human beings can tag disease in a particular way in order to negotiate meaning. Posel's metaphorical assertion carries weight, "AIDS carries a heavy metaphoric burden' (Posel, 2004b).

Recognising the role of language in the construction of reality, the UNDP (United Nations Development Program) has developed HIV/AIDS related language policy (Horne, 2004) in an attempt to normalise the disease, hence reduce stigma and discrimination. It is recommended that a language of peace be used in describing HIV/AIDS over and against war metaphors. These war metaphors have depicted HIV/AIDS in militaristic language (Sherry, 1993) dividing the world into groups of the invader and the invaded. This is the reason why Sontag advocated - the retirement of the use of military metaphor due to its dramatic character and the resulting stigmatisation of illness (1989:94).

Gagnon and Simon-sexual scripts

The preceding sections have discussed the role of language in constructing perceptions, and the consequent reinforcement of attitudes in social and sexual behaviour. This section deals with the scripted nature of sexual behaviour. Script theory is credited with moving the study of sex and sexology out of the domains of narrow reductionist biological, individualistic models (Frith and Kitzinger, 2001). Scott (1990) 'acknowledges the social nature of sexuality and the developmental process of labelling, through which we commonly construct what we understand sex to be' (5-6). It is legitimated as part of a constructionist perspective because it is points active roles for individual groups being included which is feature of feminist theory (Cameron and Kulick, 2003). Script theory has however, been criticised for presenting individualistic

cognitive assumptions without due regard to the social context (Frith and Kitzinger, 2001). It ignores the immediate milieu in which scripts are produced. Edwards (1994) challenges the cognitive model of scripts, and instead opts for 'script formulations. He sees these formulations as kinds of talk which describe events as following a routine and predictable pattern (p.21). He doesn't dwell on the cognitive content, but assesses at patterns of regularity and the scripted nature of experience's constitution through talk. This provides a micro-structure analysis of the bolts and nuts of how individuals may formulate and regulate forms of talk as part of a discursive repertoire. Scripts do not exist in primordial mental banks ready to be deposited into occasions of talk. There are no ready-made cognitive schemas for discourse. Discourse is actively reproduced within interactions. In personal communication with Derek Edwards in which I sought to clarify the extent to which scripts can be applied to varying contexts, he responded:

You could think of scripts, or the scriptedness of social actions, as a kind of benchmark in terms of which, but also in exception or contradiction to which, people may understand, describe or formulate their own experiences. In effect, this is what you are doing, when you find that the idea of sexual activity as "scripted" fails to capture some essential part of your experience. It is the availability of ideas such as the scriptedness, or routine and recurrent, nature of sexual relations, that enables us to define specific actions and experiences as falling outside of the script, or as not captured by it. The thing to be aware of, of course, is that there is also a familiar, somewhat scripted range of ways of being exceptional. There are, ironically, scripts for being rebellious and individual. But basically, the point is that the idea of scripts makes all kinds of descriptions possible, including exceptions as well as conformity to what is routine (Edwards, 2008)

According to this (discursive) approach, scripts do not exist as pre-written cognitive contents dumped from memory storage into talk. Scripts are actively constructed in interactions through which people 'work up' events as scripted (or as breaches of scripts), and this 'script talk' is analysable in its own right"(Frith and Kitzinger, 2001). Scripts can be studied as analytical categories for understanding behaviour but they can be also studied as tools used in interactions for subjects to meet their interactional objectives. (Note that in drama and performance, individuals use the script to meet the

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goals of the play, they perform to meet the expectations of the script, audience, and self. This performance is also manifested in daily life when individuals seeking to entice a partner to put up a performance in dress, talk, gifts in order to meet personal, social, and interactional demands). There are 'Young singles' scripts for a First Date (Rose, 1989) in which expectations for a first date are examined. In these scripts there are significant differences between the males and females. The female scripts emphasise the private sphere with inherent concern for appearance, conversation and controlling the sexual dimension (Rose, 1989) of dating whereas the male scripts have control of the public domain i.e. paying for the date, initiating it, and planning for the occurrence of the date. The male-female gender power ratio is maintained in dating relationships amongst young adults. Scripts may not be verbalised to become part of a cultural practice. Study methods such as cognitive-script methodology may be used to determine the content of a routine sexual script of a first date. Other findings, however argue for equality in gendered relationships with the conclusion that both partners have equal power when signalling sexual interest during the flirtation stage of relationships. Women are shown to be much freer to have premarital sex than previously thought. They also contribute to payments for a date. The expectation of a date amongst young people is a strong script (Abelson, 1981, Rose, 1989). The first date is noted as highly scripted because it facilitates the creation of a good impression. Its formality is reinforced because it serves to ease the arising awkwardness. Despite the work of feminist attempts to provide alternative sexual scripts, the relationships governing these Midwestern-dating behaviours is highly conventional (Rose, 1989).

The use of condoms during sexual intercourse is a script with its own gender expectations. The use of condoms amongst women is tied in to internalised norms (Hynie et al., 1998). Women have been believed to be more likely to have their sexuality tied in to emotional or relationship factors than their male counterparts. They are also more likely to delay sexual debut compared with men and are less comfortable with casual sex. They also display stricter personal standards in relationships by assessing the seriousness of a relationship before engaging in sex. These enumerated norms are intrinsically connected to women's use of condoms. Though scripts act as guiding behavioural formats, individuals actively produce scripts of sexual interaction by distancing themselves from the discourse, usually accomplished by speaking in the

third person (Frith and Kitzinger, 2001, Edwards, 1994). Scripts which may be considered as culturally available, since they are located within specific contexts, are actively appropriated by individuals to particular interactional situations and are also modified, personalised, and internalised as 'intrapsychic' scripts. Masters et al 1995 discusses some examples of sexual scripts, 'don't touch yourself down there' and the 'nice girls don't'. These are seen as representing internalised scripts restricting women's control of their bodies in masturbation and related sexual experimentation (Rostosky et al., 2004). In behaviour, people draw on scripts (phanerons). These are accepted assumptions that inform attitudes and their resulting actions. This study assesses scripts that may be particular to South African university students. In the following section, sex as biological drive, the myth of the biological drive is explored:

Sex as biological drive

Man's sexuality is directly produced by a biological drive, the function of which is to ensure reproduction of species (Holloway, 1984:p231)

Sexual behaviour is driven by human biology for both men and women. But the socio-cultural factors within which particular communities operate provide the determination of how this sexual drive is expressed (DeLamater, 1981, Gagnon and Simon, 1973). Culture and systems of economic arrangement impose forms of expression on sexuality with females being more repressed (Caldwell et al., 1991). Due to cultural regulation of women's expression of sexuality, men have largely been represented as driven by an uncontrollable biological mandate to have sex. This drive is seen as natural and a biological necessity (Kirkendall, 1958). It is represented as uncontrollable. In sex talk, this perception is represented in notions such as "fire within", or "men are like dogs". In literature words that may be used include, 'torment' 'torture' 'misery' and 'compelling' (Kirkendall, 1958). The underlying notion being that male sexual drive is impulsive and is in constant need of regulation (Kirkendall, 1958, Gonzaga et al., 2006). Female partners are seen as objects that stimulate and provide relief to the sex drive. Men's sexual drives, once ignited by a woman are unstoppable. The male drive gives pressure to men to do something. Males who do not seem to have an active pursuance of females may be labelled as lesser men. In the male drive discourse, talk is on the "macho, knowing and experienced male" (Holland et al. 1994). In this sex drive notion, the dominant script is that males are active hunters of women. As such women may not

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be expected to actively seek sexual relationships or intercourse. The females' motivation in sexuality is love and intimacy not lust, which is depicted as normal for men.

Sex and HIV: Double tragedy

The fact that AIDS is primarily transmitted through sexual intercourse makes the subject a domain of taboos and myths (Carr-Hill et al., 2002). It thus invites resistance to inclusion in the educational curricula. In most cases where it is included it is merely treated as speculative to increase knowledge or as a module for qualification. In other instances sex education and sexuality formation impact greatly on religious norms and values and as such is likely to be a nucleus of conflict resulting in resistance towards healthy reproductive education. It can in some cases lead to protests (Kiragu and Zabin, 1995). Sexual health education can lead to delayed sexual debut and raise contraceptive use (Carr-Hill et al., 2002). The then university of Durban-Westville introduced a 'Sex and Risk' course as an attempt to break the silence among students. This module was designed to empower students to be comfortable with their sexuality, understand HIV/AIDS, and adopt skills for protecting themselves against being infected by HIV (Bhagwanjee, 2006, Petersen et al., 2004, Petersen et al., 2002).

Conclusion

In South Africa, HIV rates amongst the youth are spiralling ever higher. Despite massive campaigns and educational efforts, South African youths continue to indulge in unsafe sex (Kahn, 2005, Sishana et al, 2009). Literature investigating the failure of HIV/AIDS educational campaigns and programmes has anchored the blame on individualistic, biomedical and behavioural perspectives that are predominantly pillared on social cognitive models within programs and campaigns (Campbell, 2003, Airhihenbuwa, 2000). The underlying problem with these models is that they have embraced a narrow linear and functional conceptualisation of sexual behaviour more generally (Kelly and Ntlabati, 2002, Parker, 1995).

Researchers have argued that the basic and most problematic assumption common to research and interventions early in the epidemic (which proceeded out of the above-mentioned approaches) was the understanding that sexual behaviour is "shaped by the

conscious decisions of rational individuals" (Campbell, 2003). Such theoretical arguments have held that linear logic models have discounted the extent to which young people are embedded in their social structures and contexts, and this has resulted in a proliferation of explanations of youth sexual behaviour unconnected to social meaning and separated from the social context of the everyday lives of young people in which sexual behaviour is carried out (Frohlich et al., 2001).

Sexual behavior amongst young people is rooted not in their 'decisions to act in certain ways that do not conform to rational, logical, value-free ways of thinking. Rather, they have their own alternative logic and validity that is related in a complex fashion to the cultural and moral environments in which they live' (Crossley, 2000). The importance of contextual considerations in understanding sexual behaviour have been strongly advocated within South African literature (for examples, see Campbell, 2003; Kelly & Ntlabati, 2002; Kelly & Parker, 2000; LeClerc-Madlala, 2002, Lerclerc-Madlala, 2008, Lerclerc-Madlala, 2007). The following chapter gives an overview of sexual behavioural patterns amongst students in seven campuses of the three universities under study.

Chapter Five

Overview of sexual patterns

Introduction

This chapter sets the background to discussing the qualitative ethnographic results in chapters Eight to Ten that form the core of the thesis. This chapter presents an overview picture of sexual behaviour patterns in the three universities under study, i.e. University of KwaZulu-Natal, University of Zululand and Durban University of Technology in order to set the tone for the ethnographic presentation of results. The results presented here are part of the larger study conducted across seven campuses of the three universities. I have, under the methodology section explained my role in the larger study. In short my contribution to the larger study is encapsulated in the ethnographic approach as explicated in chapters Seven to Ten.

The quantitative results are assessed with the understanding that there are three factors that inform behaviour, be it sexual or otherwise: These are personal, inter-personal and structural factors (Marston and King, 2006b). The chapter starts with a description of the factors that influence sexual behaviour. Then a presentation of patterns of sexual behaviour starts with a survival analysis of sexual debut, which is stratified by race and gender. This is followed by a presentation of sexual behaviours with reference to particular variables of interest. Determinants of concurrency and condom use are shown. The chapter concludes by drawing a picture of sexual behaviour among students with reference to the relevance of the results to the study. This chapter answers the basic objective of this study, which is to show patterns of sexual behaviour among university students. The question guiding the results in this chapter is: "what are the patterns of sexual behaviour amongst university students?" In answering the question, I go a step further to highlight some factors that determine sexual behaviour.

The appreciation of personal, interpersonal and cultural/structural factors is important in the hermeneutical approach to deciphering meanings associated with talk about sexuality, sex and HIV/AIDS as elucidated in the ethnographic data. The knowledge levels, provide the denotative, the attitudes are usually the connotative and the socio-

demographic characteristics are the structural/ideological bedrock for meaningful discourses. It must, however, be noted that the distinctions of the preceding three-fold characterisation is not discrete. The three inter-lap in order to give a meaningful whole i.e. the symbolic.

Methodological Considerations

Survey

The survey was conducted in three universities in KwaZulu-Natal, that is, on five campuses of UKZN, the Durban University of Technology (DUT) campus, and the University of Zululand (UNIZUL). The design of the pilot survey questionnaire had open and closed questions. The questionnaire was piloted on 120 students who were purposely selected. After piloting the questionnaire all open questions were closed. A target population of 1400 students was selected, 200 students were selected from each institution. The mode of element selection was stratified random sampling according to year of study, that is, first years, second years, third years and post-graduates. Fifty respondents were selected from each stratum. The stratum was selected from a randomly sampled cluster of faculties. This helped to accommodate the various population characteristics of the sample.

I and three other researchers, who were part of the general survey, participated in the preparation of the survey instrument during a workshop in which the questionnaire, originally designed by Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE) was adapted, with permission from the originators, to suit the objectives of the ABC Study. The National HIV/AIDS Communication Survey Questionnaire was a 19-page instrument designed by CADRE in 2005 and used in evaluating health communication programmes run by Khomanani. This questionnaire was adapted for use in this study with permission from the originator who, along with CCMS, is a member of the Health Communication Partnership coordinated by Johns Hopkins Health Education South Africa. The process of adaptation took three forms:

1. the identification of superfluous questions that were eliminated from the original questionnaire;
2. the customisation of remaining questions; and

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3. the addition of new questions not contained in the original questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered by four researchers who are part of the general JHHESA survey research and five other research assistants; each of whom administered about 156 questionnaires. In order to get information from the students, this researcher customised, adapted and added questions of interest to the general JHHESA questionnaire to meet his research objectives. In addition, the pilot questionnaire included sections that captured the qualitative needs of my study for instance, nicknames for students who abstain from sex. These were later to be used to elicit discussions. Apart from making contributions to the overall design of the study, I specifically concentrated on listening to conversations, through focused ethnography, which formed my unique contribution to the understanding of sexuality and the behaviour of university students at the named universities. This thesis exemplifies the role I took as a researcher collaborating with other PhD and Masters' students on the overall project.

Data Entry

Data were entered by trained research assistants into SPSS. Double entries were made in order to counter-check errors of entry. For my purposes, I initially coded and cleaned the data using SPSS. The final analysis was done using STATA version 10. This was done by transferring the file format from SPSS to STATA. The total number of respondents was 1400. Six questionnaires were not properly captured; as such they are removed from the analysis. This left the dataset with 1394 respondents.

Analysis

The following statistical methods of data analysis were used in this study:

1. Frequency tables were used to summarize the variables of study
2. Pearson's chi-square tests of association were used to obtain cross-tabulations,
3. Regression analyses were used to regress multiple sexual partners and condom use on the predictor variables.

4. The p-values, confidence intervals were used to explain the strength of association. The significant level α, was set at 5% and confidence interval at 95%.

The analyses of the results were determined by emerging themes from the qualitative study as well as the patterns of the data in terms of sexual behaviour patterns. In HIV prevention, the correct and consistent use of condoms is a critical factor. As such, the use of condoms was taken as a key factor in analysing sexual behaviour. Concurrent sexual partners as discussed in chapter two, create a propitious ambience for transmission of HIV, especially when condoms are not correctly and consistently used. Sexual behaviour around concurrency is taken up as a dependent variable in examining factors that may predict its occurrence.

Results

Results are presented in tables which were created using STATA. Determinants of concurrent sexual partners are presented in the section on results, but the tables for the bi-variate analysis and logistic regression are placed in the appendix VI. The quantitative results are presented in such a way as to give an overview of the sexual patterns of students' behaviour in the seven campuses. The presentation of results has taken into account the gender and ethnic demographics in order to assess the differences in sexual behaviour. As a result, the tables are designed to present stratified data. While generalisation may be made on the survey data, this is not true of the qualitative results which are not meant to be generalised beyond the respondents covered. Ethnographic results may shed light on the general patterns of sexual behaviour by presenting in-depth discussions of the meanings attached to sexual behaviour. In a cross-sectional survey, unlike an experimental study like a Randomised Controlled Trial (RCT), the direction of causality is difficult to ascertain. This forms a methodological weakness.

Patterns of Sexual Behaviour

Theoretical assumptions

In order to understand sexual behaviour, we must understand not only individual perceptions, but also their contexts. However, we also have to appreciate the fact that sexual behaviour involves inter-personal factors within a sphere of interaction. Sexual interaction is a particular form of interaction involving private and public performances (Bajos and Marquet, 2000). In the context of a sexual relationship whether dyad or triad, individuals do not act in a vacuum, this interactional space is affected by three-level factors; personal (intra-psychic); inter-personal and context. This relational balance occasions sexual behaviour. This study appropriates a conceptual framework by Igham and Zeseen (1997) and Ferrand and Snijder (1997). In this framework, three levels form a nexus of interlocking factors which impact behaviour: the individual, the immediate social context and the macro, cultural context as appropriated by Marston and King (2006a). The individual level factors include attitudes, beliefs, and previous sexual experience; whereas friendship networks, families, social relationships constitute the interpersonal. The macro-level factors include cultural norms and understandings, gender norms, place of residence, social demographic determinants. Interactional level variables as well as individual level variables are fundamental to explaining sexual behaviour and an interaction-oriented approach can be used even when the original data were not collected with this approach in mind.

It is worth noting that interactive behaviours and associated meanings are the building blocks of a relationship. As such, reported behaviour may best be understood in the ambit of interpersonal factors, as they are located within a given cultural context. Relationship or interaction between individuals, involves all communication and actions, which take place in accordance with each other's perceptions and expectations. These interactions create a framework for, and give meaning to the relationship as evidenced in the works of Ervin Goffman (1974). Interaction is a reciprocal influence that partners within an interaction have on each other. Sexual behaviour is moulded within an ambit of social interaction in which particular forms of representing the sexual takes place. In the context of interpersonal relationships, talk and or discussions form a central locus in the transmission of values. In the context of shared meanings groups of

people interpret objects of encounter within their phanerons or cultural scripts (Tomaselli, 1996, Simon and Gagnon, 2003). Talking or discussion may influence behaviour in particular ways. The nature of social interaction has the capacity to create collective efficacy which is important in directing behaviour within closely knit communities (Epstein, 2007).

Table 1: Factors influencing sexual behaviour.[xxiv]

LEVELS	ATTRIBUTES
Individual variables	Perception of risk, attitudes to condoms, knowledge, sexual behaviour,
Interactional variables	Peer influence, power relationships, union status,
Socio-demographic (characteristics variables)	Age, sex, education, residence, union status, race

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The majority of students in the study are between the ages of 20-25. This is in line with evidence of another study that was conducted in two of the universities that this study covers (Maharaj and Cleland, 2006).The table below tabulates a detailed age group distribution.

Table 2 : Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Background Characteristics	2007	
	Number	Percent
Age		
<19	318	22.8
20-35	824	59.11
26 yrs +	306	14.71
Sex		
Male	653	46.88
Female	740	53.12
Residence		
On-campus	616	44.38
Off-campus rent	254	18.3
Off-campus with parents	399	28.75
Off-campus with relatives	119	8.57
Education Level		
First year	303	21.75
Second year	305	21.9
Third year	396	28.43
Fourth year	389	27.93
Union Status		
Married living with spouse	57	4.12
Married not living with spouse	40	2.89
Not married living with boyfriend/girlfriend	61	4.41
Single	1203	87.05
Widow/widower/divorced/separated	16	1.6
Race		
Black	949	68.13
Coloured	33	2.37
Indian	291	20.89
White	120	8.61
University		
Howard	198	14.2
Medical school	200	14.35
Pietermaritzburg	196	14.06
Westville	200	14.35
Edgewood	200	14.35
UNIZULU	200	14.35
DUT	200	14.35

The majority of respondents live within university residences (44%). While about 29% live off campus with parents. Eighteen percent (18%) rent accommodation off-campus, and a minority live off-campus with relatives (9%). Most of the respondents live independent of their parents or relatives.

There was an even distribution of respondents from all the universities covered. This was due to the sampling strategy used, which sought to get equal numbers from the seven campuses.

The gender of the respondents is known to have an effect on the dependent variables. Gender is being considered as a potential confounder in the assessment of the dependent variables. There were more female respondents (53%) than male ones (47%).

The level of study, which is being used as a proxy for education, was evenly distributed. The assumption is that the level of study would have an influence on the dependent variables that this study assesses i.e. concurrency and condom use. It is also borne in mind that students are an elite group and as such may not represent the typical youth of South Africa (Maharaj and Cleland, 2006).

Union status is an important aspect of sexual behaviour as it is likely to impact on sexual behaviour. Union status in this research signifies marital status, or living in a stable relationship. The majority of students are single.

Summary of socio-demographic characteristics

The survey consisted of 1400 university students, 47% male and 53% females. An attempt was made to include students from all faculties. Mostly (68%) were black; (2%) Coloured; (21%) Indian, (7%) were White. Their ages ranged from 16 to 56 years. The majority (87%) had never been married, but 70% had had sexual intercourse. The median age at first sexual intercourse was 18 years. Most respondents reported an average of two concurrent partners. It must be noted, however that this study does not claim to represent all students but students who responded to the survey.

Abstinence is an important component of HIV prevention. Evidence shows that early sexual debut is linked to more life-time sexual partners later in life (Paul et al., 2000,

Maharaj and Cleland, 2006) and links have been made to risk of infection with HIV, though not empirically investigated (Bonell et al., 2006, Hallett et al., 2007). But there is evidence showing that sexual debut has little impact on reduction of sexual risk unless it is linked to a reduction in sexual networks. There is also no reduction of risk if men continue to seek younger female sexual partners (Hallett et al., 2007).

Abstinence as a strategy is highly contested (cf. Pages 49-55). The gist of the argument is that the majority of respondents report ever having had sex before, accounting for seventy percent (70%) compared to thirty percent (30 %) who report not ever having had sex. This result is collaborated by a similar study conducted in two of the universities that this study investigates (Maharaj and Cleland, 2006). The median age of reported sexual debut is nineteen years (19 years). Whilst reporting the median age of sexual debut may be important, there is very little utility value, hence the use of survival analysis in order to describe and explain trends in age at first sex (Zaba et al., 2004c). Survival analysis is deemed the most appropriate method for estimating the age at first sex from censored observations (Lammers et al., 2000).

Input data for survival analyses are age of respondents and whether or not they have had sex. In calculating a survival function I am describing the probability of a student remaining a virgin, using reported age at first sex as the failure event (which means that those who have sex drop off from the group) and those who have never had sex are censored at current age (Zaba et al., 2004a). The following graph (Fig.V) gives the probability of a respondent remaining a virgin. Patterns of sexual debut show that respondents have a median of 19 years. This varies according to sex. Male students start earlier than their female counterparts. Females also experience a gradual curve compared to men. In short we can tell how quickly sexual activity builds up once initiated by a small group. Figures 9 and 10 below are a description of survival analysis and patterns in sexual debut: They indicate that male students report starting sex earlier than female students. Once sexual intercourse is initiated, female students show a pattern in which they lose their virginity rapidly within a shorter time-frame compared to the male students within the same age cohort.

Figure 9: Sexual debut by sex (Male and Female)
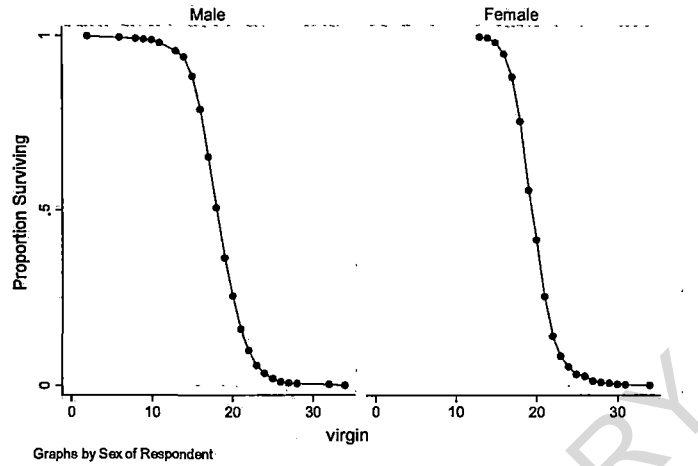
Figure 10: Age at first sex for men and women

Age at first sex for men and women
survival as 'virgin' by age
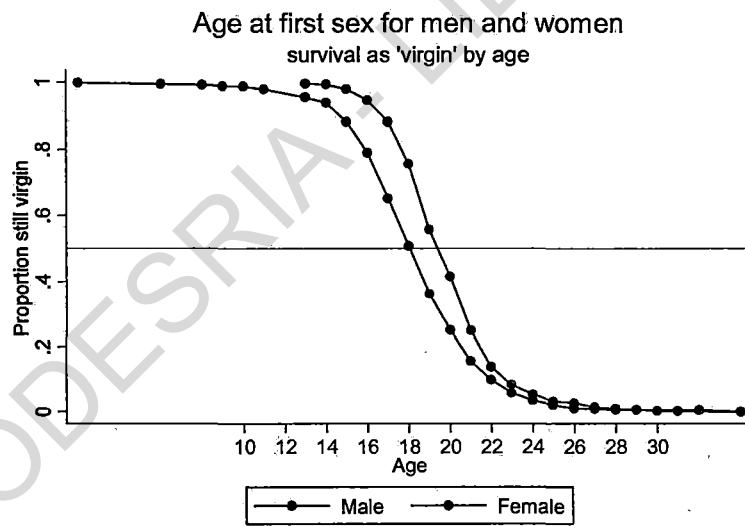
When further stratified by race (see Figure 11), black male students report starting sex earlier than all other ethnic groups; followed by coloureds, and Indians, and lastly by whites. It is, however, interesting that most white males seem to lose their virginity at almost the same time (17-24) compared to other race groups. The fact that female students start having sex later than their male cohorts is not surprising as many girls

tend to be policed from an earlier age. This is also because sexual adventure may be tolerated for boys than girls in a predominantly male-dominated society.

Figure 11: Age at first sex for men by race

Age at first sex for men by race
survival as 'virgin' by age
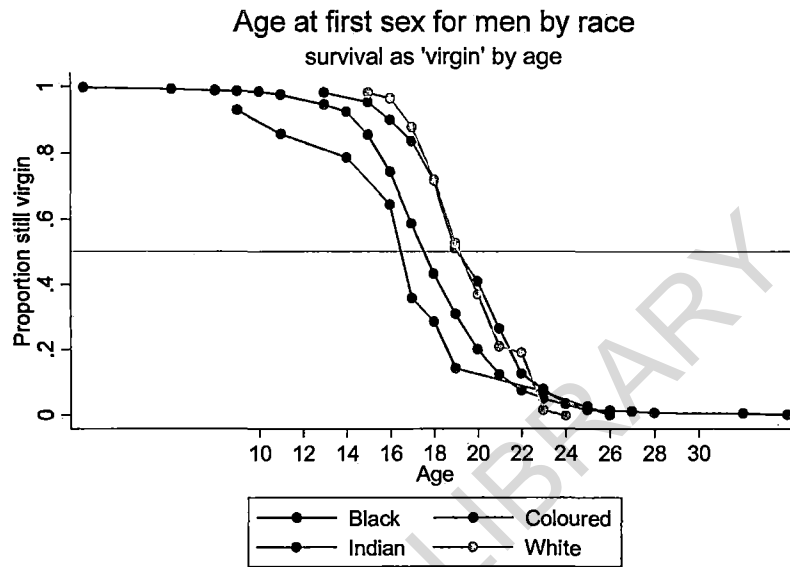
As for women, the distribution of age at first sex seems to be uniform save for Indian females who report starting sex later than all other ethnic groups. This is probably due to the conservative nature of the ideological structure informing behaviour amongst respondents of Indian ethnicity in which virginity for women is highly prized (Esat, 2003). They all seem to report sexual debut between the ages of 12 and 16 years. A higher proportion of female respondents would have had sexual experience by the age of 18. This is consistent among all ethnic groups.

Figure 12: Age at first sex for women by race

Age at first sex for women by race
survival as 'virgin' by age
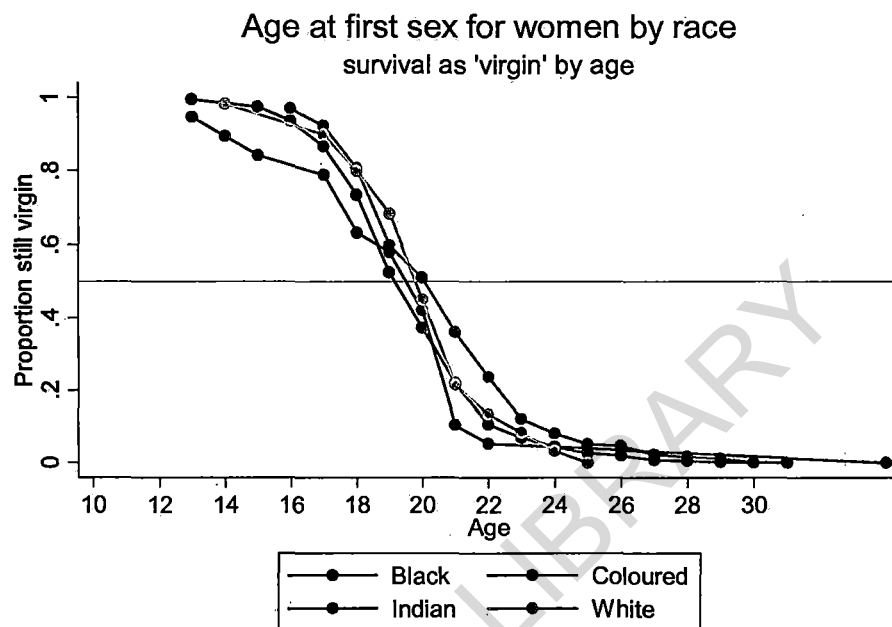
Sexual experience

Respondents reported to be sexually active with a higher proportion reporting ever having had sex (70% against 30%). This is consistent with earlier findings in two tertiary institutions (Maharaj and Cleland, 2006). A higher proportion of male coloureds reported ever having had sex compared to other ethnic groups. This is followed by blacks, then whites and lastly by Indians. Among female respondents, more Black respondents report ever having had sex. Then the Coloureds followed by Whites; while Indian students report a lower a proportion of sexual experience. These proportions are similar to reported sexual activity in the last year.

Figure 13: Proportion reporting ever having had sex

Proportion who ever had sex
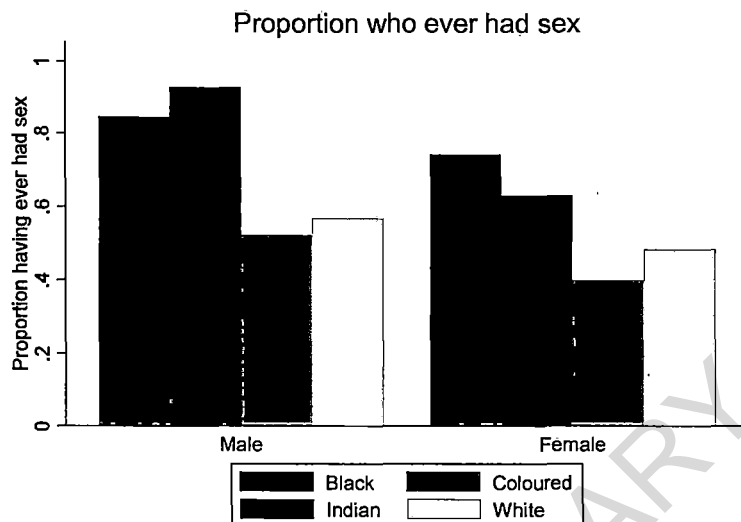
Table 3: Proportion reporting ever having had sex

Ever had sex before	Freq.	Percent
No	417	30.39
Yes	955	69.61
Total	**1,372**	**100**

Table 4: Proportion reporting ever having had Sex by Race

Ever had sex before	Race				
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total
No	193	8	160	56	417
%	20.73	24.24	55.36	47.46	30.42
Yes	738	25	129	62	954
%	79.27	75.76	44.64	52.54	69.58
Total	931	33	289	118	1,371
%	100	100	100	100	100

Pearson chi2(3) = 143.0360 Pr = 0.000

The proportion of respondents who reported ever having had sex was seventy percent against thirty percent who reported never having had sex. There was also a high proportion of students reporting having had sex in the last year (77% against 23%).

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This is an indication that a high proportion of students reported not having abstained from sex especially in the last year.

Figure 14: Proportion reporting having had sex in the last year

Proportion who had sex in last year
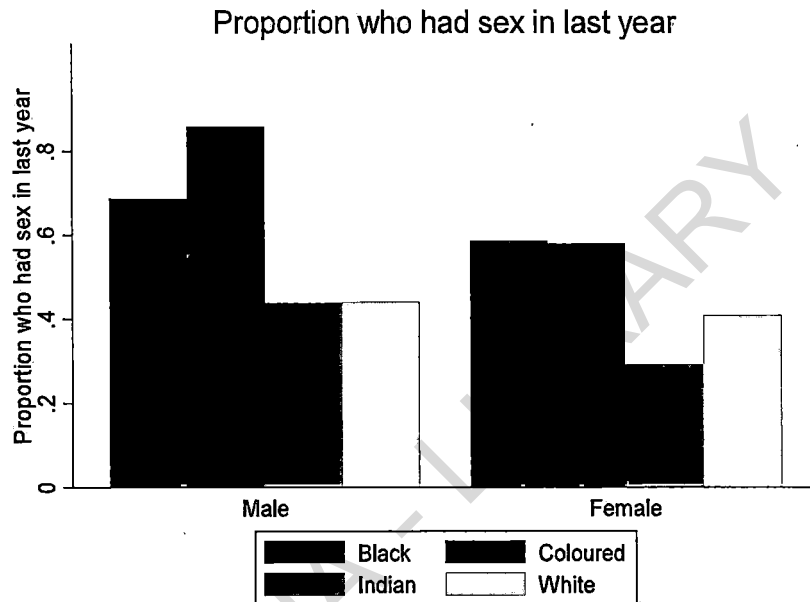
Table 5: Proportion reporting having had sex in the last year

Had sex in last 12months	Freq.	Percent
No	231	22.87
Yes	779	77.13
Total	1,010	100

Table 6: Proportion reporting having had sex in last 12 months

Had sex in last 12months	Race				
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total
No	151	2	58	20	231
	20.03%	8%	36.48%	28.17%	22.89%
Yes	603	23	101	51	778
	79.97%	92%	63.52%	71.83%	77.11%
Total	**754**	**25**	**159**	**71**	**1,009**
	100	100	100	100	100

Pearson chi2(3) = 24.3933 Pr = 0.000

On the construct of respondents who had sex before 15, a higher proportion was reported among coloured males and females. Black males reported a higher proportion after the coloureds. Indian males follow them and lastly white males report a lower proportion of sex before 15. While among female respondents, black females reported a lower proportion of the same variable, whilst there was no reported sex before 15 amongst respondents of Indian origin.

Figure 15: Proportion reporting having had sex before 15
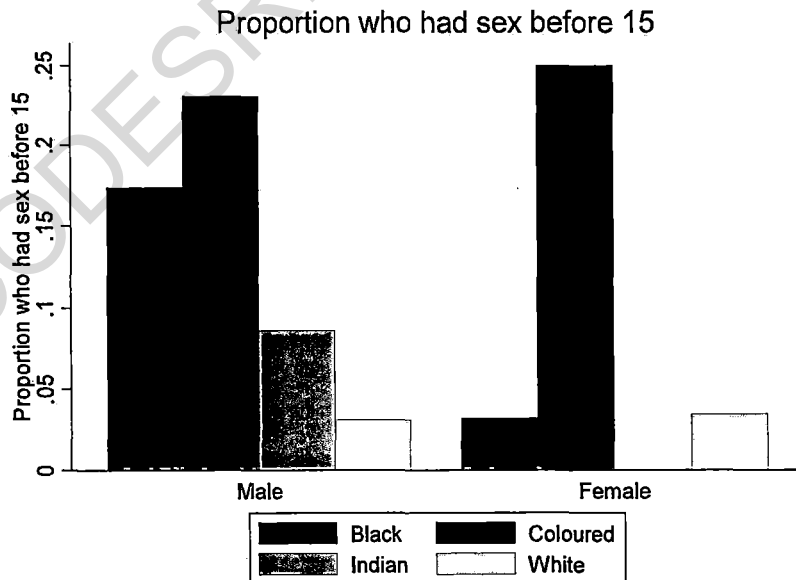
Condom use

Generally, reported condom use is very high across all ethnic groups. Seventy-three percent of respondents (73%) reported having used a condom at last sex against twenty-seven percent (27%) who reported not having used a condom. Of those who reported having had used a condom at last sex, thirty-nine percent (39%) reported not always using a condom, against sixty-one percent (61%) who reported having always used a condom during sex. And the patterns are almost even between male and female respondents. Condom use at last sex is also associated with a belief in the availability of male condoms. There was, on the other hand, reported less availability of female condoms. The survey found that most respondents reported that they had ever used a condom (70%).

Figure 16: Proportion reporting condom use during last sex in the last year

Condom use during last sex
among those who had sex in the last year
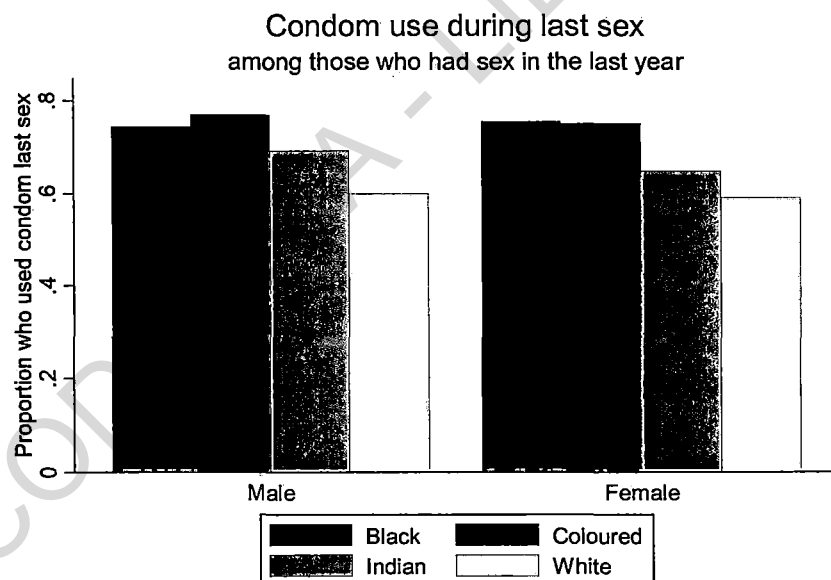
Condom use at last sex measured by concurrency indicates that condom use is high among respondents who have concurrent partners. It is, however, interesting to note that white male and female respondents report lower condom use.

Figure 17: Proportion reporting condom use during last sex by concurrency

Condom use during last sex
by concurrency
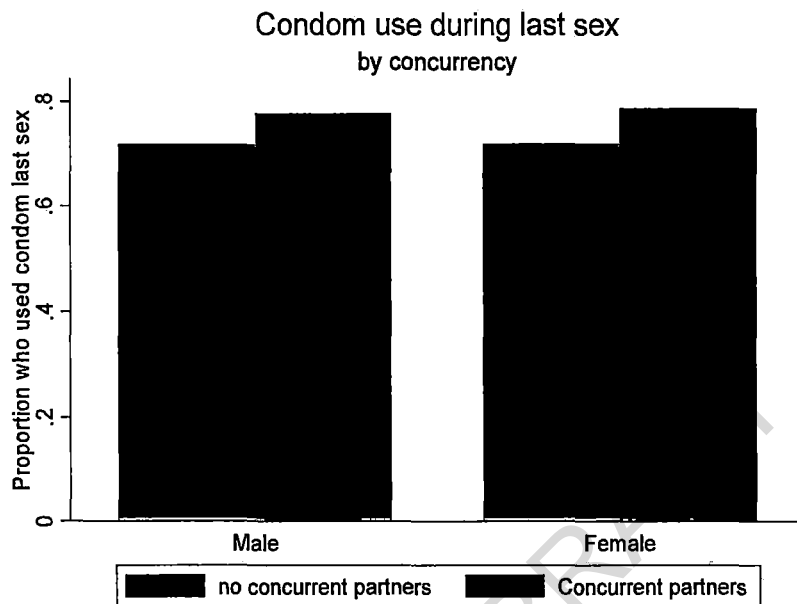
Concurrent Partners

Black male students reported a higher proportion of multiple partners compared with other ethnic groups. White male respondents reported the lowest number of concurrent partners (5%). As for female respondents, black respondents reported a moderately high number of concurrent partners, followed by coloured respondents. Indian female respondents did not report any concurrent partners (figure 20).

Figure 18: Proportion reporting concurrent partners among those who had sex in last year

Proportion with concurrent partners
among those who had sex in the last year
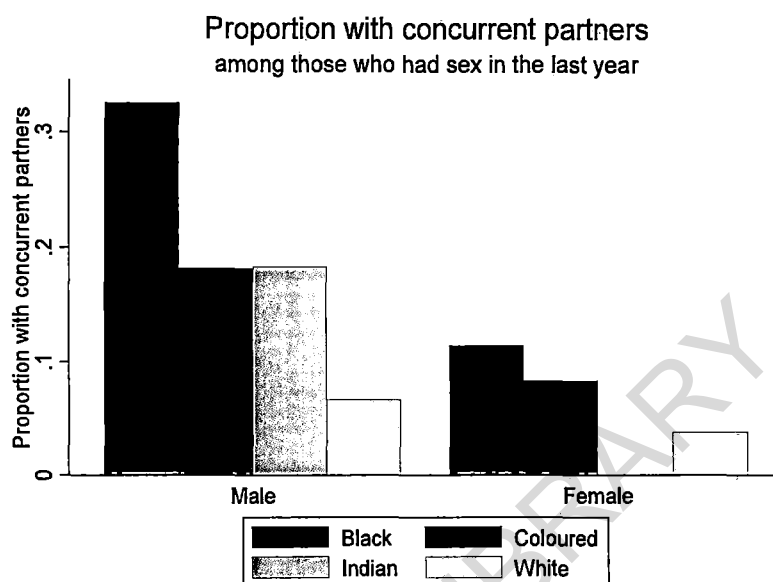
Table 7: Proportion reporting concurrent sexual partners

Concurrent partners	Race				
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Total
No	491	20	118	53	682
	77.69	86.96	91.47	94.64	81.19
Yes	141	3	11	3	158
	22.31	13.04	8.53	5.36	18.81
Total	632	23	129	56	840
	100	100	100	100	100
Pearson chi2(3)=21.1389 pr=0.000					

Associations between concurrency and selected variables

On concurrent sexual partners, which was measured by the number of sexual partners a respondent had at the time of the survey. The questions listed below measured the number of concurrent sexual partners:

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6.7	Do you have more than one sexual partner at the moment?	Yes 1	No 0 (Skip to 6.9)

6.8	How many sexual partners do you have at the moment? (SKIP TO 5.10 after this question)	1	2	3	More than three 4

On social demographic characteristics of age, race, union status, residence, year of study (as proxy for education), and University campus I stratified the results by sex. For male respondents, there was no association between having concurrent partners, age group and union status. There was, however, an association between reporting concurrent sexual partners and race, education, university, and residence (Appendices VI,VII, VIII). Male students living off-campus with parents were less likely to report concurrent sexual partners (OR: 0.42, CI: 0.23-0.79 p. 0.007). Fourth year male students were less likely to report concurrent partners (OR: 0.25 CI: 0.13-0.49 p.0.000). As for race, white male students were less likely to report concurrent sexual partners (OR: 0.15 CI: 0.03-0.63 p.0.010).

Associations between reporting concurrent partners were measured against actionables, that is, had sex before 15 years of age, forced to have sex, used condom at last sex, whether one has had an HIV test or not, whether or not knowledge is high, knowing someone who has disclosed HIV status, knowing someone who has died of AIDS, having cared for someone who has died of AIDS, Talking about faithfulness with friends, talking about sex with friends, joke about sex with friends, belief that men have no power to use condom/abstain, and belief that women have no power to use condoms or abstain.

Results indicate that having sex before age 15 was associated with reporting concurrent sexual partnerships (Pearson chi2(1) = 4.5669 Pr = 0.033). Students reporting sex before age 15 were twice more likely to report having multiple concurrent sexual partners than those who initiated sex later than age 15 (OR: 1.82 CI: 1.05-3.17 p-value: 0.034). Having had an HIV test was strongly associated with reported number of

concurrent sexual partners (Pearson chi2(1) = 10.4196 Pr = 0.001) with students who have had an HIV test being less likely to report concurrent sexual partners. This was true even after having adjusted for all other variables under consideration. Having correct knowledge was not associated with reporting concurrent sexual partners, but knowing someone who had disclosed their HIV status was strongly associated with concurrency (Pearson chi2(1) = 19.9219 Pr = 0.000); indicating that students who reported knowing somebody who has disclosed his/her HIV status were almost three times more likely to report having a concurrent sexual partner (OR: 2.69 CI: 1.73-4.18, p-value: 0.000 AOR: 3.03CI: 1.81-5.05 p-value: 0.000).

Knowing someone who died of AIDS was not associated with concurrency, neither was having cared for someone who died of AIDS. Talking about faithfulness with friends was strongly associated with reporting concurrent sexual partners (Pearson chi2 (1) = 7.1924 Pr = 0.007), with students who talk about faithfulness to friends being less likely to report concurrent sexual partners (OR: 0.56 CI: 0.36-0.86 p=value: 0.008 AOR: 0.44 CI:0.26-0.73,p-value:0.002).

Talking about sex with friends was also strongly associated with concurrency (Pearson chi2(1) = 6.7532 Pr = 0.009), with students who report talking to friends about sex being more likely to report concurrent sexual partners (OR: 2.12CI: 1.19-3.77, p-value:0.010). This may be a macho attitude, which resonates with over-reporting of sexual prowess or peer influence, which leads to a collective belief encouraging concurrent sexual relationships. However, the variable fell out of the final model, as it was not predictive of concurrency.

Determinants of concurrency for male students

This study found that the determinants for concurrency amongst male students in tertiary institutions under study are fourth year of study, the campus of study i.e. Edgewood, Pietermaritzburg, Westville, which have students who are less likely to report concurrent sexual partnerships. In terms of sexual behaviour, students who report having had sex before age 15 are more likely to report concurrent sexual partners. This result is consistent with other studies which show that early sexual debut is linked to more life-time sexual partners later in life (Paul et al., 2000, Maharaj and Cleland, 2006)

and links have been made to risk of infection with HIV, though not empirically investigated (Bonell et al., 2006, Hallett et al., 2007) . Students who reported having had an HIV test were less likely to report concurrent sexual partnerships, which may justify the need to use VCT as an entry point for enhanced prevention messaging. The surprising result for male students is that those who report knowing someone who has disclosed his or her status are almost three times more likely to report having concurrent sexual partners. On talking about faithfulness with friends, students who report talking to friends about faithfulness were less likely to report concurrent sexual partners. This is interesting in that encouraging 'talk' may reinforce positive social norms that go to support prevention messages.

Association: concurrency with selected variables

There was no association between conditioners and concurrency. However, reported 'forced to have sex' was associated with reporting concurrent sexual partners, knowing someone who had disclosed his/her HIV status, belief that women have no power to choose to use a condom (Appendix VII). In the adjusted model, the only variables that were identified as determinants of concurrency were talking about faithfulness with friends, and belief that women have no power to use condoms or to abstain.

Condom use

The use of condoms is encouraged as a prevention tool against HIV infection. This section presents associations between condom use and selected variables (Appendix VII). The variables presented are the statistically significant ones. The aim of this section is to show that there are associations between condom use and selected personal, social as well as structural variables.

Associations between condom use and selected variables

After performing bivariate analyses between condom use and selected variables, I found statistically significant associations between condom use at last sex and the level of education of respondents, race, ability to refuse sex, having had sex before age 15, having had sex in the last 12 months, number of sexual partners, concurrency, high knowledge, having had an HIV test, talking about sex with friends, talking about

HIV/AIDS at home, talking about abstinence with friends, joking about sex with friends, respondents who find it easier to joke about sex and belief in the unavailability of female condoms (detailed table is provided in appendix VIII).

Determinants

In the multivariate analysis, I found that fourth year students are less likely to report condom use at their last coital encounter. This is equally true of older students, cohabiting students, white and Indian respondents, respondents reporting inability to refuse sex, and respondents reporting having had an HIV test. Respondents who reported having three sexual partners were twice more likely to report having used a condom at last sex (appendix VIII).

Conclusion

This chapter was aimed at presenting a general picture of sexual behaviour patterns amongst students. The emerging picture is that students are indeed sexually active, that condom use is reportedly very high with near-universal knowledge on HIV/AIDS and its mode of transmission. It is emerging from the data that older students are less likely to use condoms compared to the younger ones i.e. post-graduates against undergraduates. This is also true of cohabiting couples. There are also racial differentials with regard to sexual behaviour. Notably female Indian students' are less likely to report concurrent sexual partners, and sex before age 15. This may be a result of conservative attitudes within the families of Indian ethnicities. Caution must however be taken in generalising this data to all students as the sampling technique only allows us to speak of the sample of students who responded to the survey. In this vein, the use of students/respondents, in the quantitative section synonymously, means students who responded to the survey. Having given a general picture of the patterns of sexual behaviour, the chapters that follow delve into the qualitative component answering the objectives of whether students talk about sex, sexuality, ABC vis-à-vis HIV/AIDS and how this is done.

Prelude to chapter Six

In order to appreciate student talk around the above-enumerated subjects, a comprehensive theoretical framework is built around an understanding that reality is socially constructed. Specifically, semiotic analysis, as explicated by the phaneroscopic table which is provided as a frame for understanding 'talking' as text. The notions of the phaneroscopy are analysed alongside scripts as embedded systems of appropriating behaviour in context. Central to these analytical tools is the understanding that language is critical to representation and the process of signification. This understanding rests on cultural experience as a constructed reality. Individuals and communities negotiate meaning and appropriate modes of exchanging meaning. This is achieved through a process of conventionalising objects of experience as hegemonic resulting in the creation of myth/ideologies which are considered normative. In the entire process of meaning-making, language plays a significant role. The linguistic representation of modes of experience is what results in discursive practices. Discursive practices 'frame' meanings in pre-agreed ways that are understood by parties to a discourse (Tomaselli, 1996). But these discourses do not operate in a vacuum. They operate within the structure, interpersonal and intrapersonal spheres. These spheres coalesce to give meaning to practical behaviour. The resulting behaviour may be counter-discourse or pro-discourse. This is how semiotic analysis as elaborated in the phaneroscopy comes in to offer tools for the analysis of ideologies that may be present in the enumerated three-levelled hierarchy of influence. The following chapter offers a historical location of academic engagement in using language as a signifying practice that is embedded within social interaction, based on the assumption that ideology exists both in practices and in representations (Tomaselli, 1996).

Chapter Six

Representation and the Process of Signification

"The common objectivations of everyday life are maintained primarily by linguistic signification. Everyday life is, above all, life with and by means of the language I share with my fellow men. An understanding of language is thus essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:37)"

Introduction

Language lies at the heart of any communicative action. Everyday life is maintained and enhanced by linguistic signification. As such, the analysis of talk as text requires a methodology that articulates and lays bare the ideological bases of meaning of a given group of people or society. Talk about Sex, like any other text, is influenced by cultural notions, which are deeply embedded within accepted practices (myths/ideologies). This analysis of cultural texts provides a critical approach in understanding the nature of the influences on actual behaviour. The use of a semiotic approach to the analysis of cultural discourse offers deep insights into ideological structures. This is attested to in works that have applied semiotic tools to cultural critique (Barthes, 1972, Tomaselli, 1992, Tomaselli, 1996, Hall and Open University, 1997). The challenge with semiotic analysis has been that it may be seen to lack authority, painted with a tone of entertainment and obsessed with polemics, when read from outside the discipline (Saper, 1997). With the nature of inquiry in HIV/AIDS discourse being inspired by social cognitive approaches, various notions of sexuality which have a bearing on HIV/AIDS, have been reified and taken for granted in intervention discourse. A semiotic approach, as illustrated in the phaneroscopy below helps provide a methodology for the deconstruction of these taken-for-granted notions that are deeply embedded in the popular culture of students.

The text for this interpretive analysis in this study is sex talk. Talk presupposes language as the central medium for communication. It is the symbol of the discourse on sexuality and HIV/AIDS as experienced within the ethnography of this study. In order to better appreciate the notion of the phaneroscopy, which I later conjoin with scripts, to create a *scriptoscopy*, I have located this form of semiotic analysis within a broader and

extensive field of social constructionism in which reality is taken as socially constructed.

As Berger and Luckmann (1966) state in the citation above, language is central to the process of signification. Our everyday life would be chaotic without a system of common understanding. This is the role that language plays. This chapter presents the theoretical assumptions guiding the qualitative ethnographic work and the analysis of student sex talk. It is entitled representation in order to capture the essential idea that meaning is contained, reproduced and shared in language. The first part presents the notion of representation in the context of culture and interaction. The concept of social constructionism is explored in order to locate the idea that social interaction is premised on collective understanding, which is socially constructed. Discourse and conversational analyses are presented. The chapter starts with notions of representation and concludes by weaving a tapestry that shows the linkages between the various theoretical constructs that this research has borrowed from.

Representation and language as discourse

Sexuality, sex and HIV/AIDS are discursively constructed. This means that they have meaning only within other discourses which we use to make sense of them and the language which is used in the discourses that are (re)circulated (Cameron and Kulick, 2003). Therefore it is in the language of representation that the reality of sexuality is expressed and categories through which sexual desires, identities and practices are produced. Representation plays a role in the process of cultural production (Du Gay and Hall, 1996, Hall and Open University, 1997). Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay outline a five-staged process in which cultural production takes place. This outline is known as a circuit of culture. The underlying idea of this circuit is that meaning is a shared convention. This sharing takes place through the means of language. Thus language is considered a central tenet of meaning and necessarily of culture. "It is the repository of cultural values and meanings" (Hall, 1997). In this cultural experience, language plays the role of a representational system in which signs and symbols are used for interaction. These signs and symbols can be visual and verbal codes, narratives, objects or metaphors, used to represent concepts, ideas or feelings (Hall, 2002, Marr, 1995, Potter and Wetherell, 1987, Silverman, 1993, Tomaselli, 1996).

Language as a representational system is the core medium for communication, and therefore interaction, which is essential to the production and circulation of meaning within the sphere of interaction. As a context within which meaning is signified, individuals are born in a system, which has language as a classifying system. These individuals in turn become active participants within the signifying practices (Gadamer, 1989). One is born into a culture; as such one is enmeshed into a representational system. As individuals we find ourselves located within a discourse community with its interpretive repertoires. As such, conversation is never something that we conduct, "Rather, it is generally more correct to say that we fall into conversation, or even that we become involved in it" (Gadamer, 1989 :345). Students enter the university which, in itself, is an interpretive community with unique discursive processes. It is thus correct to indicate that students find themselves enmeshed into a culture of student life but also become active agents of cultural reproduction.

Language informs and is nourished by 'a popular culture'. This is so because culture is a system of shared meanings (Hall, 2002). With young people, this popular culture manifests itself in diverse forms: music, dress, language, art, entertainment, *inter alia,* it is the way of life of a given group of people (Williams, 1953, Williams, 1956, Williams, 1959). For instance, we may talk of the culture of university life or more precisely the culture of students (Gonzalez, 2002). In anthropological terms culture, has come to be described more in terms of what is distinctive about the form of life of a group of people, community, or society. In this context culture is defined in Raymond Williams' sense by emphasising its 'meaning component' (Williams, 1953, Le Brun, 1959). It is a set of practices in which meanings are exchanged, 'the giving and taking of meaning' amongst members of social group (Hall, 1980:1). This focus on shared meanings is about feelings, emotions, attachments as well as ideas and concepts (Hall, 1997, Hall and Du Gay, 1996).

The process of inter-subjective exchange of meaning is the basis of meaningful encounters. People within any socialised group can read each other's feelings, attachments, and emotions even when the intentions are not to script them for public display. These meanings are not mere abstract categories of thought, they inform and regulate social practices, and influence our conduct with implications for practical life effects. This theoretical section underscores the necessity of culture as the womb within

which meaning is negotiated. Culture is an entry point into the life of another group. "It is participants in a culture who give meaning to people, objects and events. Things 'in themselves' rarely if ever have any one, single, fixed and unchanging meaning" (Hall, 1997). Thus the entry point into another's world is inter-subjective encounter.

Human beings give meaning to objects or experiences. The events that we experience are interpreted within the frames of reference in which we are socialised. We interpret and make sense of events, words, metaphors or images that our social world has bequeathed on us. According to the circuit of culture, meaning is produced at several places and circulated through various processes or practices. Our sense of identity, that is, who we are and with whom we belong is given by meaning (ibid). Our identity is tied in to how meaning is communicated within or between groups in interaction. One site of culture and meaning is communication. It is also produced and circulated through various media (McQuail, 1969). This may be in advertising, movies, arts, etc. When consumption or appropriation of cultural products takes place in daily life, that is, in rituals, practices, jokes and any moment of interaction which gives value and significance to cultural products, meaning is taken for granted. This process of meaning being taken for granted includes the use of narratives, stories, fantasies, humour, and dance. As much as meaning is taken for granted, it is subject to being produced and circulated through regulatory mechanisms of a social organisation (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

Figure 19: Circuit of Culture
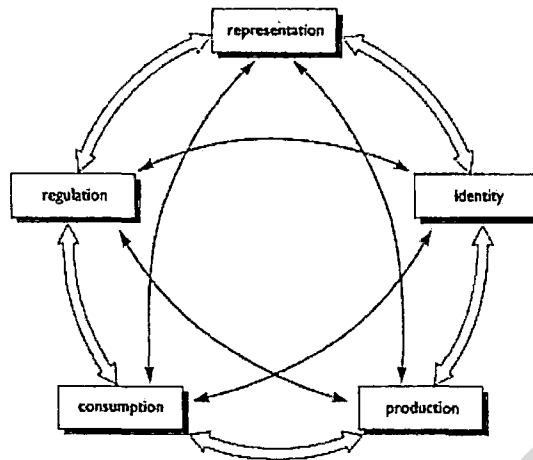
from Paul Du Gay, Production of Culture/Cultures of Production (London: The Open University), 1997

Representation within social interaction is made possible by the necessary condition of language, which is the life-line of communication. In order for people within the same group to share meaning, they must share the same codes for negotiating meaning. Participants in a system of communication must share the same language. If one is outside the cultural system, then translation becomes a legitimate means for negotiating meaning (Gadamer, 1989). Language is central because it is the main 'media' for representation. In the concept of the phaneroscopy, language is laden with meaning which is rooted in discursive practices. And in performing a semiotic analysis language provides the in-road into discursive practices which can be read for ideological signification.

Language: Culture, Meaning and Representation

The basis of human interaction is meaning which in turn is the bedrock on which individuals within a group can meaningfully connect with each other. It is a shared system in which individual members find meaning in being with others, " ... were the voices not particular, the dialogue would be false; were the language not shared, communication would not be possible" (Goodman, 1989). This is clearly displayed in moments when we meet individuals with whom we are not schooled in the same

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communicative tools.   Only in these instances is language appreciated as a shared contract (Habermas and Dews, 1992, Battan, 1992, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991).

In studying the language that students use in interactions on issues of sexuality, one gets an idea of how language is used to represent symbolic layers of meaning;

> *Language comes inscribed, as it were, with a worldview. Fortunately, this prior knowledge that we acquire with a specific language is not fixed once and for all. Otherwise, we could never learn something really new in our dealings with the world and when talking with others about it. And what applies to theoretical languages also applies in everyday life: We can revise the meaning of predicates or concepts in light of experiences we have only with their help (Habermas and Dews, 1992).*

This thought pattern is rooted in Thomistic epistemology whose assumption is that human beings are born '*tabula rasa*' (blank slate). Knowledge is then impressed upon human subjects through experience within the world of real objects (Stumpf, 1993). Even before we abstract essences, we first experience actual 'substances'. The object of 'firstness' is the actual thing as we encounter it[xxv]. Language comes in as a tool which labels these experiences in order to come up with a meaningful whole. Tomaselli labels the whole as the ideological level i.e. the common-sensical.   Tomaselli's (1996) reflections as a researcher are anchored in the philosophy of the American thinker Sanders Peirce (Peirce and Moore, 1998, Peirce et al., 1992). But Tomaselli takes on a central tenet of epistemology i.e. the idea of the 'phaneron'. In this idea, the use of the word "condom" for instance, implies having prior knowledge of what a condom means. The actual condom in itself evokes connotations of sex, HIV, family planning, and/or immorality.

When students talk about sexuality, they use images that are from a familiar environment. They pick images which are circulating within the public sphere as the space of social interaction. This is the space of inter-subjective exchange in which the subjectivities of individuals in interactions are turned inside out in order to make their subjective feelings overtly available. The 'I-thou encounters' of Martin Buber (Peck, 1993) and the 'problem-mystery' conceptions of Gabriel Marcel (Marcel, 1948, Marcel

et al., 1984, Marcel, 1967) attest to a rich tradition of this approach. When students talk, joke, and appropriate the language of sex and sexuality, they do so in an exchange of value systems that reflects their belief systems. It becomes a moment to trade ideological standpoints. These discourses of talk on sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS do not necessarily lead to action, but do inform and may motivate behaviour (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, Chi-Chi et al., 2007). It is enough that a socialized system of thought is available, and sometimes acted on, that we can deduce a structure that informs behaviour and the reproduction of 'senses of belief', common sense that is a source of knowledge. The senses that we read about, hear about, or joke about are revelatory of a belief system just as much as a belief system is fed by these discourses. If sex is considered a commodity within the social fabric; this indicates the possible direction which a particular community might have.

Language: Reflective/Mimetic, Intentional, Constructionist

Language can be categorized in three ways; the reflective, intentional and constructionist (Hall, 1997). In the reflective tradition, language is thought to exist in the object itself. In the intentional tradition, the author is the one with the authority to give meaning to an object. In the constructionist view, language has a social and public character. Neither the source nor the community fixes meaning. "Things don't mean: we construct meaning, using representational systems i.e. concepts and signs" (Du Gay and Hall, 1996, Hall, 1997). It is this constructionist view that I take as my theoretical frame of reference. I also make a clear distinction between materiality and the forms of expressing of this materiality in language.

Social constructionism offers a framework for the interpretation of how students construct, change, or sustain their reality through social engagements with peers. The position of social constructionism is that reality is actively brought into being through a process of collective action in which meaning is produced, reproduced, and exchanged in communication. Reality is invented, modified and sustained through communication and interaction. Talk, as representational action, is the *modus operandi* of this process of the formation of reality. This is articulated in the works of Berger and Luckmann (1966). The duo was the first to employ the words social constructionism in a title of a book. Reality is talked into existence. It is in the daily dialogue of relating that students

construct their view of sexuality and the meanings associated with it. For example, the fact of having unique ways of talking about sex shows how students regulate the subject within their order of interaction. What we see as reality is a product of social, cultural, and interpersonal processes. Four assumptions underlie social constructionism:

- Existing concepts aid inquiry, they are the basis for identifying meaning.

- Meanings and connotations are relative across time and culture

- The persistence of concepts depends on usefulness, truthfulness or validity and relevance within the established order.

- The way the world is labeled has consequences on the way experience is organized.

The critical assumption in this study is that talk reveals the nature of attitudes and practices within a discourse community and in this case that of students. The emerging discourses create a framework within which knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and practices collectively shape and inform behaviour. Social constructionism explores evolving meanings that are continually reproduced within social interactions. New concepts emerge which are a product of interaction. This is only possible within the womb of communication. Reality is thus constructed in the active process of interaction and the individual is an active participant in this process of producing, circulating and reproduction of knowledge (Hall, 2002, Hall and Du Gay, 1996). This is done within the womb of culture, popular or traditional. The social constructionist school of thought has been taken on in various approaches.

The following sections discuss these various approaches to social constructionism. The section starts by relating discourse analysis and conversational analysis, then moves on to discursive psychology and its role in conversational analysis, the field of ethnomethodology, metaphors as vehicles of meaning, the notion of the phaneroscopy, Goffman and the interactional order, language as relative, language and silence, and it ends with a discussion on the nature of scripting theory. The crux of the argument is that the understanding of the nature of reality as socially constructed is pervasive in academic tradition. Hence the conclusion to this section gives a merged view of how these theories are being perceived in the context of this study as a whole. It is argued

that the students' socially constructed reality creates and reproduces a collective ethos that may strengthen or weaken collective efficacy in response to the threat of HIV/AIDS. Student talk may be reminiscent of the influence that students may have on each other's attitudes and perceptions of HIV/AIDS, sex and sexuality.

Relating Discourse analysis and conversational analysis

'The communication view of language is common-sensically psychological: language is viewed as representation and transmission between minds, so that minds become visible and available.' (Edwards, 1995: 585).

Discourse analysis and conversational analysis was introduced into social psychology by Potter and Wetherell (1987). They drew the basic tenets of this approach from Austin's Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962) and Garfinkel's Studies in Ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967). They contested the prominent view that saw language as representational, holding instead that language is active. For instance, talking is an active performance of a social act. In this understanding, discourse analysis embraces a set of images, beliefs and metaphors that can be read for meaning. These can be written or verbal. The method for the analysis of discourses lies in the social constructionist's paradigm: that discourses give insight into a people's perception. Our manner of thinking and arranging these discourses may vary depending on our ideological vistas. We have a claim on our conceptions and are responsible for the appropriation of knowledge that is circulated in the domain of interaction.

Conversational analysis deals with the deliberate analysis of patterns of talk. It deals with how we talk, and when and how we are aware that it is our turn to talk (turn taking). It also appreciates the different contexts of speech acts. These could be medical interviewing, joking, narrating and acting (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999, Deacon et al., 1999, Tomaselli, 1996). Discourse analysis from a linguistic perspective analyses the bolts and nuts of talking, whereas in cultural studies one is primarily concerned with broader patterns of talk (Kopano and Norman, 2003) and the inherent meanings.

Discursive Psychology and its role in Conversational Analysis

Developed by Edwards and Potter (1992), discursive psychology looks to language as the construction yard and not a mirror. The objective is to study discourse in order to unveil what descriptions in talk or jokes reveal inferentially about the disposition of the speaker. As such, language is constructed, as it is a constructor.

Amongst the founders of interactionism, rooted in sociology and philosophy, are George Herbert Mead (1934) who founded interactional symbolism in his book, '*Mind, self and society*'. In this he shows that as human beings we construct our own and each other's identities through our everyday encounters with each other in the social order (Burr, 1995); But the real influence on social constructionism is rooted in Berger and Luckmann's (1966) '*The social construction of reality*' who argue that human beings construct and sustain social practices through interaction. This is done through three processes, externalisation, objectivation and internalisation (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). On externalisation, people are seen as giving visible symbolic expression to their worldview. Objectivation is the process by which the externalised attains the status of objectivity. Finally, internalisation is the process by which the objectivated social world is retrojected into consciousness in the process of socialisation. Kenneth J. Gergen in 1973[xxvi] postulates the ever-changing nature of the human experience as the only enduring form of existence. As such, the world is never completely studied as if in a frozen state of existence. This formed his contributions to the emergence of social psychology and narratives. Social psychology sought to disentangle itself from the laboratory-based framework and engage with the ordinary experiences of people (Burr, 1995). For more work, Armistead (1974) discusses the pangs of birth of social psychology and the struggles to embrace existential phenomena in its everydayness.

Ethno-methodology

The process of listening to conversations falls within the general field of ethno-methodology (EM) by which is meant the immersion of oneself as a researcher into the subjectivities of the people within the research context. Ethno-methodology is concerned with phenomena of ordinary, mundane, concerted human activity (Maynard, 1991). This theoretical perspective resonates with Goffman's 'neglected situations' and

the interactional order (Goffman, 1967, Williams, 1986). I have borrowed constructs from Conversation Analysis (CA) which I have used as an approach to study everyday life and interaction of students, especially with reference to HIV/AIDS discourses (Maynard and Clayman, 2003). CA falls within the category in which EM and CA seek to study social life *in situ* and from the standpoint of societal members themselves (Maynard and Clayman, 2003). The underlying assumption of listening to conversations is that persons in a conversation are relays of meanings operative in a larger social system. As such, the use of these methods provides useful details that unwrap the hidden meanings of ABC discourses amongst students.

Meaning is understood to exist before consciousness and as such has objective existence within the existential field of experience. Mead (1934) states, "The response of one organism to the gesture of another in any given social act is the meaning of that gesture" (p.78). It is upon this basis that listening to conversation is consistent in its quest to unveil behavioural portrayals that signal internalized values, rules, norms, and attitudes (Maynard, 1991). The students' attitudes, rules and values towards ABC are unveiled. This allows room for understanding students' subjective feelings that emerge out of routine actions. This notion works to include "practical intersubjectivity" (Habermas and Nicholsen, 1990) which refers to the role of communication, language, and mediated interaction as aspects of concrete social acts (Maynard, 1991). It is in this aeon of human interaction that listening to conversations finds relevance to the exploration of ABC discourses. In listening to conversations, I have used constructs of CA: "CA is concerned with the methods and practices whereby participants in talk, action, and social interaction-who are 'communicating' with one another by the use of symbols and language-manage their joint affairs" (Maynard, 1991). CA is concerned with analysing language 'beyond the sentence' to unpack meaning (Mouton, 2001)[xxvii]. Unlike the bolts and nuts of linguistic CA, my interests are in the larger discourses of language use as patterns of organised talk (Foucault, 1972, Goffman, 1981). This is where the phaneron picks up and takes the notion of the whole in conceptualising objects of experience and their mode of interpretations as encountered by an interpretive community. The theoretical assumption is that meaning is embedded in the larger discourses that become hegemonic in practices and representations. These discourses become so entrenched as to take on the status of myth/ideologies in practice as well as

in representation. Attached to discursive practices is the expression of belief systems, myth or ideologies through metaphorical representations.

Metaphors[xxviii] as Vehicles of Meaning

> "...metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980)

What we talk about and what we listen to provides images and symbols that are prevalent in a particular time and place. The language used in daily social interactions and sometimes academic milieu may be symptomatic of a particular mindset or trend. This is because the concepts that we use govern our thought.

> "Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

For instance, HIV/AIDS has stimulated a way of talking about disease. Some of the images tend to be positive while others tend to be negative. These images are largely represented in metaphors or symbols that entrench stigma (Campbell et al., 2005, Wolk, 2003, Ross, 1988). For instance, the use of the word sex evokes different interpretations e.g. condoms, HIV, pregnancy, romance, depending on the context and the sexual frame that an individual attributes to the talk. It is worth noting that these images are powerful depicters of people's states of mind regarding a particular subject or notion.

As in the case of stigma which builds on images and language that represents people living with HIV/AIDS in a particular way, one image used of a person living with HIV/AIDS is 'chakumanda' (on the way to the grave) (Nyblade et al., 2003). It reflects not just a stigma attached to the person living with HIV/AIDS, but also the deep fears of the individuals who it stigmatises. The language used is a mirror of that fear – a struggle within the self. These images reflect the fear the community perceives of the HIV/AIDS condition. Nicknames like 'permed hair' depict how language represents disease through its visual clinical manifestations at the same time shaping attitudes to individuals living with HIV/AIDS.

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This metaphorical representation is true of many diseases (Sontag and Sontag, 1990, Campbell et al., 2005). There is a reason for the way people talk about some realities that they encounter. Sometimes the choice is made to talk about something in plain terms or in metaphors, or in other instances people may employ ambiguity depending on the purpose of the encounter (Mitchell and Wellings, 2002). Sometimes jokes are used to talk about issues that individuals may find uncomfortable. Young people tend to call each other names like, 'slut' 'player' 'virgin Mary' to reflect a value system or as an attempt to tease peers. These nicknames may reflect their understanding of the sexuality but also of the ensuing gender relations. When a student is labelled as 'unmarriageable', they are positioned against 'marriageables' who are in turn reinforcing taken-for-granted stereotypes. In language, the choice of words represents a concept or a set of concepts. In communication, it is these meanings which we try to share with others in social interaction. This is how meaning is expressed in language. This way of talking about something can be studied in order to understand the conceptual layers of meaning. Lakoff and Johnson enunciate the idea succinctly:

> ...our conceptual system is not something we are normally aware of. In most of the little things we do every day, we simply think and act more or less automatically along certain lines. Just what these lines are is by no means obvious. One way to find out is by looking at language. Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

The key structure to a metaphorical representation is three-fold: understanding, performance, and talking i.e. the concept is metaphorically structured, so is the activity, and consequently the language used is also metaphorically structured (Ibid. p.5). The study of young people's notions of sexuality through language is an appreciation of the importance of language in revealing the ideological structure that may be influencing sexual behaviour. This becomes the route to understanding why certain health promotion attempts may fail. The phaneron is not something that we are always categorically conscious of, it is a state of the mind that acts as the 'script' for the interpretation of daily experiences. Individuals do not go around re-learning the meaning of objects of their experience, but the mind holds a 'scripted state' which

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guides behaviour. The following section analyses the notion of the phaneroscopic table and how it relates to the analysis of the metaphorical representations in talk.

Figure 20: The Phaneroscopic Table

Orders of Sigification	Peirce's Order of Philosophy	Phaneroscopy (Peirce's Categories)	2nd Trichotomy of Signs	Nature of Semiotic Interaction	Order of Discourse	Phenomenology
1	**Aesthetics** Description of Quality or feeling: the emotional interpretant	**Firstness:** Central Idea	**Icon**	**Encounter** Signifying organism's initial face-to-face reception of significant potentiality.	**Polemical** Aimed at evoking of emotional signs: racism, nationalism, infatuation, etc.	**Being-there** Strangeness at facing the new: the basic incarnate condition.
2	**Ethics** Analysis of norms in doing: the energetic interpretant	**Secondness:** Identity in the face of the Other	Denotation **Index**　Connotation Myth	**Experience** Recognition or response to significance: knowing how to conduct oneself in a situation.	**Rhetorical** Aimed at conduct or behaviour: persuading to act *this* way instead of *that* way.	**Activity/Doing** work directed at making the world: producing familiar material goods.
3	**Science/Logic** Activity of elaborating relations: the final or logical interpretant.	**Thirdness:** Codes/syntagma Mode of relations	Myth **Symbol:** Commonsense Ideology	**Intelligibility** Making sense in regular ways: transmitting knowledge about relationships between encounter and experience.	**Reflexive** Aimed at elaborating thought on relations between emotional and active discourse: producing new responses or conduct.	**Public Signs** Producing the new as part of the world: changing the world with new ways of doing (habits, conduct)

Source: Elaborated by Tomaselli and A Shepperson from Tomaselli (1996:37)

A tabulation of the Peircean Trichotomy, relating signs to discourse, philosophy, and the phenomenology of the human condition. The Table is designed to be read in terms of the multiple dimensions of significance and sensibility in the ways it is possible to experience the presentation and re-presentation of the world (as defined through Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1958).

Diffusing the Phaneroscopy [xxix]

The basic premise of the phaneroscopy is the phenomenological experience that human beings bring to social interaction. Whatever human beings encounter as objects of experience are interpreted within an already existing frame of reference. This frame is the phaneron/script which invokes certain sentiments particular to ones socialization. The encountering of objects, therefore is categorized in forms of a sign, index and symbol. This is because reality is experienced as symbolic.

The nature of a sign can have meanings on three levels, the iconic, indexical and the symbolic (Barthes, 1967). The first is the level of icon which represents the thing as it appears in the world of experience. For example, a condom is just a piece of rubber. At the second level, the 'index' is the positioning of a sign in context. It means that a sign takes on meaning largely due to the context in which it is positioned. A gesture of holding hands may have connotations of affection in one context whilst in another it may be a mere friendly gesture. In the example of the condom, it may for some people mean HIV/AIDS, promiscuity or protection, depending on the context.

A condom at the second level denotes 'safe sex' or 'contraception' but may connote a variety of meanings not connected to the thing itself – like immorality. At the level of symbol, which is an arbitrary relationship between a sign and the 'thing' it is meant to represent, the condom may signify, disease. An example of a symbol would be a red traffic light. There is nothing intrinsic to 'redness', which represents 'stop'. This meaning is based on a social contract in which 'redness' is represented as 'stop'. The same red light found in a different context may mean something else. Language, images, pictures, buildings and colours are a form of language (Gee, 1996, Gee, 1999, Fairclough, 2003).

The image of a condom is not neutral, it is a discourse, a form of language. It has become a taken-for-granted signifying practice. Acts displayed by people are signs which reveal structural arrangements within the social world. Sexuality is a language that speaks of a structural arrangement. For instance, it is about relationships, having

sex, childbearing, power, art, excitement, love etc. The way sexuality is organized reveals the arrangement of the language in that discourse. An example of homosexuality is apt: Homosexuality in itself does not mean anything, neither does heterosexuality, they depend on being defined against each other within given signifying practices. Heterosexuality may be seen as the dominant discourse and homosexuality as the minority. That is, the broader context of how sexuality is talked about.

Having an insight into this discourse is important if we are to address issues that affect students. In sub-Saharan Africa, HIV is predominantly transmitted through heterosexual intercourse. This talk may relegate other forms of sexualities to the periphery. As such, an understanding of the language that students are using to discuss sexuality is important for interventions aimed at mitigating the impact of the epidemic. The key assumption is that we act in resonance with the way we conceive of things. The conceptual system[xxx] which is the fountain of linguistic metaphor is metaphorically informed i.e. thought processes are metaphorical.

This is why verbal and non-verbal expressions are defined as metaphorical because they are representations of the underlying metaphorical conceptual system which informs them. But it is important that behaviour is conditioned by the context of its 'performance'. Sexual behaviour is no exception. It is subject to performance especially due to its private nature. Different situations tend to dictate different forms of acting with regard to sexuality. Students living under the watchful eyes of parents/guardians at home may behave differently from students living within university residences. This means that changes in subject-positions may inform changes in the way an individual behaves. It is this understanding that I take in the following section on Goffman and the interactional order.

Goffman and the Interactional Order [xxxi]

Human beings find themselves within an ambience of performance. Goffman focused on the ritual nature of social interaction (Goffman, 1967). The way individuals position themselves within a structure of interaction affects how the 'other' orients towards the actor. Goffman shows the value of everyday social interaction. He uses a

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'dramaturgical' frame to the analysis of social interaction in which he sees interaction as a performance in which the actor portrays impressions on the audience which are in resonance with his/her desired goals or preferred self (Goffman, 1959, Williams, 1986, Williams, 1987). This is also called impression management (Brown, 2003, Goffman, 1959).

This process of persona as a function of interaction with others develops identities that are in line with expectations. He defines the 'front' as the projected character that an individual wishes to be identified by. This is done so that one fits within the normative or the acceptable norms of one's group or adjusts for another. The result is a consistent portrayal of self to the audience so that an individual's activities are understood within this portrait of self. To achieve this project, an individual presents the self in verbal codes meant to highlight the desired self (believability) and the paralinguistic nature is given to the audience for the verification of the verbal codes. An effort is made by individuals to present the more socially acceptable 'fronts' (Goffman, 1967, Ostrow, 1996).

Individuals thus go through a process of mystification in which salient characteristics that are socially accepted are projected into the public sphere; whilst those that are seen as least desirable are relegated to the private experience. This canonises (makes favourable) the social role of the individual in the interactional order. In Goffman's analysis, this also happens with teams. Individuals and teams present a desired self in accordance with the perceived image of the audience. But a 'truthful' performance operates in the back-stage. In the backstage, the 'conflict of difference typical of familiarity is fully explored' and often evolves into a second form of presentation contingent upon the restrictions of the stage.[xxxii] A gay person living in conditions where homophobia is rampant may have to play 'hide' and 'seek' in order to position the self within this society. Corrective forms[xxxiii] of behaviour such as joking, chuckling, or embarrassment, seek to re-establish a disturbed social order (Goffman, 1981, Brown, 2003). These correctives deny the reality of a broken frame by seeking to redress it. Keys are preparatory behaviours, which prepare one entry into the dominant frame for the establishment of social meanings. They are a form of testing ground prior to a full launch. Examples of keys would be ambiguity as a form of sexual negotiation

which may be discussed variously in sexual relationships (Mitchell and Wellings, 2002). "Laughter, ...and joking behaviour, such as the case of ritualized joking at funerals, are examples of behaviours that likewise provide releases from uncomfortable changes in social situations and so constitute preventative corrective practice" (Brown, 2003).

When an individual speaks – formally or informally – sometimes what he seems to be doing is voicing an opinion, expressing a wish, desire, or inclination, conveying his attitude, and the like. These attestations of the existence of what are taken to be inner states have a relevant feature; they can be as little established as disconfirmed (Goffman, 1974).

It is these 'little as established as disconfirmed' notions that we are referring to as operative within an ideological structure of interactions pertinent to an interpretive community. Goffman has sometimes been criticised for giving prominence to micro-analysis of social interaction at the expense of the macro-level of social arrangement. "Society and its collective conscience, is a deep, complex, moral arrangement in our everyday encounters, to help each other stage our personal realities" (Williams, 1986). Behaviour is organised around norms. Some are overtly legalised whilst others operate in subtle and unsuspicious forms (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).

These norms are pillars of social control. Some of them find their way into legal tenets to become enforceable. Laws of decency regulate human conduct. The unwritten laws of conduct have stuck on the invisible walls of our social orders 'dos' and 'don'ts' i.e. the "ought's" and "ought-not-to". These guide us in keeping order. Deviation from these norms is often met with opposition, ridicule or sanctions. In order to survive, a performance emerges. This attunes itself to the expectation and leaves 'the publicly undesired' to the backstage of experience. In research, this discrepancy is encountered in the gap between reported behaviour and actual daily practice. There have been, however, occasions of protest from individuals and movements against such socially constructed sanctions. Feminism, gay movements, liberation theologians, pro-rights movements, pornography (in its various forms), and in organised forms in carnivals[xxxiv] are forms of resistances to established orders of social systems. Though I advance the linguistic/metaphorical system as normative, I am aware of the relativity of language.

But it is my argument that relativity in itself does not negate the linguistic system as a signifying practice which is used in ordering social interaction. The following section briefly argues for the relativity of language, and cements the argument on the nature of language as socially constructed and necessarily an entry point in understanding conceptual systems of cultural groups/interpretive communities.

Language as Relative: Whorf/Sapir Hypothesis

"Everything presupposed in hermeneutics is but language" (Gadamer, 1989:343)

The study of meanings (hermeneutics) presupposes language as laden with cultural values and notions. But language as a representational system is not absolute. It is relative and contingent upon the mental representations that an individual has. The cultural world of individuals is built around the language habits of the named group. This means that the language systems of given cultural groups predispose interpretation of the world around them. There are inherent linguistic systems in our minds which we use to interpret the world and its inherent symbols. Communities and their constituent elements get along because of the silent contracts enshrined in their language (Medina, 2005). The symbols are an implied negotiated system of significations. It is only to the extent that the world of the social group shares in this language that communication is possible. "Every conversation automatically presupposes that the two speakers speak the same language. Only when it is possible for two people to make themselves understood through language by talking together can the problem of understanding and agreement be even raised" (Gadamer, 1989:347). This communication is also a process of cultural negotiation.

Cultures emerge and are transmitted through language as a system of representation. The Whorf/Sapir hypothesis is both relative and deterministic. It is relative to the extent that it postulates that the thinking of a group is determined by its language and it is relative when it says that people who speak different languages think and perceive the world differently (Chandlier, 2008). The preceding sections have presupposed that language is always the expressed forms of talk, verbal or otherwise. But there is also

the silent dimension of language. The unspoken in itself, around particular subjects is revelatory of a discourse around the 'unmentionable subject'. Foucault advances the notion of language and silence. He goes further to call silence on sexuality as noise. The section below captures this thought pattern on regulations of the sexual and how silence has been pervasive in sexual discourse.

Language and Silence: Foucault

"(...) the necessarily restricted passageways of speech against which all possible meanings push each other, preventing each other's emergence. (...) speaking frightens me because by never saying enough, I also say too much" (Derrida 1978:9)

Representation for Foucault is understood in the classical sense. The key to classical knowing is the idea i.e. mental representation. From this it follows that "...language precisely as a physical and/or historical reality – could have no fundamental role in knowledge. Language could be nothing more than a higher-order instrument of thought: a physical representation of ideas, having no meaning except in relation to them" (Gutting, Fall 2003 Edition). Language is a mega-structure that is used to represent the idea only in its relationship with the actual objects (Gutting, Fall 2003 Edition). The form of representation of a particular idea in language reveals the dispositions of the social group at a given time. Silence is, therefore, a social phenomenon that is collectively experienced. Michel Foucault illustrates silence as a result of prohibition and policing (Foucault, 1979).

Silence itself – the things one declines to say, or is forbidden to name, the discretion that is required between different speakers – is less the absolute limit of discourse, the other side from which it is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said, with them and in relation to them within over-all strategies. There is no binary division to be made between what one says and what one does not say; we must try to determine the different ways of not saying such things, how those who can and those who cannot speak of them are distributed, which type of discourse is authorized, or which form of discretion is required in either case. There is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underlie and permeate discourses (Foucault 1990: 27).

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In *the use of pleasure* i.e. *The History of Sexualities* (1979), Foucault gives an overview, from a discursive perspective, of the conceptualisations of sexuality. Sexuality has had a long history of struggle, a quest for control, placing it within regulated structures of the moral[xxxv]. The appropriations of sexuality are legitimated by individuals, groups or institutions representing particular moral orientations like family, and churches (Gutting, Fall 2003 Edition, Mills, 2003, Foucault, 1986). Marriage would in this sense be seen as a locus of sexual regulation (Foucault and Rabinow, 1984). Foucault points out that marriage in early Greece was not highly regulated in public display (ibid). He deconstructs pastoral power when he says that there was "...nothing resembling those long lists of possible acts, such as one finds in the penitential books, the manuals of confession, or in works on psychopathology; no table to define what was licitly permitted, or normal, and to describe the vast family of prohibited gestures" (Foucault, 1979).

Sexuality is a powerful force of undetermined limits with an appearance of innocence. It has seen much regulation in how it is talked about, acted out and the consequent 'don'ts' of the sexual act with the recommended 'natural' position (39)[xxxvi]. This prescribed suspicion of sexual desire was a feature of the Christian tradition especially in reference to sexuality (Foucault and Rabinow, 1984). In the Greek tradition, the issue was not with the sex act in itself, but 'with what force one was transported by the pleasures and desires of the flesh, or as it was classified in religious regulation, by *carnal concupiscentia* (inordinate desire). What constitutes the ethical experience of *aphrodisia* is a dynamic relationship of the ontology of a force that linked together acts of pleasures and desires. The heart of this distinction is one of greater or lesser, excess or moderate. Moderation was thus the ethical canon to guide the sexual impulse (p.44)[xxxvii]. Through the study of language, we gain insight into the larger discourses. These are fundamental truths that are deposited into language which we can dig out using hermeneutical interpretation. Language becomes the vehicle within which normalising powers are circulated[xxxviii].

Foucault in this treatment of sexuality shows how ideological structures provide reference categories for the connotations that are ascribed to sexual relationships. The resulting discourse filters its influences in attitudes towards sexuality and especially

what may be deemed deviant (Foucault and Rabinow, 1984, Foucault and Gordon, 1980). The following section adumbrates the notion of script theory by relating it to a frame of reference for understanding sexuality. Script theory, was developed as a frame for understanding and explaining sexual behaviour. In essence, the originators appropriated the notion of scripts to view sexual behaviour as learnt. They did present it as a primordial drive. The experience of sexuality, like any other behaviour, is informed by experiences i.e. scripts that shape the erotic around objects of experience.

Scripting Theory[xxxix]

> *"When we act, what we achieve is to reproduce the ruling discourses of our time and re-enact established relational patterns" (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999:152)*

While Foucault dealt with the ideologies influencing discourse, Simon and Gagnon analysed how cultural scenarios are present in interpersonal relationships and in particular manifested in individual categorical choices. They placed sexuality within the relational context. This presented the basis of their novel approach to sexuality which they termed scripting theory (Gagnon and Simon, 1970). Scripting theory was developed by Simon and Gagnon (1970) to explain how social constructions of sexuality become institutionalised (Simon and Gagnon, 1986). The pair frame their work within a progressive tradition which seeks to liberate sexuality from 'traditional meta-psychological conservatisms' (Simon and Gagnon, 2003, Simon and Gagnon, 1986). From a traditional libido theory which considers sexuality as an unchanging constant in an ever-evolving cultural sphere to one which is constructed within a system of symbols and metaphors (Simon and Gagnon, 2003). They rejected the hypothesis that powerful psychosexual drives are fixed biological attributes (Gagnon and Simon, 1970). In underscoring the socially constructed nature of sexual experience, Simon and Gagnon objected to a dominant biological determinism discourse:

> *...we reject the even more dubious assumption that sexual capacities or experiences tend to translate immediately into a kind of universal "knowing" or innate wisdom – that sexuality has a magical ability, possessed by no other capacity, that allows biological drives to be expressed directly in psychosocial and social behaviours* (Gagnon and Simon, 1970:24)

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Sexual activities are perceived as constructed from the dynamic interplay between cultural messages about sexuality, identification of situations as sexual and the interpersonal negotiation resulting from such an exchange (Simon and Gagnon, 2003, Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2005). On introducing sexual behaviour as scripted, Simon and Gagnon stress the following as antithetical to an essentialist Freudian tradition which sees sexual drives as intense, high-pressure urges that force a person to seek physical sexual gratification, drives that may express themselves indirectly if not expressed directly (Gagnon and Simon, 1970:25)

We see sexual behaviour therefore as scripted behaviour, not the masked expression of a primordial drive. The individual can learn sexual behaviour as he or she learns other behaviour-through scripts that in this case give the self, other persons, and situations erotic abilities or content (ibid)

Scripts are as such stereotyped interactional patterns that are expected in social situations (Hynie et al., 1998):

Scripts are a metaphor for conceptualising the production of behaviour within social life. Most of social life most of the time must operate under the guidance of an operating syntax, much as language is a precondition for speech. For behaviour to occur, something resembling scripting must occur on three distinct levels: cultural scenarios, interpersonal scripts, and intrapsychic scripts (Simon and Gagnon, 2003).

Underlying this definition of scripts is that the arrangement of society is, that is, its institutions and institutionalised behaviour, a system of signs and symbols through which the requirements of and practice of specific roles are given like in a play or drama[xl] (Simon and Gagnon, 2003, Maticka-Tyndale et al., 2005). (ibid.31). These are the cultural scenarios which are instructional signs guiding behaviour on the collective level. But the actualisation of these signs is only present in the actual state of inter-personal encounter because cultural scenarios are too abstract to be noted and in some instances too obvious to be noticed. Neither are they entirely predictive of actual behaviour. This process of the reduction of the abstract collective scripts is known as interpersonal scripts. They are created in order to merge the abstract scenarios with the

practical interpersonal encounters[xli]. At this stage individuals participating in the abstracting scenarios have an opportunity to become active scriptwriters adapting relevant abstractions into concrete behaviour. The individual scriptwriter also weaves appropriate identities within the realm of cultural expectation (Simon and Gagnon, 1986). People in different cultures construct scripts differently; this is also true of sub-cultures (ibid: 25).

There is also the arena of intrapersonal negotiation between cultural scripts and interpersonal scripts. This comes as a need to script one's behaviour bearing in mind the scripted nature of other's behaviours and the anticipations of social action (ibid: 32). This intrapersonal scripting is a process that creates one's fantasies in which a symbolic reorganisation of one seeks to fulfil his/her desires. This desire does not create the self, but is a process of creating of the self. Fantasies are a drive to position oneself within a web of interacting possibilities i.e., seeing large parts of the environment in an erotic way.

A simple analogy compares this three-fold analysis of cultural experience to what has been labelled in 'ethics' as conscience levels 1, 2, and 3. Level one is like the abstract rules governing a game of soccer, level two is the interpersonal actual engagement in a game of soccer and the awareness of the rules of the game. But on level three, the relationships between the general abstract rules are made actual through a process in which the individual player internally considers various options for action. This is a symbolic expression of the desire of how best to manoeuvre in order to make the best act for the best result, most appositely evaluated as an economic appraisal of costs versus benefits. The integration of personal metaphors into a web of social meanings is a complex process, hence the necessity of scripting metaphor. For scripts are essential to social learning. This was the base of the novelty of the scripting theory in the drama that facilitates learning (Gagnon and Simon, 1970)

A constructionist perspective of scripting takes the sexual not as inherently significant in itself, but as having constructed significance. It becomes significant when defined as such by the collective (sociogenic significance) or when an individual attaches special significance (ontogenic significance) (Simon and Gagnon, 1986). Erotic experience is exiled from everyday interaction. It is considered as having its own context and this

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usually means the private realm. An example of putting out lights before making love would demonstrate this point more vividly. That even between seasoned partners who have negotiated their sexual histories, this dualism still persists. This also reveals the tension between an individual allowing himself or herself to actualise sexual desires and also to take into account the collective expectations from the dominant cultural scenarios. This phenomenon is known as disjunctive identities which answer the questions: 'who am I when I have sex? With whom am I having sex?' Scripting theory as a frame, admits that scripts can be used to explain virtually all human behaviour (Simon and Gagnon, 2003). In sex research, this theory explores the conventions of what a culture conventionalises as sexual i.e. the sociogenic significance.

There are similarities in this conception of individuals in interaction with Goffman's presentation of the self as contingent upon expectations. Simon and Gagnon call it self-observation which is self control which in turn becomes a staging of the self before others, following self-critique and that of others (collective). The individual actor submits to the playwright by making a bold decision that may or may not be in harmony with the self and with the collective. "This complex process of sexual scripting encourages the conservative, highly ritualised, or stereotyped character that sexual behaviour often takes" (Simon and Gagnon, 2003:35). Social norms condition individual behaviour to a very large extent. Every cultural group has its boundaries and extents. And around these boundaries are silences and noises. Some things are ostracised from talk whilst others are admitted. The non-publicly sanctioned behavioural norms are relegated to what I refer to as the world-in-between. This world-in-between is the gap between moral imperatives and actual behaviour. This is a culture of influence that is neither wholly sanctioned by objective cultural scenarios nor fully owned by an individual actor. It is a life in the dark area.

This point is critical to the nature of culture, especially popular culture. University culture creates an anonymous sub-culture which exists alongside the dominant cultures in which there is a 'schizophrenic individual or individuals' who are alienated against the sexual self and also the sexual other. Individualised erotic fantasies may be shared or kept to self, but they do find expression themselves in jokes, humour, and satire. They need not necessarily be acted upon but they do reveal a layer of meaning attached

to a certain cultural group. They reveal what individuals do not sanction as collective scripts and what is 'silently' sanctioned. The tension between interpersonal and intra-psychic scripting is dialectic with ever-evolving classificatory systems and definitions. This frame of reference is crucial because possibly the sources of interest may depend on materials that are drawn from components of intra-psychic scripting which is embedded in the interpersonal scripting. This helps to view the sexual not as a biologically determined essence with natural endpoints of the human "our natural dependence upon social meanings-upon symbol and metaphor-to give life to the 'body without organs'" (Simon and Gagnon, 2003:40). Tracing patterns of sexual behaviour in talk offers insight into silent conventions which are more often than not missed by public health interventions.

Conclusion: Weaving a Theoretical Tapestry

Representation uses existing images in the cultural space to make sense of interaction. This takes place on individual level (intrapersonal), social level (corporate, interpersonal, organisational, intercultural, mass media, folk media) as well as on the level of cultural scenarios (structural and ideological contexts). Communication depends on cultural images (either popular or traditional) to negotiate meaning. Sexual interaction as a form of communication uses existing images to exchange meaning. In this chapter, I have shown that images depend on cultural formation, legitimation, and re-circulation in order to become stable components of the meaning system. Different scholars have developed nuanced approaches to this sense-making process. Tomaselli uses phanerons as the image, Simon and Gagnon use scripts as illustrations of sexual conduct, Foucault uses discourses as ways of positioning sexuality within cultural experience; whereas as Whorf and Sapir employ the relative formation of images with attached meanings. What all these scholars admit is that meaning is constructed within a web of social interactions. This is the starting point. There is no essential existing 'image' for meaning. All symbols are relative. They last only insofar as they are useful and play a necessary role in cohering relationships within the social order.

Chapter Seven

Methodological Consideration: Focused-hearsay ethnography

Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodological considerations for the ethnographic component of my study. It forms a detailed elaboration of the process of the ethnographic study and its theoretical assumptions. The chapter discusses a relatively new concept of hearsay ethnography that is closely related to peer-ethnography. The chapter concludes with ethical considerations by highlighting the delicate nature of the subject. This section is supplemented by the quantitative section that is elaborated in Chapter Five which offered a general picture of sexual behaviour patterns amongst university students within the selected sample. This ethnographic approach enters deeply into the daily interactional space of students and takes on a 'journalistic approach' in listening to conversations. It is a qualitative phenomenological and interpretive approach based on the concept of focused ethnography.

While we talk of a study population in the survey approach, in an ethnographic research, we talk about a study setting. In the section below I describe entry into the setting, and the process of being with subjects of research. I have discussed Ethnography and in particular focused ethnography, which is the approach I have taken in this study. I have also elaborated on the subject of reliability and validity. This chapter concludes with the process of data analysis and the analytical frames used in analysing the contents of sex talk and homes in on ethical considerations.

Study Setting

Fieldwork was conducted at Howard College Campus and Westville campus in Durban starting from May 2005 to September 2007. I enrolled, and for purposes of research lived with students in the university residence. This peer ethnography approach (Price and Hawkins, 2002) availed me an opportunity to observe and develop networks for observation, and discussions.

The demographics of the University vary. It is a multi-cultural and international university comprising black African students, students of Indian origin, Coloureds, and Whites (see Chapter Five for detailed demographic characteristics). A number of students come from within South Africa, other African countries, Europe and the United States of America. Some live on campus while others are day scholars. Some students live in rented accommodation outside the university. It is however, a closely-knit community with sometimes-distinct racial lines in socialisation. In this participant observation, I spent time at dormitories and the areas in the vicinity, that is, football grounds, eating and drinking places, restaurants, parks, classrooms, public lectures and discussions, and attended debates. These areas typify places where students interact.

I had 54 formal discussions (interviews), one of which was with a peer educators' coordinator from HIV/AIDS campus support unit. These interviews were a follow-up to discussions and observations. For instance, when I observed a phenomenon like the over-display of affection in public by some students, then I would pursue this line of inquiry with individuals and sometimes groups. The choice of individuals to be interviewed was purposive. As the network began to unfold, trusting relationships emerged and information flow became easy to follow. For example, soccer games became a weekly feature in which discussions of the subjects of sexuality on campus were not uncommon. These groups were made aware from the beginning that I was collecting "talk" on sex within the universities as part of my PhD studies. The networks that developed would inform me of meetings or debates within the university on a subject related to sex. Sometimes I followed up meetings that were announced via the school intranet and posters. I attended seven meetings in residences aimed at raising awareness on VCT. Snowballing became central in identifying more interviewees and areas where discussions of interest to my research were being held. The following table shows the list of formal interviewees and discussants:

Table 8: List of formal interviews/discussants

Informant	Nature of interaction	Race	Sex	Union Status
Student/lecturer	IPD	White	Female	Engaged
Female Student	PD	White	Female	Single
Male student	PI	Black	Male	Cohabiting
Male student	PD	Black	Male	Single
Male Student	PI	White	Male	Single
Female student	NOD	Black	Female	Single
Male Student	NOD	Black	Female	Married
Male Student	NOD	Black	Male	Single
Male Student	IGD	Black	Male	Married
Female Student	PD	White	Female	Single
Male Student	IGD	Black	Male	Single
Male lecturer	PI	Indian	Male	Married
Female student/lecturer	PI	Indian	Female	Single
Male Student	IGD	White	Male	Single
Female Student	IGD	White	Female	Single
Male Student	IGD	White	Male	Cohabiting
Female Student	IGD	Indian	Female	Single
Male Student	IGD	Black	Male	Single
Female Student	NOD	Indian	Female	Single
Female Student	PI	Indian	Female	Single
Male student	PD	Indian	Male	Married
Male Student	PD	Indian	Male	Married
Female student	NOD	Black	Female	Married
Male Student	NOD	Black	Male	Single
Male Student	NOD	White	Male	Single
Female student	NOD	Black	Female	Single
Black female student	NOD	Black	Female	Widowed
Female student	IGD	Black	Female	Single
Male Student	IGD	Black	Male	Single
Male Student	FD	Black	Male	Single
Male student	NOD	Black	Male	Single

Female Student	IGD	Black	Female	Single
Female Student	IGD	White	Female	Single
Male Student	IGD	Black	Male	Single
Female Student	GD	White	Female	Undisclosed
Male Student	IGD	Black	Male	Married
Female student	PI	White	Female	Single
Male Student	FGD	Black	Male	Single
Female Student	FGD	Black	Female	Single
Female student	FGD	White	Female	Cohabiting
Female student	ID	White	Female	Single
Male Student	NOC	Black	Male	Married
Female student/support staff	FGD/Debate	White	Female	Married
Staff member	FD	White	Female	Married
Female student	Debate	White	Female	Single
Female student	PD	Black	Female	Single
Female student	NOPD	White	Female	Single
Female student	PI	White	Female	Single
Female Student	IGD	White	Female	Single
Female Student	PD	White	Female	Single
Male Student	FPD	Black	Male	Single
Male Student	IPD	Black	Male	Single
Female student	FPD	White	Female	Married

**Nature of interaction is coded in appendix XI

Field notes were not easy to write at the moment of discussion, save for some formal discussions. I would note the 'sayings' and immediately afterwards, write them down. At times, I would save a text message to my mobile phone on the discussion. When I was near a computer, I would send an email to myself. I interviewed students, lecturers, academic support staff and workers. This gave me an opportunity to note if others had observed similar phenomena. Like the findings of Edwards (1994), formulations of scripts in moments of discussion are set to position the interviewee or speaker in relation to the interviewer and or the spectator. I found the use of the third person a strong feature of sex talk. Performance seems to be the norm in issues of sexuality. But

there were also a lot of 'I's coming out in personal narratives as a legitimation of a point or subject in which individuals sought to give authority to a statement, concept or idea. In keeping with confidentiality and anonymity, I have decided not to use any names in this research for fear of anyone identifying themselves with particular scenarios, narratives, and stories (Weitzman et al., 2003, Leahey, 2007, Li, 2008). Use of personal names is also against the ethical norms of social research.

Ethnography[xlii] is a form of participant observation in which the individual lives with the community in order to observe the subjects of interest (Anspach and Mizrachi, 2006, Clifford, 1988, Bowling, 2002). Talk has been a subject of research in many fields, linguistics, sociology, psychology, and cultural studies. In my work, I have been listening and talking to students, deliberately focusing on sex and sexuality. This kind of participant observation is called focused ethnography. My work shifts between an interplay of sociology, anthropology, psychology and philosophy feeding into cultural studies[xliii]. This is the reason for borrowing the ethno-methodological tenets. As my own struggles began to emerge as to the nature of the inquiry, I sought constant guidance from Professor Suzanne Leclerc-Mdlala, a renowned anthropologist at the university of KwaZulu-Natal who advised on the nature of focused ethnography; "it is a legitimate kind of ethnography in which you focus on a particular subject of interest" (Leclerc-Mdlala, 2006).

Focused Ethnography

On one hand, we tend to buy into social-constructionist epistemology; on the other hand, we still operate out of the traditional methodological assumptions of disciplines like cognitive psychology and structural anthropology as we do our research (Kleine, 1990).

Focused ethnography is an inter-subjective approach to research which takes on the basic tenets of ethnographic inter-subjectivity with an interest to understanding how students talk about sex, and draw from emerging discourses implications for HIV interventions. The underlying assumption is that culture is a way of life of a given people, guiding how they interact with the environment. Within culture, individuals create ways of interacting with each other; in this encounter, individuals access each

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other's minds through interaction. Conversation becomes a point of contact and a route for the exchange of meaning. Communication is thus the filling of environmental space with symbols and images which give us the ability to understand each other and thus be in control of the environment rather than be controlled by it. It is through this process that changing forms of understanding are negotiated, positioned, contested and repositioned. We understand other people through interaction. This can take on varying forms, visual, verbal, mediated, unmediated and paralinguistic (Barthes, 1968).

Research as inter-subjective-encounter

Communication is the basis of research. It is the point of contact with others in order to understand them and the processes they are involved in. For instance, in trying to understand the subjective meanings people attach to behaviours, we use instruments and theories that investigate the subjective meanings through questionnaires, focus groups, and interviews. Sometimes we would like to understand intentions for certain behaviours, e.g. use or non-use of condoms or seatbelts. Sometimes we use participant observation to understand processes and collective cultural experiences. I study the voices that fill up this space. I find myself having to reflect on the self, my cultural background, religious biases and measuring fellow students' sexual behaviour by my own standards. By writing out the things I hear in my interactions with students, I begin to appreciate their views and challenges on sex. This is ethnographic encounter (Atkinson et al., 2001, Moores, 1993). It is focused ethnography (Suzzane Leclerc-Madlala, 2007). Participating in the life of subjects and capturing life in action has been done before, for instance in Malawi, where local researchers were trained to live among their people and record talk by listening to conversations and documenting them into diaries which were later analysed (Watkins and Swidler, 2006, Swidler and Watkins, 2007). This way of studying a culture is an approach taken up by Keyan Tomaselli and his team working in the Kalahari amongst the San people (Tomaselli and Shepperson) . Unlike pre-arranged face-to-face interviews and focused group discussions, this approach has the added advantage of 'being with', that is, documenting and recording behaviour in its natural context. I found that ordinary conversations and jokes reveal natural processes of a people's way of life. Other researchers like Susan and Swidler (2006) have used these kinds of ethnographic studies by employing members of the

communities who used conversational journals to record experiences *in situ* (Watkins and Swidler, 2006, Watkins, 2004, Kaler, 2004). Other researchers have documented diaries relating to discourses of talk amongst women and men in informal conversations (Kaler, 2004). Amongst the advantages of such ethnographic studies, which engage with communities, are that:

- They provide a different view on the complex processes of culture and social life than is yielded in most interviews and or positivistic survey-based research. This critique applies also to armchair ethnography;

- They allow for Provision for entry to local worldviews in ways that do not necessarily need the presence of an outsider interviewer or ethnographer, as the local researchers themselves take up this space; and

- They offer an appreciation of listening , which undergirds the public and overt elements of culture.

Reliability and Validity

Before I entered the field, a clear theoretical lens seemed to anticipate the subject. But once in the field, with data filtering in, I began to lose the initial confidence. As Bishop narrates:

I learnt to design research, and I designed in, I thought, reliability. I would "write it down" through field-notes, personal memos, copious participant-observer data collection-video, audio, interview transcripts, and so on. I knew I would increase validity through rigorous data analysis-charting, cross-checking (triangulation), coding, and so on....Along the way, over a thirty-month period, as you can imagine, I became less sure, less able to translate method's book injunctions into research realities (sic)" (Bishop, 1992).p.148

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz writes on ethnography:

...(that) the writing of ethnography involves telling stories, making pictures, concocting symbolisms, and deploying tropes is commonly resisted, often fiercely,

because of a confusion, endemic in the West since Plato at least, of the imaginary,
the fictional with the false, ,making things out with making them up (Geertz,
1973:140).

I found that in this ethnographic encounter, writing up is an interpretive act just as is writing it down. Unlike positivism, in general, there is an assumption that validity and reliability is attained with an 'empiricists bird's eye view' into the phenomenon under investigation. One tends to forget that what is written down is what becomes data in the write-up (Bishop, 1992). All research, more so, ethnographic research, depend on tropes, researcher personas, and persuasions. This was true of my own experiences in the field. I managed to break through some barriers because my personality, which is jovial, could crack through areas of sex talk that are usually considered 'taboo'. They all fall within the threefold classical epistemological horizon: *logos* as appeal to reason, *pathos* (appeal to emotions), and the *ethos* (appeal to character or personality). In all these, the nature of the thesis, the researcher's *sitz im leben* (circumstances of research) and the target audience have a stake in the narration of the story. The 'saturation point' or 'thick descriptions' is an attempt at legitimating ethnographic realism. The use of detached language in positivist research writing is symbolic of an attempt at persuasion. I found myself wrestling between two disciplines, cultural studies on one hand and public health on the other: having to write in a detached voice as well as attempting to be an involved researcher who writes in the first person. While I struggled with these theoretical 'demons', I kept my mind well alert to the dominant paradigm in which research is taken as devoid of researcher assumptions, hence descriptions that are empty of emotions with conclusions stated as propositions or formulae (Bishop, 1992, Tomaselli et al., 2008).

There are difficulties in writing up of ethnographic data. One is the struggle of using the first person at the same time worrying about the 'transition between' data written down and the one that is waiting to be 'written up'. Then, another is that uncomfortable tension between 'making things out' and 'making them up'. There is fear of being suspected of making things up, at the same time worrying that data may not be enough. Or is it ever enough? It is with relief that meta-narratives that can be used as benchmarks for students of ethnographic writing are emerging (Tomaselli et al., 2008).

In cultural studies we have noted an authoritative use of ethnographic research for social, political and economic engagement (Brodkey, 1987, Tomaselli et al., 2008).

Why Participant Observation

> *In ethnography, "we learn the reasons for transforming "data" into stories that matter, journeys to be taken. Yes, reliable and valid stories are possible and needed, as well as stories of writing it down, writing it up, telling where we went and what we thought about all along the way" (Bishop, 1992, 155)*

As in the citation above, this study is about transforming the stories of students that matter. In so doing, this study has sought investigate a topic whose study may necessarily be oriented towards the socio-cognitive approaches. This approach results from the discourse of HIV being claimed by bio-medical discourse as its domain. Research methods for understanding sexuality and subsequent interventions were generally woven into biomedical assumptions (Lear, 1997, Gagnon and Simon, 1973). This being the hegemonic legacy in medical practice and research, there has been an experience of marginalisation for alternative methods of research. But criticism of biomedical dominance has not been uncommon (Foucault and Rabinow, 1984, Gagnon and Simon, 1973). Sexual symbols, like language, are vested with rich meanings. Language and symbolic interactionism can offer a viable theoretical framework for the conceptualisation of human sexuality (Lear, 1997, Cameron and Kulick, 2003). In pursuing this framework, the primary area of consideration becomes language which is the vehicle of ideas, the real-symbol of encounters (Jaspers, 1971, Lear, 1997, Heidegger and Brock, 1949). Language is, therefore, a necessary medium of study because observations may sometimes prove impracticable. Thus research which gives an understanding of the meanings attached to sexuality within its social context is explored in order to design context specific and relevant interventions. This is the basis of this study which envisions that;

> *The research is characterized by a prolonged period of intense social interaction between the researcher and the subjects in the milieu of the latter. During this period of interaction data are systematically, but unobtrusively, collected in the form of field notes. The researcher watches and records what people do and say whilst immersing himself in the host society learning to think, perceive, feel and*

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sometimes act as a member of its culture, and at the same time as a trained researcher from another culture. There is involvement as well as detachment. Covert observation poses an ethical dilemma, whilst overt observation must contend with the Hawthorne effect – people change their behaviour if they know they are being observed (Oxford Journals, 2007).

Focused ethnography addresses a specific subject, in this case sex talk and metaphors. The contents are noted and a pattern analysed in the light of the other.

Analysis of Data

I analyzed data from the beginning of fieldwork. I identified themes, coded them and wrote, and kept in soft copy form. In accordance with grounded theory, more details were added as themes were emerging from interactions in the field. Some of the themes were drawn from the pilot study that was conducted in preparation of this study. Open-ended questions were asked about nicknames; reasons for abstinence, VCT, and the nature of talk (see Appendix III).

I transcribed the interviews verbatim and took all notes. My analysis was informed by the principles of Grounded Theory and in particular, the use of constant comparison of themes within the collected data (Strauss, 1987, Mays and Pope, 2000, Charmaz, 2006). Initially, I used open coding to explore the data throughout the process of listening to conversations. This process generated many themes and I explored the various dimensions of these themes (for instance, the use of condoms, abstinence and the conceptual understanding of abstinence, or romance;) and how they were related to each other. Although I began with codes used by the participants (for example, *'shooting' as sex or the use of 'virgin Mary' for abstinence.),* the final labels used in the text represent my own summary of respondent's accounts (for example, sex as depersonalised pleasure as fitting a post-modern discourse on polygamies). Further analysis suggested groups of inter-related themes. Once these key themes had emerged, further development and refinement was informed by the literature on listening to conversations (Kaler, 2004, Swidler and Watkins, 2007, Watkins, 2004); and what Strauss terms 'experiential data'; (1987). A focus of the analysis was on 'deviant cases' where the accounts did not appear to fit with the emerging typology. Close analysis of

these negative cases assisted in further refining the conceptual categories as outlined in the conceptual frame, Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness, that is , what was said, its connotation, and the ideology.

I was aware that the observation setting, my role and interest as perceived by respondents and my individual disciplinary perspectives might bias both data collection and analysis. Despite this, I found that the emphasis of respondent accounts was actually towards aspects that reflected interpersonal accounts. During analysis, I was careful not to merely allow a bio-medical structure to influence the coding structure. Once the typology was established, I consulted with a reviewer who sought to identify the dominant version of the three levelled categories of sex in each observation, interview and discussion. I then read a sample of four transcriptions and independently identified the same dominant version for each. In addition to this validity check, I sought the opinion of anthropologist colleagues on the coherence and plausibility of the typology. Further to this validity check was a consultation with an anthropologist who had conducted a similar research at the university of Limpopo in South Africa whose findings shared common themes (Oxlund, 2007). Despite this careful approach to the analysis of the data, my own personality has not been fully accounted for in the presentation of the data. It is a challenge to carry out an ethnography within a university and let alone study the subject of sexuality. While it is was easier to associate with male students, deliberate efforts were made to associate with female students as well. This was a learning process in which trusting relationships emerged. There were initial biases to my experiences as my own cultural background, religion and ethnicity posed its own challenges. However, I must admit that it was not very difficult to conduct the study within the context of the university which is used to a multi-racial, multi-ethnic and international population.

Frame for Analysis

In order to focus my study, the initial research model to frame my area of research was as shown in figure 20. The research model helped me focus on the area of interest, sexual talk. This form of talk was 'listened to in the context of Condom use, multiple partners, Abstinence, Fidelity-faithfulness, Nicknames, and HIV/AIDS. Talk around

these themes was taken as denotatively eliciting connotations which then could be drawn upon for ideological analysis.

Figure 21: Initial Research model for qualitative

The Initial Research model
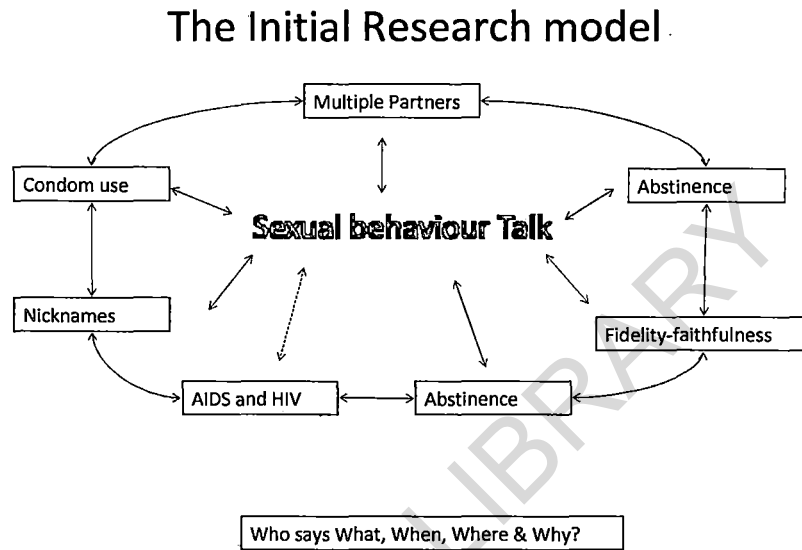
Figure 22: Analytic Frame-adaptation of Phaneroscopic

ORDER OF SIGNIFICATION	PHANEROSCOPY	2nd TRICHOTOMY	NATURE OF SEMIOTIC RELATIONS	PHENOMENOLOGY
1	Intra-psychic scripts	What is perceived as fact	En-countering scripts	Being-there. i.e. Knowing the script
2	Inter-personal scripts	Scripts : denotative, connotative, myth	Experience: scripts in interaction	Appropriating scripts
3	Cultural scenarios	Symbols, Metaphors	Intelligibility: Making sense of socialised scripts	Taken-for-granted scripts in representation

Figure 22 offers an adapted analytic frame which explicates how students construct meanings around sexuality. This is where script theory and semiotics have come in to offer tools of analysing the varying forms of representations in sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS . In achieving this task, I have used the Phaneroscopic Table, modified it

into a Scriptoscopic Table, and then largely used it to frame the discourse analysis of the texts. The three levels of each table have been threaded through the analysis in searching for an explanation of how and why students talk about sex (and AIDS), with whom, in the way that they do.

Figure 23: Analytic Frame-example of interpretation

ORDER OF SIGNIFICATION	PHANEROSCOPY	2nd TRICHOTOMY	NATURE OF SEMIOTIC RELATIONS	PHENOMENOLOGY
1	Intra-psychic scripts Virginity	What is perceived as fact No sex	En-countering scripts No debut	Being-there i.e. Knowing the script Experience of virginity
2	Inter-personal scripts Virginity vs Sexually experienced	Scripts : denotative, connotative, myth	Experience: scripts in interaction	Appropriating scripts
3	Cultural scenarios Attitudes towards virginity/sex experience	Symbols, Metaphors	Intelligibility: Making sense of socialised scripts	Taken-for-granted scripts in representation

Appropriating the phaneroscopy in the analysis of scripted sexual behaviour

Figure 23 illustrates how the statements made by the students are explicitly subjected to both script and semiotic analysis: what are the connotations, myths, what are the 'taken-for-granteds' (myth/ideology), what is the experience (being students and having sex) and how it is made intelligible by the students among themselves and to the researcher. As indicated in the table, my study is located at the right 3rd level, the Public Text – as such is dependent on what students are prepared to share. This also dictates how sharing occurs for instance, in trusting relationships, coming to see me spontaneously. The advantage of listening to conversations in this context unveils how patterns of talk are closely tied into belief systems. Conversations reveal deep-seated taken-for-granted assumptions about the meanings of subjects under discussion. Constructs borrowed from the study of micro-patterns of behaviours in the context of conversations offer techniques to identify (and explain) patterns of talk. In this form, listening to conversations seeks to show the appropriation of meanings and experiences of students.

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Its interest is not in the truth or falsehood of a textual talk, but in representing the discourses that are present, their effects and the embedded ideological structures that inform them. In short, what are the discourses, what are the effects and what are the contexts? The scriptoscopy provides this frame of analysis in which discourses are discerned, effects elucidated and contexts elaborated.

Example of the three-level connotative associations.

Female student: "*I don't like condoms because they are for non-Christians*". On the first level, condoms are mere plastic prophylactics meant to be used in family planning and safe-sex practices. On the level of connotation, condoms are associated with promiscuity "*...they are for non-Christians*". Semiotic polarization is made when the assumption is made that Christians do not need condoms because they are not having sex outside legitimate contexts (by which is meant marriage). This female respondent is operating with a Christian-dominated ideology and her attitude to condoms is informed by it. While condoms have become hegemonic (taken-for-granted) as evidenced by higher consumption rates, they remain ambiguous in their connotative meaning. Depending on the ideology informing a particular individual or groups, condoms may in cases represent safe sex, family planning, or for young people in some instances balloons for playing with. Ideologically, condoms have come to signal protection and safe sex; whilst on the negative side they are still associated with promiscuity. This notion does not just affect individuals but also institutions which choose to identify a particular ideological representation of condoms, for instance, PEPFAR in its adverts prefers not to mention condoms but instead uses, Other/safe sex. This study was not without challenges; the following section discusses the theory and practical challenges of ethical considerations.

Ethics: Walking On the Edge

Ethics is a touchy area, especially when it comes to qualitative approaches like ethnography. My study is no exception. Field work is more colourful and challenging than most published versions (Tomaselli et al., 2008, Ryen, 2004). It is incumbent upon the researcher to understand that research ethics are not restricted to fieldwork, but the entire process, that is, from the field relations to writing up. The main aim should be to

let autobiographical experiences prompt analytical reflections (Ryen, 2004:219). One of the areas that need serious consideration is letting research subjects know they have the right to know that they are being researched, the right to know the nature of the research, and the right to withdraw at any time (Thorne, 1980). But one must be quick to appreciate the dilemma that lies between covert research and its ultimate illustration in data analysis. This dilemma has been recorded before; for instance, infiltration of religious sects in order to study them (Ryen 2004), pretending to be patients in a psychiatric ward (Caudill et al, 1952), Malinowiski (1967). Professional ethics is what distinguishes academic work from spies and journalists (Ryen, 2004). There are times when deception may serve the greater good of the research (Parker, 2000). This research, however, does not ethically allow for deliberate deception of respondents. Listening to conversations and recording diaries examines life in action with due sensitivity to social norms. There are situations when the protection of public interest is justification enough in engaging in semi-covert research activities. The use of public as a justification for transcending certain normative restrictions has been argued by some researchers, for instance, Parker (2000).

In considering the dignity of research subjects, **confidentiality** is of supreme importance. This may be more difficult in communities were confidentiality may be challenged with the subsequent risk of subjects being identified. In such cases one may choose not to mention the area of the research and in its stead give it a psuedonym (Campbell et al., 2005, Campbell, 2003). This is a moral responsibility that a researcher owes to the research subjects and to the community of researchers. He/she may not deliberately choose to cause harm (*non-maleficence*), instead good must be willed at all times of the research process *(beneficence)*. This study in adherence to ethical considerations does not reveal any names of respondents. Complete confidentiality and anonymity is observed. Places where some observations were conducted are not mentioned by location. This is done to prevent giving away respondents who may be identified and as such expose them. For every discussion and interview that was held informed consent was sought. In times of group discussions where the deliberations were formal, the group was made aware of the reasons for my participation. This helped build trusting and respectful relationships.

Trust is central to building relationships, more so in ethnographic research. But this must be objective trust leading to critical distance that allows one the space to watch from an 'involved distance'. Sex research, is still more delicate because it involves relations of trust, power and mutual attraction (Dewalt et al., 1998). Fidelity to research data in write-up is a mark of integrity. The process of writing these findings adhered faithfully to what was recorded in the field. The inclusion of the self in the narration of findings and eventual analysis of data is testimony to researcher's involvement without undue claim to 'pure objectivity'.

Chapter Eight

Results and Analysis

This chapter and Chapters Nine and Ten present the results of the ethnographic study. Chapter Eight starts by recapping the notion of representation and goes further to discuss notions of how students talk about love and sex, sexual behaviour, and the constructions of Abstinence, Being Faithful and Condom Use. Chapter Nine is a critical assessment of the notions of sex as a biological drive. Chapter Ten discusses the inherent implications of discourses of talk for sexual health and concludes with perceived safe sex among students. And Chapter Eleven further highlights the major themes learnt from the study by offering a critical analysis of the implications for sexual behaviour. In this chapter, a theoretical critique is made within the light of findings and justification is offered for the need to use *scriptoscopy* as a framework for analysing talk.

Representation

Representation is a depiction of what we perceive to be real life phenomena. It is captured in a web of meanings tied in to modes of relationships within the interactional space. Sexuality is classified into categories that aid meaningful interaction. In sexuality and HIV/AIDS research, various forms of classifications have been formulated and reformulated. These forms of classifications draw from and build on taken-for-granted assumptions about the body and sex (ideology) as viewed within a given cultural system. Representations depend on these taken-for-granted assumptions (scripts). As illustrated in the theoretical framework, discussions on representation have taken on a variety of '*scriptings*' based on critical assumptions of the nature and role of language in representation. Sexuality as a state of being is expressed and represented in talk. Sex talk draws on the common sense or taken-for-granted scenarios that in turn inform behaviour. These characteristics in themselves do not hold the essence of sex, but are 'forms' representing a relational dimension within a given 'cultural sphere'.

Sex and Love

The data that are presented in the following section represent phenomena that are no longer totally hidden from the public. They have been observed by members of the university who subscribe to postings on the *change@ukzn.ac.za* listserve[xliv]:

> *Elsewhere on campus in secluded corners, and sometimes even in the open, students sit on each other's laps and just about have sex (I often come across used condoms here and there).*

And in an informal discussion, a female student lecturer, looking at a crowd of students made this comment:

> IPD: White female lecturer: *Look at them, they look so innocent, but we know there is so much shagging around here*

When students talk about sex, it is sometimes associated with romantic love. Romantic love is an idea rooted in normative discourses of a pre-conceived social order governing sexuality. The very idea that sex must be tied in to romance represents a positioning of sex within a social order. This is because meaning is generated in positions of difference (Hall, 2002), and sexuality is positioned either within a liberal ethic or a 'traditionally Judaeo-Christian' ethic or cultural scenarios. In the liberal ethos, sex is embraced as part of the process of human interaction, but it does not determine one's position in this interactional order. And in the Christian ethic, sex is conceived as a tool, which is instrumental for an exclusive monogamous, childbearing-oriented marriage within set legal boundaries. In cultural scenarios, sex takes on various connotations depending on gender and the nature of the discussion, and the broader ideological vistas within which the individual or communities operate e.g. patriarchy. In cases where patriarchy is the dominant ideological interpretive frame, women may be talked about in subordinating discourses. Females may also perceive males as intrinsically oriented towards dominance and aggression leading to unequal gendered subject positions. This view comes out in some discussions with students in which sex seems to be objectified as pre-negotiated i.e. it is part of the package of being in a

relationship in which sex may be anticipated. But the connotations reveal relationships as occasioning the inevitability of sex:

PD: White female student: *When a boy and a girl come together to relate, there is always the risk of sex. It is just a fact which is always there'*

As noted above, the discussion seems to suggest that sex is seen as more likely than not to occur in a male/female relationship. There is, as such, no clear, structured way of expressing ones' sexuality. Students seem to struggle with the daily appropriation of the meaning of love, sex and intimacy. They do not go out seeking merely to prey on each other, but there is a desire for intimacy: which is an expression of a need to love and to be loved. This has become an attribution of connotations associated with affective sexuality. The implication is the moral blame placed on the expression of sexuality outside boundaries of morally accepted scripts. This is what Foucault refers to as the restriction of the sexual to the confines of the bedroom, in a monogamous, male/female relationship (Foucault and Rabinow, 1984).

Living Arrangements

Some students living within campus seem to enter into stable relationships. Some of them go on to live together on campus residences in relationships that may be labelled 'cohabiting' as differentiated from marriage. Despite university regulations which ban co-sharing of rooms, especially with 'pseudo-couples', the practice goes on in campuses within restricted residences. These relationships seem to ignore the rules in order to meet relational needs. On a denotative level they seem to be represented as mere rebellious behaviour espoused by students. But this practice operates within a modern cultural sphere of liberated expressions of sexuality. Rules and regulations seem to be interpreted as arbitrary. Ideologically, these relationships represent a shifting emphasis on relationships between individuals as the more dominant determinants of sexualities and their inherent identities. These relationships may be an expression of love and intimacy as perceived by the subjects by which is meant a sharing of love, with or without marital constraints regulating the relationship. In an interview with a male student who was living with his girl-friend, he described his feelings on his relationship with his girlfriend:

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PI: Black male Student: *I live with her because I love her. I don't want her to be far away from me. When she is near, I am assured that she is mine. We prepare meals together and live like a couple. She is a good woman and I hope she will be a good wife* (laughs)...*sometimes they can change, but this one is mature*

This expression shows a typical living-together relationship. The emphasis is on being with the other. *"I live with her because I love her. I don't want her to be far away from me"*. Implicit in this statement seems to be a feeling of possession with an aspect of loving and living as well as assurance of presence. This presence seems to fulfil an emotional need for intimacy *"I am assured that she is mine"*. Living together seems to provide the moment to assess the prospects of a good wife; *"She is a good woman and I hope she will be a good wife"*. This also signifies the tension that exists between living together and subsequent intentions for marriage. This version of living together resonates with what others have termed trial marriages. Though, trial marriage may represent an added value judgement to the phenomenon of cohabiting, the reality is that young people are living together in order to meet apparent relational needs. The above description shows a student who is living with his girlfriend because he loves her, but he is also allowing his thoughts to extend to the possibility that she should have wife-like characteristics. In this encounter, there seems to be tension between believing in love as the main focus of the relationship while at the same time a desire to fulfil social norms and expectations.

Other notions of love and intimacy amongst some students emerged in stories two students described to me in my office on what they expressed as the meaning of true love:

PD: Black male Student: *for me the greatest moment of love was when this day, my dad was reading his newspaper and mum got out of the bedroom and you know she had been sleeping and you know how one looks when they have been sleeping; she is yawning and rubbing her eyes. My dad, peeps through the side of the newspaper he was reading and then, out of the blue, says, 'I didn't make a mistake when I married you 25 years ago.'*

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The depiction of "...*mum got out of the bedroom and you know she had been sleeping and you know how someone looks when they have been sleeping...*" seems to signify non-adherence to societal norms of what it may mean to be attractive. The 'mum' was completely natural and did not need to polish her beauty according to expectations in order to experience the love of her husband. This comment seems to place 'mum' within a broader relationship with her husband indicating right choice based on deeper qualities than mere appearances. "*I didn't make a mistake when I married you 25 years ago*" is taken to suggest a state of commitment to an unregretted choice. The nature of this comment appears to signify in the student, images of romantic love beyond the mere physicality of sexual relationships or marriage. This talk is contrasted with notions of love and compliments that may be used to solicit sex as explained; "*but here you get told that, then you know someone is about to bang you.*" These compliments seem to fit with the script of 'polishing the apple'; by which is meant flattering a partner, presumably female in order to get sexual favour from her. This respondent is aware of the dominant expectations inherent in compliments that are a precursor of sexual advances. He contrasts it with love as lived in a long and stable relationship i.e. his fathers' love for his mother. "*This is what is called true love. Having been with a person for such a long time and still feel the same way for her*". This phrase seems to idealise the romantic (which also may very well be real) nature of the relationship he has observed.

> PD: Black male student: *This is what is called true love. Having been with a person for such a long time and still feel the same way for her. This for me what the greatest moment of inspiration. I knew what dad meant when he told mum that, just out of the blue, you get it. But here if you get told that, then you know someone is about to bang* [xlv] *you!*

In trying to make a distinction between the meaning of romantic love and sex, the other student makes a contribution and says:

> PD: White Female student: *"Love is more than sex"*

"*Love is more than sex*" represents the confusion that may exist between the meaning of love in relationships and the role of sex. '*Love is more than sex*' seems to represent a

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lack of fit between the association of love and sex in a relationship. Scripts reveal that students in relationships are likely to engage in sex. But also sometimes sex is sought after while using love as a proxy. The black male student cited above seems to imply that friendship and intimacy must precede sex. This statement is connotatively engaging with patterns of behaviour which may indicate tensions in understanding the relationship between sex and love. Love which is natural, lasting, and without artifice (as represented by the mum) is contrasted with banging which is temporal, sudden and instantaneous. Seeking to explore the subject further, I asked:

I: *Would you elaborate on that for me please?"*

PD: White female student: *Love is what is going on between us* (referring to her friend with whom she had come to the office). *This great thing, this feeling of friendship. You are my best friend, my very best friend. It is not about a ceremony. It is this understanding and love that we have, you know, it is not the sex, it is part of it, I mean, but it is that bond that we have, you get the idea....*

The meaning of love, as represented in the discussion, seems to be desegregated from having sex. Sex is represented as a part of the love-intimacy matrix, but not necessarily defined by it:

PI: White male student: *You can see it this way, you love somebody that you want to marry and you are sure about it. But you can also have someone but you don't have intentions of marrying them. They are just your friend and sometimes, yes, you have sex with them. And you can tell, you see because some girls are not just cut out for marriage. You also have the ideal ones; these are one we want to marry*

I: *What do you mean?* (Interjection by interviewer)

PI: White male student: *It is still difficult even for me to reconstruct the concept but it is one used for a 'decent woman'*

The concept of love and marriage is tied in to the notion of ideal and non-ideal in relation to marriageability. There is a paradox of how females may be categorised in

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two sets. The marriageable and those that are not marriageable, but are only good for sex. *"You can have someone but you don't have intentions of marrying them. They are just your friend and sometimes, yes, you have sex with them"* refers to females who are perceived as hot, but not good for marriage. They are *"the beautiful ones that we share"* as opposed to the *"ugly[xlvi] ones that we marry"*. The idea is that beautiful and hot girls tend to attract many males and as such end up being shared. This seems to indicate that beautiful females who tend to be open to multiple relationships may find it difficult to get a decent marriage. This is what boils down to the concept of the 'marriageables' and the 'unmarriageables'. The prevalent ideology seems to be one that tends to locate two broad stereotypes of the female. These stereotypes are deduced from general characteristics which are used to infer accidental characteristics into broader frames used to represent female students. One has either the *'ideal ones'* or the *'girls who are not just cut out for marriage'*. Two forms of love are attributed to these two female types, on the ideal ones, there is love, commitment and marriage whereas on the *'not cut out for marriage'* there is love[xlvii] and sex, but with no intentions of marriage. These ideations of womanhood conditions taken-for-granted senses of how female students are related to. Relationships may be based perceived status.

Love, Marriage and Regulation

Notions of love and marriage are discussed in terms of the primacy of love over regulations of social norms. The following discussion seems to illustrate the concepts of love as it relates to marriage in the context of regulation:

NOD: Black female student: *What is marriage? For me, I think the best thing is what we have. Just being friends like this...what we have is cool...sex is just part of the story. You know like a good conversation....You can forget about yourself and just love*

Black female student: *What is in marriage anyway? Do you really need to marry or get married to live life? For me, I think marriage is hypocrisy. We can just live our lives. Have fuck-buddies or one-night-offs and life goes on.*

I. *Who is a fuck buddy?*

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Black male student: *"Are you sure you don't know who a fuck buddy is?"* (No). *"It is someone with whom you have agreed to have no commitment to but just sex. So when you need sex you just call up each other. You don't even need to know their real names. You just have their numbers and you call, that is it. It is pretty easy; there are no other demands on you. No money, no jealousies, no quarrels. Just a good one."*

Marriage, though aspired to by students, seems to be represented not as an end in itself. It appears to be perceived as a status that can be by-passed in preference for a stable loving relationship. The value of friendship was featured as an important consideration in relationships; *"for me, I think the best thing is what we have. Just being friends like this..."* may indicate that affective love is important, while sex is also perceived as a part of the relationship. *"Sex is just part of the story"*. Sex is not the reason for the relationship, but is a part of the process of a relationship. This justification of the primacy of relationships, and the consideration of sex as arbitrary, is contrasted with the notion of marriage. *"What is in marriage? I think marriage is hypocrisy"* may signify defiance against regulation as espoused in the notion of marriage. This notion of marriage which is constructed as a normative ethical domain is contested and placed within the context of freedom: *"we can just live our lives"*. This may be the reason for invoking *"fuck buddies"* or *"one-night-offs"*. There also appears to be deviation from the norm of commitment as fuck buddies signal sexual relationships meant for pleasure, which means instant gratification and does not succumb to social norms. In some cases names are not even known. *"fuck buddies"* and *"one-offs"* may signify a convenient way of avoiding the demands of intimate relationships: *"there is no money, no jealousies, no quarrels, just a good one* (sex)". They are a way to get sex when one wishes to have it. Though there was no deliberate attempt at a gendered exploration of notions of fuck buddies, the distinction between male and female students did not differ very much.

The understanding of marriage appears to show that students are aware of social expectations (oughtness of conduct) but they also seem to admit the difficulties inherent in relationships:

IGD: Black Male student: *I don't worry about my wife, I really don't, I do what I have to do; I won't tell her, I go on. I won't deny myself any happiness...based on a ...philosophy...or theology. By the way I am a staunch catholic... "*

Black female student: *I agree,... for me it is much more an issue of not knowing what he is up to or where he is. I expect him to be faithful but he is a man.... you can't just trust them. That is why, I can't just be living here without someone myself. It is a tit-for-tat*

Married students sometimes, though pledging their love for their wives or husbands, seem to have other relationships as long as, it seems, these relationships do not directly affect their marriages. *"I don't worry about my wife, I do what I have to do; I don't tell her"*; Fidelity, in this case appears to mean not letting one's spouse know about an extra-marital affair. By doing what *"I have to do"* he seems to refuse to be bound by social norms, in which he is expected to express his love to his wife alone. At the same time the respondent is quick to position himself as *'staunch Catholic'* which may have been an attempt to reposition his presentation of himself in the context of moral laxity. Whereas the male student has no problem not telling his wife and going on with other sexual relationships, the female respondent gives *'tit-for-tat'* as a reason for infidelity. This tit-for-tat may not be based on actual evidence of a cheating husband, but is based on the gendered stereotype of men as inherently oriented towards promiscuity; *"I expect him to be faithful but he is a man...you can't just trust them"*.

Predator Masculinities: Male inability to control sexual feelings

Being a man is seen by both men and women to have a reduced ability to control sexual feelings. This lack of trust in men as a taken-for-granted belief is pervasive in many cultures (Szasz, 1998, Bujra, 2000). This feeds into the predatory discourse of male masculinity that revolves around issues of power, dominance and control; and subverts the position of women into victims. However, the representation in this narrative shows a different form of assertiveness or counter-reaction in which female students may absolve themselves from responsibility for fidelity by justifying their actions in relation to perceived male infidelities; *"that is why I can't just be living here without someone myself"*.

This female student seems to show that there is a rational choice that is made when entering into a relationship. The reason she gives is "*I expect him to be faithful, __but__ he is a man*" and being a man seems to be linked to being untrustworthy; whereas for the male student, his reason for having an extra-affair is "*I do what __I have to__ do*". He seems to appeal to the sexual as an imperative drive.

Candidates for marriage: Love, 'marriageables' and social norms

The notion of decency and marriageability appears to suggest the reverse notion of women who fit and those who fall short of expected social norms. The images are predominantly visual ways of categorising women. Women, who seem too emancipated, may be embraced as colleagues, but not potential 'marriageables'. The irony with this form of representation is that male students, who label the 'unmarriageables', tend to like these same 'unmarriageables' for purposes of sex. They at the same time want to have sex with them. As one student put it:

> PD: White female student: *isn't it ironical that it is the same male counterparts who would love to 'bang' a good moment with the 'unmarriageables' who prefer for a wife a female whose image represents what they don't like, I mean the 'unmarriageables'*

Though considered '*unmarriageabe*' these female students seem to attract male students. They are hot and good for having fun with. Students seem not to want to marry the female students who do not fit the marriageable frames, but would rather have a '*marriageable woman*' for a wife.

> IGD: Black male student: "*I like a girl because she is marriage material proper, not these fake ones*"

Female students, however, appear not to accept this generalisation of characteristic features without resistance. This came out during an informal discussion on the sequence of sexual scripting and the stages that sexual intercourse takes[xlviii]. A student makes a comment on the kind of woman he would like to marry:

This 'fake' brings out the perception of how real and fake females may be categorised. The fake category is the one applied to 'unmarriageable'. And by implication the "real ones" are the binary opposite.

In protest, a female student reacted to this assertion in personal terms. She uses the pronoun 'I' in describing her hatred of the term "marriageable". She seems to acknowledge the existence of the stereotype but goes on to challenge it:

IGD: White female student: *"That doesn't make sense! I hate that phrase that guys like to use, 'marriage material' just because I drink and smoke, that doesn't make me less a good person. I would like to think of myself as marriage material as well. It is so rude. I don't understand why they keep using it."*

Male students' appear to take the phrase marriage material to indicate the attributes of a 'proper woman'. In reaction, female students seem to position themselves within this phrase as a discourse defining their moral status based on inaccurate characteristics. *"That doesn't make sense"* negotiates the statement by the male student as positioning women on an unacceptable moral plane. *"I hate that phrase that guys like to use"* represents a distaste of the label. She places this argument within attributes associated with the phrase and by association confirms the script as existing with students' cultural space. *"Just because I drink and smoke, that doesn't make me less a good person"* seems to locate the self within the moral descriptive used to label a desired woman. She disentangles herself from the stereotype by renegotiating her position despite 'smoking' or 'drinking' *"that doesn't make me less a good person. I would like to think of myself as marriage material as well"*.

Denotatively, female students are women who experience themselves as persons who are not defined by moral attributes: Hence the *"doesn't make me less a good person"*. Being placed on a moral plane for their identity on the connotative level, they resist the position as offensive. In the frames of scripting theory, the discussion indicates a *'reformulation of the script'* in which the female student is re-negotiating her position within the dominant script that interprets female students by locating them within pre-existing assumptions. In saying *"I don't like that phrase"*, then challenging the assertion of the stereotype by placing herself outside what she perceives as inaccurate

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ceremony". This response may represent a desire to live above social norms. This may signify a general trend towards cohabitation as a language of shifting social norms that do not put marriage as representing love. Marriage may be an institution representing Judeo-Christian moral ideals, but not the contemporary cosmopolitan images of sex, love and love-unions (as a distinction from marriage). Hence in modern discourse, one does not only talk of marital status but rather union status in which is signified a state of union not defined by value-laden labels.

Freedom for sexual exploration: Love Away From Home

Entry into the university seems to opens up new experiences for students. For some it is time away from the regulatory frame of the family. For others, it is time when they take up responsibilities for themselves without the immediate safety net of the family. But even with students who live with their families, the time they spend at university offers opportunities for the expression of their sexual selves. As a result, the university can be seen as a less regulated space, in which students have to negotiate their growth and socialisation into adulthood. It creates a space in which dating can occur, potential spouses may be cultivated and romantic relationships develop. And behaviour that is heavily circumscribed back home, can be re-examined in the context of the university. Hence, the university offers opportunities for the exploitation and expression of romantic possibilities that may not be available in their home areas (which tend to be more highly monitored).

For instance, I observed that a large proportion of students who kiss a lot (but not exclusively) in public within the university milieu are of Indian origin compared with other ethnic groups. The following discussion explained these phenomena in the following terms:

IGD: Female Indian Student: "......*you see.... We are not allowed to have boyfriends at home and bring them home....so this is the only place where we are free to express our feelings*"

Black Female Student: "*they are not allowed at home to bring in their 'dudes', so they do it here....they even come on Saturdays*"

Black female student: *"It is not just kissing, wena* (you) *and it's not only the Indian guys,...of course for them it is exaggerated, but also students have sex in toilets.... especially in the drama department bushes...."*

The notion that "... *we are not allowed to have boyfriends*" may indicate a culture of regulation in conservative families. This representation is a move to justify the observed phenomena of kissing on campus within public places. The university becomes the only place "*where we are free to express our feelings*". The discussion seems to suggest that there is discomfort with students expressing their sexuality at home. "*They are not allowed at home to bring in their dudes*"; hence the need to meet at university even on Saturdays. On the first level of observation, these acts of kissing seem to be categorised as mere acts of sexual misdemeanour. But on the association level, they may represent resistance to regulation. Some members of staff's observations concur with my own. A member of staff makes an observation:

"The Westville Campus is NOT AT ALL a centre of learning. It is not conducive to education (or teaching). And the sad thing is that many students on the Westville Campus revel under these conditions. Education is secondary. Campus is a place to socialise away from the watchful eyes of overly protective parents "
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The university is beyond parental boundaries of control. This facilitates students' struggles to assert themselves within university cultural space that leaves them with personal choices in which individual values are renegotiated to suit the dominant cultural orientation of youth culture.

There appears to be an existence of structural tension between students living at home within an environment perceived to be hostile to the expression of sexual feelings, and the freedom they experience on campus[l]. Tension seems to arise when two contradictory forces are felt in the same setting. This seems to be the case here where students express discontinuity and disjunction between the two environments. Having sex within university public domains is viewed on a denotative level as inappropriate action whilst taking on a moral connotation of indecency and loss of moral values. But on a higher level of meaning, these acts stem from sexual permissiveness that may be

seen as a common feature of public spaces. On the level of taken-for-granted mores student public expressions may be seen as part of cosmopolitan, sexually permissive, and self-liberating experiences. *"Sex, that is nothing, there are worse things happening at uni"* seems to suggest the hidden and not often talked about sexual experiences occurring in the university. These acts may suggest what is normatively excluded from public discourse. Amongst these acts are pornographic materials. These are represented as *"worse things happening at uni"*. What is observed in public displays is only noted as moderate expressions of the sexual:

NOD: female student: *"Sex, that is nothing, there are **worse things** happening at uni"* (abbreviated form of university)[li]

I: Female student: *"But is it true that students have sex in the toilets, classrooms, gardens etc...?"*

PI: Female Indian Student: *"It has always been like that as far as I can remember..."*

On further discussion, a student narrates these phenomena as what has always been a feature of the university. For her, the justification for these acts is to position them as taken-for-granted: *"It has always been like that as far as I can remember."* Traditions, as part of cultural practice, build themselves and are transmitted from one generation to the next. *"It has always been like that..."* signals a passing on of particular ways of sexual behaviour. It seems to be expected as a way of life within a university. One is not necessarily expected to be surprised at what happens within university spaces.

University as liminal public space

In the university it seems the rules and regulations at home do not necessarily pertain in this environment.

There seems to be experiential difference with homes in which students succumb to rules around relationships[lii]. I met this older student and a discussion ensued on my research area. I told him of how I had observed student displays of affection especially

amongst students of Indian origin. As matter for my research, I wanted to know if at all he had observed something similar. The following discussion ensued:

PD Male Indian lecturer: *It is shameful, you see them kissing and touching intimately in public places, this is not good, Boetie* (brother); *I am Indian but you see these kids are free here at school and then they exaggerate it!"*

I: *"Why do you think this is so"* (I ask).

Indian male Lecturer *"You see, as an Indian we treasure family values, but we can't control these kids.....at home they feel they are in prison so they come here and do whatever they want..... wabona buti* ('you see young brother')"

White female lecturer: *"You know that they come from very conservative families. They come to university to study but then they discover sex and freedom. The two are ingredients for trouble. I see these young couples being funny in open places; they come on Saturdays and sometimes Sundays not to study but to meet with their girl-friends and boyfriends. It is a kind of semi-brothel for some students"*

Male Indian student: *" .., there is something you must know we are always fucking each other, any little space that we get we are on it; it is too nice, riveting, exciting, I must say..."*.

In this conversation, we see reference to the familiar stereotypes of families of Indian descent placing greater emphasis on traditional family values. We hear that this means that boyfriends or girl friends may not be allowed at home, and having to live within such constraints that they term *"prison"* is not inappropriate. The university then becomes seen as a place of freedom. University may represent a place of convenience in terms of meeting students' psycho-social needs, and it becomes easier to see how difficult it might be to use condoms in a toilet, for instance, or in the classroom or the bushes of the drama department. Consistent and correct use of condoms demands freedom in sexual negotiation and this furtive activity prohibits effective condom use. In some instances, some lecturers would use stigmatising and derogatory language, for instance, *"semi-brothel"* in reference to sexual activity. While one of the students portrayed having sex within university as 'pathological', a male student shows that the

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behaviour of students engaging in sex is not exceptional, rather it is normal. He goes further in seeming to show that sex is not negative, but positive. It is *"nice"* *"riveting"* compared with *"trouble"* and *"not good"*.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed notions of sex and love amongst students. Love seems to be an ideal that is admired but is existentially experienced as difficult to translate into canons of sexual relationships. It seems to be understood that sex is taken-for-granted in male/female relationships. The male/female classification seems to fall within a dominant power relationship in which ideological constructions of womanhood and manhood is hegemonic. Students may also have a relaxed attitude towards cohabitation. For some, it is an opportunity to get to know a partner whilst for others it is a moment of the expression of love without legal or religious prescriptions. In a dominantly patriarchial society, it is not surprising to find that the classification of female students is dependent on socially constructed subject positions in which females are classified as good or not based on accidents of their appearance and perceived character. This gives two categories of the 'marriageables' and the 'unmarriageables'. The former are expected to be obedient, docile and mother-like while the latter are seen as hot, not so good for marriage but for casual sex. The classification of male students seems to fall into the ideological men-can't-control-themselves biological myth. The notion of one-offs or fuck buddies seems to be an existing anonymous relational category. Other studies seem to have noted a similar pattern in some parts of South Africa (Parker, 2008). The university offers unique space in which students explore their growth and self-actualisation. This freedom opens up relational challenges especially those of a sexual nature. As liminal space, the university may still be identified as potentially a high-risk setting.

Chapter Nine

Sex: A Biological Drive?

This chapter discusses in-depth, the notion of sex as a biological factor alongside related themes. Sexuality seems to be experienced as an inert drive which is in search of expression. While female students are represented as more in control of their sexuality, male students on the other hand are seen as expressive and almost incapable of self-restraint. The choice of language reveals a taken-for-granted assumption to which both male and female students may subscribe, that is the notion of yielding to the sexual drive which is a force in need of release. This notion has implications for the way safe sex, fidelity, abstinence, the nature of risk and choice-enablement are perceived. The chapter concludes on notions of sexual fidelities.

Sexuality and the biological drive myth

Students seemed to represent sexuality as a strong, biological force, instinctive, almost written out like a 'biological mandate' which must be firmly controlled with the cultural and social matrix. The following discussion depicts how pleasure may be sought and the experience of inherent biological tensions:

NOD: Black Female Student: *"...this is the only life I have, having sex is fun, I would have it any time, anywhere! I wish there was a way to get rid of these periods because they are a menace. They kill the moment when I would love to just fuck away...".*

The need for sex seems to be linked to hedonistic pleasure-seeking behaviour. *"This is the only life I have, having sex is fun, I would have it anytime, anywhere."* menstruating is described in terms of a menace which seems to suggest that the biological function may get in the way of seeking pleasure. Sex can also be pursued for pleasure alone. This pleasure-seeking biological need is assumed as taken-for-granted in relationships:

NOD: Black male student: *"There are so many girls around here but the thing is they know who is harmless and that is the only one they come close to. If they*

come close to me I shoot. Whatever passes near the gun, I shoot. I don't have time to play. They just need it somehow, these guys. So don't play around with them, just give it to them"

There is a suggestion, on the part of male students, to perceive female students as naive and mainly flirtatious with the 'harmless' male students by which means those lacking interest in sex: *"they know who is harmless and that is the one they come close to".* Female students choose which males are 'harmless' i.e. are not merely aiming to have sex with them. In order to depict himself as different from the 'harmless' this students represents his masculinity as aggressive *"if they come to me, I shoot".* In invoking this military metaphor he seems to represent his penis as a gun *"whatever passes near the gun, I shoot"* while asserting the notion of the unstoppable male drive. *"Whatever passes near the gun"* seems to suggest that whenever a female would come close to him he would make advances to have sex with her. While literally not necessarily signifying the shooting of any female 'object', this discourse seems to suggest that lack of sex in relationships with girls is a kind of *"play"* hence *"I don't have time to play".* *"They just need it somehow, these guys"*: Females in relationships with males are seen as somehow looking for sex, but are unable to verbally ask for it. Sometimes, the mere presence of a female in ones' room may be deemed as asking for sex. *"You just have to give it to them"*, suggests that, although not actively seeking it, female students want to have sex. *"So don't play around with them, just give it to them".* *"Harmless ones"* is used as a reference category for male students who seem not to prey on female students.

Biological Drive: Irresistible Temptation or active choice?

The nature of the biological drive appears to be represented as an irresistible temptation. As a temptation, it suggests an external force. And if one fails to resist an external force, then he/she may be morally exempt from moral culpability. The discussion below is suggestive of the inherent tension between knowledge of what is expected and the notion of giving in :

NOD: Black male student: *" My friend, that girl you saw me with the other day. You know, I have failed to resist, I have yielded...she is a great girl I must say"*

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I: *"Please use a condom"* (Prompt)

Black male student: *"I will try; you know what I mean..."'*

Religious metaphors, such as yielding and resisting are sometimes used to mean *"having given in to sex desire"*. Though not explicitly stated, the use of yielding invokes a religious term from popular religion, which is often used in reference to *'yielding to sin'* or to temptation. The above quote comes from an individual who was actively involved in a Christian movement within the university. The use of the term 'resist' seems to indicate a desire not to engage in sex. It implies resisting temptation. *"I have failed to resist"* highlights that the alternative i.e. not having sex would have been preferable. The moral imperative is as such to resist while the natural inclination is to go with the desire. *"I have yielded"* evokes religious metaphor implying sex as a constant temptation. By implication making love is understood within the religious ethic that appears to inform student perception of sex as a moral challenge. The language employed displays sexuality as a battle to be won. One is in constant battle for self-control. Making love with someone is seen as a moral lapse. *'I yielded'* seems to suggest a point of giving in after a period of resistance. In religious discourse, self-control is a praiseworthy virtue. It is a mark of purity and a sign of a good Christian.

I knew exactly what he meant because previously he had mentioned to me the difficulties with condom use ranging from feeling like someone is choking him, delaying the process of having sex and struggling with how to dispose of the condom after sex. *"I will try"* does not reflect the obviousness of using condoms even the context of unfamiliar relationships. This may suggest that an effort is made to use condoms but it is also not always easy. The use of condoms in itself is not taken-for-granted behaviour. Neither is it anticipated to be used at every sexual intercourse. The expression of the biological drive is also predicated on the assumption that men are almost always available:

NOD: Black female student: *"Men are available, I need some sex and it has been long"*

The need for sex is in some cases seems to be described by students as a physiological need; *"Men are available..."*[liii], as true as the statement is, seems to feed on existing assumptions that within university, there is always someone wanting some sex and as such can be found at any time. Though an individual may not be in a relationship at a given time, they are sure of finding someone with whom sex can be had. *"I need some and it has been long"* does not show whether the other party as well is yearning in the same way. She seems to know what she wants and will present herself in a way that she is read as in need of sex. Though not conclusively, this seems to tie in to the metaphors expressed above *"they always want it"* in reference to female students.

NOD: Black Female Student: *"Wena, I have been a nun for too long; I am now developing cob-webs. I need a good one this weekend and no stone shall be left unturned... (Evaluates the mood and comments) 'wow, funny for a woman to say that, eh?"* (laughter).

I: *"No, I don't think so; you are just expressing the way you are feeling. But do you have a partner?"*

Black female student: *"You are not serious yah, men are everywhere on campus like water. And you think they are not in their usual nature wanting someone to make love to?"*

Abstaining from sex may be seen as abnormal; *"I have been a nun for too long"* and *"I am developing cobwebs"* by which the vagina is represented as an unused space that has not been disturbed for a while, hence the cobwebs. This metaphor seems to represent the taken-for-granted assumption by describing a vagina with cob-webs as passive. It is connotatively related to a state of sexual inactivity which in turn feeds into the ideological structure in which sex is expected to be had most of the time in order to keep the 'place' (vagina) clean and ventilated (this being a mere funny metaphor that I came cross in the process of research). The use of the noun "nun" seems to suggest abstinence. This woman was aware that social norms were against women actively seeking out sexual intercourse by pausing (through laughter) and reflecting on the ideal of the social norm which restricts women's expression of sexual desire; *"wow, funny for a woman to say that eh?"* On the first level, the woman is a person with feelings and

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emotions. She is connotatively differentiated from male counterparts by being placed in a category of decency in which she is expected to be well-behaved; by which is meant to suggest that female students may not actively pursue sex. The female student in the discussion shows that she also experiences sexual drives as imperative.

The reference to men being "*in their usual nature wanting someone to make love to*" seems to play on the stereotype of men as driven by uncontrollable sexual drives. The assumption is "*you can get them any time and they are always in a state of wanting sex*".

Sexual compulsion: A rational or irrational choice?

Sometimes, when sex is talked about, the discourse appeared to be deeply embedded in the biological model, that is, it was seen as a compulsive drive. Whereas both male and female students are represented as biologically wired with a compulsive sexual drive, the male sexual drive is depicted as almost inevitable. While female students acknowledge the inherent drive for sexual pleasure, there is social expectation for passive manifestation which is subordinated to the male sexual drive. The sexual-compulsion script manifests itself in many forms and is sometimes cited as the reason for seeking out 'love-making'. I joined a small group of students who were chatting on a rape trial reported in a South African newspaper. The following was a discussion in response to one's ability to control sexual urges when in the company of a male or female who choose to sleep in the same room:

IDG: Black male student 1: "*Me, I can't sleep in the same room with a woman. Things will just happen...*"

Black female student 2: (responds) "*even me, I can't resist especially when you love the person, it is difficult*" (argument).

Female student 1 argues: "*You see, no...it is just in your mind, if you don't want it, it can't happen...You choose to sleep with someone or not...*".

(Reaction from male student: "*What do you mean? What are you doing in his room in the first place? Guys get real; sex is sex, it is bound to happen, if you*

don't want it don't go into his or her room and pretend to want to spend a night there..."

This sense of the inevitability of sex is manifest here, "*sex is sex, it is bound to happen*". If a woman comes close, the assumption is that she wants sex because she is supposed to be aware of the pressure of an aroused male. It is as if one is driven by an unknown 'grip' on his sexuality. His wish is to seek its fulfilment. As such the presence of a woman is deemed 'a temptation' or an occasion of asking for sex. Anyone who comes within sight may be viewed as a possible candidate, and sometimes interpreted as one who has read the sexual needs of the male. The discussion seems to indicate that female students may also want to give in, but in the case of the female, she seems to need to appeal to rational explanation in justification: "*...especially when you love the person, it is difficult.*"

> NOD:Black male student : "*Today, I feel like sleeping on top of somebody. This is a day when I don't like temptation because I will just give in...*" (Laughter continues to play soccer).

> White female student reacts: "*It seems today we have to keep away from you because we can become victims of your overcharged system*" (laughter)

A girl responds to the perceived threat with another joke but one which affirms the biological drive of an over-charged system. She mocks the male with the over-charged system metaphor.

Connected to the sexual compulsion motif is the '*self-control*' discourse in which men are generally condemned for not being 'able' to restrain their urges. They are sometimes equated to animals, especially dogs, in reference to their perceived inability to contain their sexual drives. The use of animals is to designate inability to control one's sexual feelings. Animals predominantly act on instinct. Such a designation is not meant to insult the individual *per se*, but to connote lack of self-control. The conversation below highlights the language of control in sexuality. This was a discussion about how sex is negotiated and when male students were arguing that it is difficult to stop having sex when one has already started, whilst the girls felt that a man

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should be able to stop whenever he is told. This discussion came up when we were watching the soap opera '*Isindingo*'[liv] The scene showed a man and woman in a state of sexual arousal but then suddenly the woman in the soap opera is distracted and tells the man to stop. This scene prompted some comments and later on a full-blown discussion which initially centered on the ability of a man to stop having sex with a woman while the act is in process. The following discussion ensued:

IGD: Black Female student 1: "*That is unrealistic, how can you stop when she says stop? How? Maybe at the beginning yes it is possible, but once you are in it...I mean before you undress, yes, not after...before yes...you can discuss..*".

Black Male student 1: "*it is difficult to stop once you have started...*"

White female student 2: "*This is the reason you guys go round raping us because you think it is impossible to stop....*"

White male student: "*No, No, that is not the point...*"

Black female student: "*Yes it is the point because you can't go on raping women and say, no it is because of the way she was dressed. She asked for it...*"

Male student, Black 1: "*but look if you go round with nice orangish legs you are provoking me?*"

White Female student: "*But do you think as women, we don't want it? When we see a nice man with bowl legs, you just wanna have him but do we jump on you? Or when your bare chest is showing it, do we go wild and jump on you? No ...we have got some brains.*"

Black female student 2: "*I agree, who says we girls don't get ...*(hesitates) *horny when we see a nice sexy guy, their bowl legs, nice chest, we do get horny but don't go around raping you guys. Do we! But why do you have to go round raping us?*"

Black male student 1: "*Ah you, you have also started raping us now; three women raped a guy in Joburg – you can read it in the papers...*"[lv]

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This discussion dwells on rationalities and their apparent inability in controlling sexual drives. Male students seem to draw on an almost irresistible sexual drive. Therefore during sexual intercourse, a male student may find it difficult to stop the act if told to do so because such a move is conceived of as a biological impossibility; "*it is difficult to stop once you have started*". On the other hand, female students in the discussion represent their control of sexual feelings in rational terms; "*we got some brains*". Control of sexual feelings is likened to the use of the brain as in the application of intelligence to a natural instinct.

> Black male student 2: "*How can a man be raped! It is biologically impossible. He wanted it. He enjoyed it I am sure because there is no way he could get a 'hard on' if he doesn't want or he is under duress...*"

> Black male student 1: "*But for us men, we don't go around exposing our boobs, short skirts, or tummies....you make us feel something...it is easier for you girls to control yourselves...*"

The male sexual drive discourse is being represented in terms of 'biology' "*but remember that with sex there is biology*" while a female student responds to this notion by appealing to consent which introduces a rational principle in the discourse: "*...sex is better when the other person has consented*".

> Black male Student 2: "*Yes, we can control ourselves, but you have to remember that with sex there is biology...you see....it is just that...*"(laughter)

> White Female Student 1: "*But don't you guys know that sex is better when the other person has also consented?*"

The appeal made to the difference between the male and female drive is challenged by a female student "*it is not a matter of the differences...we are all human after all...*". This is used to apparently argue against the notion that male students' sexual drives are almost uncontrollable. By appealing to the common thread of being human, she seems to indicate that as a rational human being one needs to behave as such. This seems to suggest that rational behaviour should be the guiding principle in dealing with sexual feelings, hence the surprise at the inability of controlling

"hormones": "I *am surprised that you can't control your hormones, they are just hormones...*"

Black female student 1: *"I just don't understand why guys have to go to that extent...it is not a matter of the differences...we are all human after all aren't we?"*

Black male Student 4: *"You guys are all children; there is a saying 'when a girl undresses, she is not afraid of the size of the penis'"* (laughter).

White female student 2: *"Well it depends on how big; otherwise you go in for assault!"*

White male Student : *"What I am saying is there is no such thing as size or no size; if you came to my room and undressed then I know you are ready....I will bang you..."*

Black male Student: *"I am surprised that most of you feel you can't control your hormones; it is just hormones for crying out loud...bloody hormones....that is it"*

This biological 'compulsion' is also expressed in predatory metaphors which see women as prey to be hunted or targets to be shot. The men have guns and women are the targets. This is charged sexual symbolism in which the penis is sometimes described metaphorically as a gun aiming for the woman's body. As we sat taking our lunch at a café, a student who had become familiar with me approaches as he keeps on a discussion with his friend:

Black male student: *"You like playing with these girls and you don't do anything with them. Why waste your instrument, it is meant for **shooting**. Maybe you have no bullets..."*

I: *"why should he shoot them?"*

PD: Black male student: *"What is the purpose of his instrument, decorations?"*

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Expectation of sex exists in most relationships between male and female students. The discussion above illuminates this suggested social norm. A student who shows that he is not having sex with his female friends or colleagues is seen as abnormal. He is not giving his tool proper use. *"What is the purpose of his instrument, decorations?"* indicates a functionalist approach to sexuality. The use of the instrument metaphor locates sexuality within the bodily parts of an apparent biological mandate. It seems isolated from the inter-subjective relationship of intimacy. This belief is not only held by male students, but also by some female students. The use of *'playing with these girls'* represents wastage. A metaphor employed sometimes in food-related discussions. Food is to be eaten and not played with. The implication seems to be a reduction of female students into utility objects. This notion was further highlighted during a meeting for students in residence; a complaint was raised about the use of toilets and replacing the seat after use. Men were blamed for leaving the seat up. A female student commenting on the subject employed the following metaphor:

FGD: Black male student: *"it is difficult for guys to shoot straight that is why they stain the toilets...especially in the mornings...when you know...guys have the 'morning wood'[lvi]"*

Black male student 1: *"What?"* (Asked one male student who seemed not to have had anticipated the direction of the conversation)

Black female student: *"That is the time the thing is really hard...not so...you can't control it. I would not rather be with a man in the morning...jump out of bed and make yourself busy...*(laughter in the audience) *otherwise you get it"*

Where sex was described as something that grips an individual and demands fulfilment, it tended to be visualised as non-relational in the sense of a negotiable encounter, but as a goal to be reached, a target to hit, even in some instances, prey to be hunted down. Sexual desire is also described as a *"fire"*. This gives an almost impersonal force that may drive sexual feelings. *"I promise you, just wait I will screw that one in just a matter of weeks"*. The wish "to screw that one" is predicated on this fire, which is represented as an inner force.

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Black male student 2: "*I promise you, just wait I will screw that one in just a matter of weeks. I like her very much neh, just watch her movement. I have not felt this fire for anybody like this before*" (One male student as he engages me in a discussion on his feelings for this particular woman).

Black male student: "*I hope you are not naive as to think that this guy is joking. He is serious about his intentions. Girls tend to love crooks for some reason*".

I met this particular student around the coffee shop, a place where students come in and have a drink. Another student joined us and was introduced to me by the friend. As we were having coffee one of the girls we knew came and joined us, a young honours student. One of the postgraduate students looked at her and said, "*shelooks good for chawing*"[lvii] (slang for having sex). After coffee the girl bade farewell and the guy also left. It was in reference to this incidence that my friend was referring to. He had told me after the duo left that it seemed the young man was keen on fulfilling his statement. From then on, she seemingly became his greatest associate. The reference to crooks is made to highlight the fact that he was a married man, with two other girlfriends.

Sex, risk and HIV/AIDS

In the context of the university, sex is part and parcel of daily living. It is part of daily talk. But it is also an area represented as covered in mystery and silence. Sex is not planned. It can occur anytime. There is no particular sequence that would predict its occurrence. This is true of life in general. There are relationships and sex occurs in these relationships. "*No one goes round talking about sex*". "*We just do it otherwise they think we are weird*": talking about sex in general interaction is not expected; "*otherwise they think we are weird*". This places sexual talk within the silent discourse hence whoever talks about it is considered outside the normal script. On the nature of sex talk in interaction, it is considered a deviation from social norms. "*We joke about it and on text messages most of the jokes are on sex*" shows that joking is a form of talk that is acceptable and at the same time removed from moral sanctioning. Talking about sex as an active determination of what one would like to do in a relationship is confined to certain moments of confidence but joking about it brings it within the public sphere. Whoever talks about sex in the form of jokes liberates him/herself from moral sanctions.

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"Those who talk about it mostly don't even do it, they don't bite"; borrows a metaphor of 'dogs bark is worse than his bite'. This further reinforces the silence around sexual behaviour.

> ID:White female student: *"No one goes round talking about sex. We just do it otherwise they think we are weird. We also joke about it and on text messages most of the jokes are on sex. Otherwise guys just do it and don't talk. Those who talk about it mostly don't even do it, they don't bite."*

While sex many not be planned, there seems to be an invocation of fatalistic metaphors in relation to HIV:

> NOC: Black male student: *"We are all going to die one day, does it matter who dies first? My friend, if you have to do it, enjoy doing it...and do it well...dying like a bee stuck in honey...hahaha..."*

The above comments may give insight into feelings of invulnerability coupled with denial and fatalism. *"we are all going to die one day, does it matter who dies first?"* relates to sex as a necessary need that may transcend the fears of death. Sexual pleasure can never be put off. It is the reality of daily experience. *"If you have to do it, enjoy doing it, dying like a bee stuck in honey"*; shows the willingness to take a risk in the light of sexual pleasure as a worthy experience. On a connotative level, taking a risk for sex seems absurd, but this image is connotatively associated with the metaphor of '*a bee stuck in honey*' (isiZulu version). In some tribes in Zambia, the metaphor '*even if the bees sting, I will take the honey*' (*zingalume pula nitenga*) signifies how sexual pleasure may surpass fears of physical hurt and death. The taking of risks for sexual intercourse is not new (Davis et al., 2006, Diaz and Ayala, 1999). This ideologically defies the concept of sexual risk as a uni-linear reaction against perceived threats.

Abstinence, safe sex: Contesting views?

Virginity was more pronounced in a discussion that formed part of a failed debate. An announcement of a debate organised by the peer education section of HIVAN campus support unity was made. The debate was to be based on Abstinence, and Condom use. It was to be held at a café where students gather for social functions. This is a popular

spot for eating and drinking and also for advertising events by companies. But it turned out, when we had already gathered, that the meeting was suddenly cancelled because the organisers were not ready. A sub-group had formed in anticipation and after realising that the formal debate was not going to take place, the group started discussing the topic. One white middle-aged woman, a student as well as a member of the support staff, had come prepared to make her case. (06.06.2006). She found this sub-group discussion an opportunity to share her feelings on the subject. Firstly she commented on the polarities of the abstinence debate in public discourse.

"Instead of using slogans like 'abstinence' which sounds like 'NO' to the other camp!" (Female student and part-time staff, mid-40s)

Abstinence is represented as a negative connotation since its discursive function in popular discourse has taken on notions that may be equated to "no sex". There seems to be double messages inherent in abstinence campaigns. For advocates of abstinence, "safe sex" may mean "go ahead and fornicate, just be careful" whereas advocates of "safe sex" tend to read abstinence as "no sex". While the term is neutral on a denotative level, abstinence takes on an ideological representation in which sexual experience is given rigid polarities of either "safe sex" or "no sex". Those who are opposed to "safe sex" campaigns hold to the view that condoms may not be hundred percent safe neither is it easy to always remember to be safe. The deviation from the main course of the discussion with a reflection, "and we know it is easy to forget to be careful: and besides that, condoms break", reveals the deep-seated assumption of taken-for-granted experience; "it is not easy to be careful".

"Or safe sex' which sounds like go ahead and fornicate, just be careful! (and we know it is easy to forget to be careful: and besides that, condoms break!)"

She then proposes the need for teaching skills for students to wait and not indulge in sexual relations before being ready by teaching *"the skills necessary to wait"*:

"How do we motivate and teach the skills necessary to wait?"

"First of all let's tell it 'like it is' – when you make love it is not just a physical act, it is a union of yourself with the other person. It is a giving of your body in

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total trust as you are most vulnerable when naked!" (There is laughter from the group).

The need for honest discussion in sexual issues is raised as an important step in teaching skills "let us tell it like it is"; this may not be necessarily how "it is" but draws on a sexual truth: "when you make love, it is not just a physical act" – firstly she draws on a connotation of having sex as making love revealing a conservative elucidation of the subject, and that sex is not just a "physical act" but "a union of yourself with the other person". A person is seen as most vulnerable when naked. As such sex is an act that makes one vulnerable because it reveals the nakedness of the other. This vulnerability is mitigated by trust. She goes on to expand her theme that the nature of sex is such that if it does not occur in a committed relationship then it is hurtful and may have negative consequences (her narration is based on a marriage-based safety relationships). She assumes relationships outside the context of marriage are immoral, dangerous and uncaring. Her advice on sex between unmarried individuals reveals a conservative attitude:

"It is unwise to do that with someone you are not committed to in marriage, because they will be 'up and off' and leave you feeling hurt, ashamed and maybe even infected!"

(White female student interrupts:) *"but what if you don't want to get married like some of us?"*

Whereas the discourse of abstinence and or safe sex hangs heavily on waiting and or having sex within the context of marriage, there is little attention provided to those individuals who do not desire marriage as an alternative; "what if you don't want to get married like some of us?" challenges the dominant cultural assumptions that everyone is oriented towards marriage or having a boyfriend or girlfriend. Sex education campaigns predominantly cater for the group that is heterosexual and relegates minority sexualities to the periphery.

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(White female student continues): *"It is wise to wait for the right person and when you have found one, wait and make sure that you are both committing yourselves to each other and not just you alone!"*

"It will be more fulfilling, more exciting, and more wonderful if you have waited and not hurt yourself and others with temporary, broken relationships which only seem exciting at the time, but afterwards leave you feeling ashamed, hurt and maybe infected!

"So please don't balk at the word 'abstinence' and rebel and do the opposite! Perhaps a better phrase would be: Keep your body healthy and uninfected by waiting for the fulfilment of sexual union with the one you decide to marry."

These views represent a particular philosophy supporting abstinence campaigns. The reasoning polarises the benefits of marital union as compared with the negative consequences of sex before marriage. One student agreed with her and then made a shift to the argument by drawing attention to alternatives to marriage, building on the notion of love as preceding marriage structures and could be seen as mutually exclusive:

(Black male student): *"I agree with you but marriage is not just the answer. You can love and live with someone without having this formal marriage."*

Listening to all this was a lady in her 40s who interjected by hypothesising that the reasons for the problems in sexuality are due to a loss of values. She idealises the past and contrasts it with contemporary value systems; "the problem is deeper than that" meaning that there is a shift in value systems and is quick to recognise the generation gap; "especially the young generation".

(White female student in her 40s): *"No. The problem is deeper than that, you people especially the young generation. You have lost values."*

Underlying such views is a heterosexual, marriage discourse. Abstinence is viewed in terms of this relational matrix. One who abstains and waits is lauded as morally upright whereas those who have sex in their non-marital relationships, however committed, are deemed to be 'stepping on dangerous ground'. There is a polarisation of moral

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discourse attached to relationships between the good old days and contemporary sexually permissive norms. Modernity is represented as having shifted from conservative sexual norms. This is made in reference to cohabitation which is seen as a form of behaviour negating the ideal of marriage; hence the reference to loss of morals. Sexual relationships are regulated and subordinated to a perceived discourse of virtue by which is meant temperance and marital exclusiveness.

Abstinence

NOPD: White female student: "*What are you working on?*"

I: "*I am researching on ABC.*"

White female student: "*How is it going so far?*"

I: "*It is good. There is a lot to learn and what do you think of the ABC message?*"

PI: White female student: "*I know many guys don't agree with me but I just think that this ABC thing is for non-Christians. I am a Christian so I don't do any stuff...you know I have great respect for a man I once dated, though we have since broken up. He never pressured me into doing anything sexual. He told me, we don't need to have sex but we need to be friends. He told me about the beauty of waiting... I regret losing this guy because he was great...for me...sometimes I thought that maybe it was an excuse...he gave; maybe I am not that attractive after all.*"

As much as abstinence may be appreciated by some female students, its conceptualisation is nevertheless characterised by ambiguity "He told me, we don't need to have sex but we need to be friends, sometimes I thought that maybe it was an excuse he gave me, maybe I am not attractive"; This seems to suggest tension arising between being desirable and being respected. Refusal to have sex does not necessarily mean that one is being respected or virtuous. Maybe it is just an excuse not to make love to someone considered unattractive; "maybeI am not attractive after all". The expectation on a taken-for-granted level is that if a male student is attracted to a woman,

he must show his love through sexual intercourse as one female student said to me, "it feels great to cause an erection in a guy." The friend who was with her said, emphasizing the point:

> IGD: White female student: *"I don't like this respect thing; it is just a way for guys to brush you aside when they are not in the mood with you!"*

> PD: White Female student: *"it feels great to cause an erection in a guy."*

While abstaining may be considered a religious virtue, in daily life experience, it varies in meaning from context to context. For some students, abstinence may be perceived as an excuse or a polite way to ward off unwanted sexual intercourse with a person one considers unattractive. These may be considered as normative expectations underlying sexual decision-making are expressions of love, responsibility and commitment. The dynamics operating in everyday life are motivated by emotional factors like sex as an affirmation of worthiness or attractiveness or beauty. If a partner is unwilling to engage in sex, he or she is seen as either not being attractive enough or just being brushed aside as an excuse.

Sex: Drives and Rationalities-implications for safe sex

The spontaneous sexual encounter described by students seemed to present problems in terms of ensuring sex was protected. The way sex happens does not always lend itself easily to protected sex. The imperative to have sex seems to get in the way of safe sex. One day, as I was walking down to campus, a black male student I had met on several occasions came up to me and began narrating his story. I asked if it was confidential he said not exactly, but he was anxious. I asked him if he would mind if I took down notes and having gotten his permission he continued with his story:

> FPD: Black male student: *"Hey... (Calls me by nickname), what does it mean? Imagine you just say to a girl 'I love you', right and the next time you find her on your bed, with legs spread apart like that and imagine she is caressing herself – you get on top and you ask if she has a condom; but she gets angry; so I do it straight 'nyama pa nyama' – it is nice. And then it is finished, ok, she decides to go away and there is silence...I send SMS? Sometimes she responds, sometimes*

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she doesn't. The next time she appears is when she is hot again and immediately she wants to do it.... I do it but I don't cum because I am wondering she only wants me to make love when she is ready. She doesn't consider my feelings...But you see, I didn't cum but she wants to talk to me. I hope she is not pregnant. I asked a few friends who told me that she can be pregnant even with pre-ejaculation semen...nope...I know there was no pre-ejaculation (laughter)...Anyway...I will talk to her..."

The fear of a female partner getting pregnant after having unprotected sex is not uncommon: "*I hope she is not pregnant*" But this immediately links to peer support as a source of knowledge on sexual issues; "*I asked a few friends who told me that she can be pregnant even with pre-ejaculation semen*" but he also corrects himself in as he reformulates his script in order to represent himself as not careless since he was in control, "*I know there was no pre-ejaculation*" and the laughter that follows is not out of amusement but a way of renegotiating this awkward position that he finds himself in.

In the entire discourse as he narrates it, the respondent seems to position himself as a victim of spontaneous sexual desire. It is difficult for the male student to represent himself as struggling to control his sexual feelings because "*you find her on your bed, with legs apart like that and imagine she is caressing herself*". Finding her on his bed and positioning herself as anticipating sex is represented as an invitation that he found difficult to reject. This seems to resonate with the male hegemony of almost an unquestionable right to sex due to unstoppable drives. This choice disablement as a result of being found in a situation beyond saying "no" goes on to illustrate how unsafe sex may occur: "*you get on top and you ask if she has a condom; but she gets angry, so I do it straight – 'nyama pa nyama' – it is nice.*" This man's choice to use a condom is placed as a responsibility on his female partner; "*you ask if she has a condom*". At this point he appears to be excusing himself. He considers himself less culpable since he asked for a condom; he thought about using a condom. He does not explain the reason for her anger, but we might imagine that she might find the idea offensive, suggesting as it might that she had pre-planned sex.

On a connotative level, condoms are tools for safe-sex, but ideologically they can represent moral status. While condom use may be prevalent, its use may still be

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associated with moral laxity. Yet, some students still do not fully understand the risks. *"nyama pa nyama"* (Signifying intense pleasure) literally means meat on meat or flesh on flesh while connotatively relating using condoms as a barrier that reduces pleasure. *'Nyama pa nyama'* conveys the sense of alienated-sex in which individuals are separated from having the intimacy of flesh on flesh. But in this narrative, there is a male who positions himself as unable to control his sexual feelings. The woman is pictured as one who didn't want the use of a condom. Very little work seems to highlight the tensions of male sexual partners in terms of the pressures they face in their daily relationships. As the account described above reveals, this male student represents himself as being in a dilemma because he feels pressured by the female partner. In telling me this story, he may have presented himself in a way that he seemed to think reflected my values. How much power has he got in this relationship to negotiate a balanced relationship? The temptation is immediately to interpret his predicament within the male dominated narrative which always places the female as a victim. This seems to show that female partners may have a different way of expressing their power and influence in a relationship.

Caught up in a web of relationships

Another case involved a student who was in love with a girl whom he believed was better than his other girlfriends. But he believed he had behaved badly and she was leaving him. I was seated outside my residence in the evening as others watched television. One student asked what I was doing and that is how the conversation started. He had earlier on discussed with me and introduced a new girlfriend that he had met. He seemingly found it easy to talk to me about his predicament.

I. *"How is your other girl-friend?"*

IPD: Black male student: *"I think I am losing her...she is a very good woman you know but I have been stupid. Anyway it is painful but I am happy that I have this one from the other campus* (Westville) *she is the one who encouraged me to take a test..."*(test refers to HIV test)

I. *"I am confused, what about the mother to your child?"*

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Black male student: "*She is a pain in the back. She keeps coming to see me but I don't want to see her. She hurt me. She is not a good woman, you know. But she keeps on coming and you know what happens, I have sex with her every time she comes but I don't want to do it you know...I don't love her but she is the mother of my child, she uses the boy* (referring to his son) *as an excuse to see me. I don't like her.*"

I: "*But who do you love?*"

Black male student: "*I love, X. because she is calm and good. You see, she is 'marriage material'. She can take care of a family. I became settled, I always had a meal and time to be myself, but I have hurt her because of the other woman. She discovered it. That is it. It is done. I miss her very much.*"

I. "*Have you spoken to her?*"

Black male student: "*No. I am ashamed. Where do you start from?*"

The student reveals his struggles in his relationships, but on levels of popular scenarios, this description seems to reveal multiple fidelities. He tells of his multiple sexual partners and some of the inherent complex relations. The student has a woman X, then the mother to his child, whom he thinks of as not a good woman; and a woman whom he loves and thinks can spend his life with in marriage, whom by contrast is described as calm and good. The relationship with the mother to his child was not working out and that is how he got into the second relationship; he presented himself as someone who behaved so badly that this current girlfriend decided to leave him. As they were in this process of separation, a third woman Y from another campus joined the circle. "*I think I am losing her but it is good that I have this other one from X campus.*" The third relationship with woman Y is shown as mitigating the pain resulting from the loss of the second relationship. Girlfriend (Y) comes in to close the gap in this transitional period. At the same time, there is no closure to his relationship with the mother to his child. Despite her being "*a pain in the back*", he continues to see her. And whenever she visits "*I have sex with her even if I don't want to*" indicating the lack of closure of the former relationship. "*Even though I don't want to do it*":

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He is aware of the moral imperative that he wants to live by. He seems to suggest that he "*he doesn't feel that he should*" have sex with the mother of his child. "*I don't like her*" in reference to the mother to his child and gives the excuse of the boy as a bait that the uses to see him. He represents himself as powerless in this relationship. While he struggles with this relationship, he has kept it hidden from the woman he loves. And when she discovers, she decides to leave him. "*...I have hurt her because of the other woman. She discovered it.*" Disclosure of past relationships may seem obvious in many cases, but this is a typical case of the lack of skills in dealing with multiple partners. The result is unexpected sexual intercourse with a partner with whom one has already broken up with. This account provides an illustration of how multiple partnerships may be set up and maintained, not as a result of the male student wanting to be a Lothario character, but through a pattern of events. A child binds him to a woman he would otherwise have severed contact with; a second relationship is threatened by his 'bad behaviour' i.e. infidelity with woman X, and woman Y appears to come in and seems to ease the pain associated with the loss of woman X.

This story reveals the tensions of fidelity. A male student, who feels torn between his commitments to the three relationships, struggles to choose the best amongst his women as such he remains loosely connected to all three within the same space of time. He rationalises the need for choice, but is caught up in a web that he is struggling to disentangle himself from.

Sexual fidelities: The Good, the Bad, and the Faithful

On another occasion, I was in my office when two students walked in. I remembered them from a discussion session. They told me that they felt interested in my area of research and decided to come over for unfinished discussion. This time, they wanted to discuss an issue relating to their 'friend' whom they thought I should talk to. I reminded them that I was not 'a popular counsellor' of sex and its related difficulties. They told of how their friend had been struggling in marriage, of how she feels unappreciated by the husband, but has difficulties leaving him. She is miserable according to their observation. One of the students has suggested an alternative:

FPD: White female student: *"Do not be too strict (with) about life how will the husband know? Some people are not happy in marriage – it may be a while before they make a choice to leave. This girl needs to be happy and I think this extra-boyfriend is the one she is meant to be with. The other husband is a jerk and he doesn't deserve to be with her..... She is a great girl and he doesn't know what he is about to lose. I have never seen this lady this happy until she came to school and met this guy, they can make a great couple but he has to give her space to make the decision to leave the idiot....anyway"*

Infidelity here seems to be described as justifiable in terms of liberation from an oppressive relationship. The married woman *"deserves to be happy"* and the 'extra-boyfriend is the one who is meant to be with her' seeks to justify the relationship by appealing to her sense of worth and what she deserves. There seems to be a polarisation of the husband as a '*jerk*' while she is described a *"great girl"*. Despite not knowing who the husband is, the language used constructs a struggling relationship, in terms of 'the bad' and the 'the good' in which case the good deserved to separated from the bad. It is no longer defined as 'moral' or 'immoral' but is narrated as good because *"she is happy"*. The justification for *'infidelity'* seems to be the observed happiness of the partner. The husband doesn't deserve to be with her, this then is used as the reason for her to get involved in another relationship. The new relationship is justified on the basis of the woman being good and deserving to be happy.

In a similar vein, conventional notions of morality seem to be dispensed with in the construction of a psycho-moral discourse in which happiness is the good to be achieved. A discussion was had about married students who were having extra-marital relationships. An elderly student makes these comments:

PI: Black male student: *"relax and enjoy sex my friend it is a great experience do not worry about rules. Life is short."*

In this comment, in alluding to the dispensation of conventional notions of morality, he seems to indicate that sex is in itself a commodity to be achieved. Within the context of the university, a clear distinction seems to be made between sexual relationships and sex. The discussion above seems to illustrate this concept which was a response to a

question on fidelity. The response *"relax and enjoy sex"* appears to signify the separation of the individual firstly from the rigidity of the rules guiding sexuality, *"do not worry about rules"* and secondly, the detachment of sex from relationships. On the denotative level of experience, pairings involving this kind of sex are merely described as multiple relationships, whereas on a connotative level, students involved in these relationships do not necessarily see themselves as being unfaithful to their partners. They seem not to see themselves as being in relationships but as having sex. These relationships are just *"sex relationships"* they are not sexual relationships and as such may not constitute moral imputability of infidelities.

Biological drives? The Phenomenon of "fuck buddies."

The experience of sexual feelings that may need release brings up a dilemma for some students. However, there seems to be available solutions that peers may give each other. One such option is to get a fuck buddy. These phenomena apparently appropriated from internet adult dating websites, came up in conversations. In a discussion I was involved in, a student passed a comment on his need for a woman and the following discussion ensued:

IGD: Black male student 1: *"I am missing a woman, guys"*

Black male student 2: *"Why should you when there are plenty around here?"*

Black male student 1: *"I have to find one first?"*

Black female student: *"Just get a fuck buddy? With demands of school, you don't need pressure, just someone to meet when the need pushes..."*

I: *"what is a fuck buddy?"*

Black Female student: *"I don't know how much it is going on here* (fuck buddies). *But it is like you don't have to know each other in detail. All you need is a phone number and a place to meet. It is called a fuck buddy that is the relationship. You just agree to meet and have it and then off you go. No phone calls, text messages, nothing, you just meet when you want the thing."*

Male student: *"Does it happen really?"*

Female Student: *"I hope you are not joking. You have never heard of fuck buddies here at campus? You are really a oldies..."*

The "fuck buddy" phenomenon is something that I hadn't known about, but was expected to. I was, however, not the only one who was ignorant of its meaning. Another male student asked, *"Does it happen really?"* The charge of being 'oldies' makes reference to a notion of a seemingly carefree modernity as contrasted with sexual conservatism of yesteryear indicating shifting norms. Further, the internet seems to have been an important driver of the pattern of having 'fuck buddies' reflecting the use of adult dating websites.

Having a "fuck buddy" in itself is not seen as compromising fidelity. This is primarily because the other person is either unknown or little known and so the sexual encounter embodies no intimate relationship. The relationship goes on without commitment. Telephone calls are only made when the other person would like to have sex. The arrangement lacks formality. It may be accepted from the start that emotional connections between the two would not be expected, and that no questions may be asked beyond the casual sexual encounters. Reasons for having 'fuck buddies' may vary, but amongst them may be the fear of commitment and the pressure of relationships; *"you don't need pressure, just a someone to meet when the need pushes"*. These forms of relationships appear to be purely hedonistic. There is silence on the nature of safe sex on these one-offs or fuck buddy relationships.

Attitudes towards Female and Male Infidelity

Students tend to describe girls with multiple relationships as 'sluts' or whores[lviii]. They are also sometimes referred to as *'mahoshe,'* (loosely translated as prostitutes) a term deemed disrespectful and offensive. Sometimes, these exact terminologies are not directly used, but are implied through the use of metaphors and euphemisms. I was in the company of students on the way to the residence from a movie, in which the following discussion resulted:

NOD: Black male student 1: *"There is this beautiful girl in residence* (mentions her name). *She is great."*

Black male student 2: *"Yes she is great but, my friend, she screws anyone who is available. You want to try it, well go ahead just remember that you are not alone but with many in a queue"* (comment by third student)

Black male student 3: *"Oh you mean that one! She doesn't know what she wants. But she likes it black...* (laughter)...*yes it is true. Check out most of the guys on her list are black..."*

Another concurs:

White female student: *"These are the educated 'mahoses'"* (prostitutes)

The notion that *"she doesn't know what she wants"* seems by implication to signify that if the woman in question did find the right person, she wouldn't be having so many on her '*queue'*. Infidelity seems to be signified as a lack of competence in choosing only one sexual partner, whereas for men such an explanation has not been in evidence. On the other hand, it is the female student's comments, which moralises her by calling her a 'prostitute', and distances her from the choice incompetence discourse being represented in the comments by the male students.

She is categorised by the female discussant as a *"mahose"* but of an educated nature. Playing on the stereotype that sex workers are generally uneducated. Racial discourse also enters the scene of discussion *"she likes it black"* and reinforces her promiscuous label by adding an unquantified number of sexual partners; *"most of the guys on her list are black."*

The counter-discourse to sluts and whores uses terminologies such as 'players' and 'studs'. 'Players' which is a nickname given to a male student who has many 'girls on his list to shoot'. During an informal conversation after a game of soccer, a female student comments on a boastful remark by a male student in which he said:

Black male student: *"I can manage two to three girls a night."*

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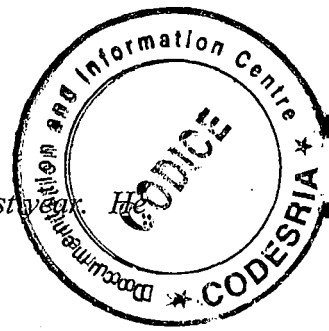
Black male student: *"I knew somebody at this university sometime last year. He used to hammer one after another like three girls per day...."*

Female student responds by giving a name to this identified male student: *"you know him right? You are saying he had two or three?"*

White female student: (girl responds) *"of course that is the guy who screwed half of X residence."* (White girl responding to a black student who said that he could have three partners a night).

Black male student: *"that guy was something else; me I suspect that guy had muti"*

White male student: *"You mean that guy who would be screwing up in his room and another one would be waiting in the foyer..."*

White female student: *"You know that girls...they know these guys and they go after them"*

Black female student: *"that is the way they show that they are better than the other girls; girls want to beat others in order to affirm themselves"*

The male student in question is described almost in heroic terms, whereas a female student in a similar position may be described as not knowing what she wants or a slut. I was fascinated by the support this assertion received. Students in the conversation indicated having known such a character who *"would be screwing up in his room"* whilst another one would be *'waiting in the foyer'*. *"That guy was just something else, me I suspect he had muti* (herbs)". This kind of male is described with surprise representing the described social act as a deviation from the expected norms. His behaviour is described as abnormal and maybe motivated by *'muti'*. Responses seemed to range from admiration to surprise at his abilities. He is deemed a successful hunter.

Such discussions whose purpose is not an inquiry into the moral discourse but do reveal how risky behaviours may not be challenged in hegemonic discourses for what they are. Sexual risk discussions seem to be relegated to formal 'HIV/AIDS'

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discussions. Female students are thus represented as careless objects of prey "*they know these guys and they go after them*". Knowledge of other partners seems to be seen as inconsequential to the choice for sexual partners. In fact, in some cases it is noted "*girls want to beat others in order to affirm themselves*". In common parlance, it is expected that females maybe hesitant to engage in sexual relationships with a 'player' but the other side to this assumption seems to be the affirmation resulting from competition with other females especially for a popular player. While a male student with many partners is represented in seemingly heroic terms, female students are labelled as not knowing what they want.

> Black male student: "*Some people 'chau' (chew)...you would be **surprised**, three to four chicks a day. And you see these girls know that you already have two or three, but they just keep coming...* (laughter)".

The 'surprise' element seems to show that the expectation is that sexual partners may be fewer. This seems to suggest that in talk students draw on expected social norms. In this case, they are aware of what ought to be .i.e. being with many partners may not be acceptable behaviour.

Representations of fidelity

The element of surprise at virginity and abstinence also comes out in labels used to describe students who abstain. These forms of representations, though positive in themselves, are used to ridicule fellow students. The following representations of fidelity, which I came across in conversations with students, go to highlight how the state of fidelity is understood. For instance, wife material, or straight is used to denote a female student who represents someone who can be wife, stable and caring. On the connotative level, 'wife material' is opposed to students who are noted as 'loose' over-independent and unsettled. This name is used to positively identified female students who may pass for a wife or who have qualities of a wife. Amongst some of the attributes given include, *inter alia*, non-smoking, non-drinking, quietish and feminine. This category is anchored within a patriarchal system of classification in which females may be expected to be docile and subservient to male dominance. *Abashadi*: entourage of the wedding. This refers to a man or woman who is considered serious enough to be

given the response of initiating and negotiating marriage for young people or spouses. When used to refer to young people, though it is a positive term, it is taken as mockery of students who take their lives seriously. Though in some cases it is an admiration of their virtues, the label is apparently used to ridicule and not to exhort a display of seriousness. It may draw its meaning from the assumption that students within a university milieu may not be restricted in the opportunity to explore their sexuality. *Ijuba*: is a dove known for its fidelity or faithfulness, calmness or cleanliness. Doves are known to be always together in pairs. On a denotative level *ijuba* represents a dove. On the connotative level, *ijuba* symbolises faithfulness, and when used as a representational label in sexuality, *ijuba* is used to negatively represent students who abstain or are faithful to their partners. It is noteworthy that while virtues may be admired, they nonetheless tend to become sources of ridicule, as they seem to be in contradistinction to expected social norms. These attitudes may amputate collective efficacy as positive values and may be seen to be out of place, since they encourage adherence rather than positive deviation.

Love and fidelities

There were instances in which some married students appeared to have difficulties negotiating their extra-marital relationships with their married partners.

> Black male Student: "*My wife doesn't like that girl, she suspects something. Yo! But I **love** this girl you know: she is great…when she sends me text messages and I am with my wife she makes sure they sound official….It was funny one day, I received a romantic text message and my wife saw it,* (laughter) *I ended telling her that it was my friend who had used my phone, he didn't have airtime on his…*"

He justifies being in the relationship by saying he loves her. He seems to indicate respect for love. He keeps it a secret in order to protect his wife. And by hiding it, he is showing that he knows that it is socially unacceptable, and prohibited hence his efforts to conceal it. But this contradiction is being justified based on the notion of love. "*My wife suspects something, but I love this girl…*" despite being married he commits his love to another partner and seeks to keep his relationship private. His sense of fidelity is to keep his relationship unknown to his wife, but at the same time has set rules of

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'official text-messages'. At the level of relationship, it appears just like another form of infidelity, but normalises deceit in relationships. In other instances, it is a question of how students seeing the same girl may pretend not to be aware of the double relationship. In an interview with one girl who was known to have at least three partners, she describes an instance when two guys whom she was seeing at the same time visited her. She knows they both are aware, but never talked about the relationship.

A female student came to see me who had just escorted off the second of her two boyfriends. The two seemed to suspect that they were both sharing the same girl but none had conclusive evidence. She comes to me and offers the following description of her just ended encounter with the two male students:

IPD: White female student: *"The guys played it well; he knew about X and also knew about the Y...the both just kept their cool. It was quite impressive, I must add"*

Despite giving praise to the way the male students handled their situation, there is an implied acknowledgement of the difficulty that they were placed in by this female student. Although this behaviour may be indulged in, it is signified as 'anti-normative'. A female student has two male students at the same time and labels their relationships as a game *"they played it well"*. And she is impressed with the way they *"kept their cool"* in their dealing with each other.

PD: Black male student: *"You know. ...that girl loves X, but the problem is just that she doesn't know what she wants. She sleeps with most of them and she seems to want it all the time. As for me I have told her. She needs to choose what she wants because it is important...she is my friend but what she does...ha...she can't get a good man like that, they will all end up just tasting her"*

A woman who 'sleeps' with many is seen as lacking direction and not *"knowing what one wants"* by which is meant a student is not sure of the person she wants to settle with in a relationship or marriage. *"She sleeps with most of them and seems to want it all the time"* offers disapproval of multiplicity of casual sexual relationships; and positions this

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female as *"wanting it all the time"*. This backdrop description of the woman positions her as one who would not be able to get a *"good man"*, and who has only had many brief sexual encounters *"...they will all end up just tasting her"*.

Conclusion

Chapter Eight has given a presentation and analysis of sex as dominantly represented in talk as an irresistible biological drive. Despite sexuality being a normal biological feeling that is experienced on the level of body-chemistry and mental influence, its constructed nature shapes attitudes, knowledge and expectations within social interaction. The understanding of the sexual self is located within existing taken-for-granted assumptions. These assumptions may be religious, cultural and economical. Since sex is perceived as inevitable in a male/female relationship, the biological myth goes to reinforce justification for the male quest to seek release in the event of an arousal. The chapter has delved also into revealing a dominant male-oriented discourse which describes relationships from a male ethos. Abstinence in the discourse is not the question; the real question that arises is one of 'harm reduction'. Fidelity as a concept is aspired to but 'realistic drives' seem to take the order of the day. Life is an experience that must be lived with minimum restrictions. This takes on a hedonistic pleasure principle. But in the time of HIV/AIDS, the creation of awareness is indispensable. This is with respect to the fact that knowledge on HIV/AIDS, its means of transmission, and the risk factors, do not necessarily lead to behaviour change. This thesis is not only an exposition of the nature of sex talk but has ramifications for sexual health. The following section relates discourses of talk to sexual health.

Chapter Ten

Sexual Health

This chapter discusses sexual health in the light of discourses of talk as represented in student interactions. The link between sex and HIV does not seem to be made nor implied immediately in relationships. Various reasons may explain this irony in which knowledge, which is near universal does not necessarily translate into sex safe practice. Some of the reasons range from HIV/AIDS as a disease that takes long to result in death, fatalism and denialism. Dependence on visual diagnosis of a partner may be a risky practice that seems to be a taken-for-granted barometer of HIV sero-status. Voluntary counselling and testing may not in itself be an indicator of positive behaviour change. Silence on HIV/AIDS and homosexuality seem to reinforce behaviours that do not discuss possible risky situations and practices. The Internet is identified as a source of information on sex and sexuality. The use of condoms is highlighted as a safe sex practice. The nature of abstinence within university space is explored with its inherent tensions.

The link between sex and HIV/AIDS seems not to be very apparent in conversations. This may be due to the long lead between HIV and death; the semblance of fitness brought about by weight loss and the inevitability of death. The following conversation illustrates this link:

NOPD: White male student: *"They can hear the messages, they see the posters but sex is different. It is doesn't register in the mind"*. (I asked him what he meant).

"I have been here for 10 years as a student. I have seen it all. I have been to the bars, coffee shops, and playing fields. I have seen students attenuate, slim and begin looking fit before they die. AIDS kills but there is something we don't understand, dying from AIDS is accelerated mortality. This concept defies the logic of most of our campaigns. You don't see yourself killed on impact. There is no immediate link between pomping[lix] And death, like the impact of an accident

and immediately you see death. Nothing. What do you see? Fitness before attenuation. I have seen a friend die of AIDS...he moved from being huge to lean and fit! He kept on pomping...and he pomped them like hell. That is what I am saying, we are not afraid of dying because death is not seen as immediate. It is there but who knows...anywhere..."

Black male student: *"We are all going to die one day, does it matter who dies first? My friend, if you have to, enjoy doing it...and do it well...dying like a bee stuck in honey...hahaha..."*

The existing literature has shown a strong link between perception of risk and safe sex practices (Akwara et al., 2003, Catania et al., 1989, Hou, 2004, Lear, 1997). The construct of risk perception is a central feature of models that explain behaviour change. For instance, the health belief model knowledge posits the gravity of a condition as a likely determinant of behaviour change (National Cancer Institute, 2005). With AIDS, *"you don't see yourself killed on impact...dying from AIDS is accelerated mortality."* Death in itself is a remote experience but the process of dying may impact on one's attitude towards a particular condition, in this case, HIV/AIDS. The process of attenuation, loss of hair, as indicated in labels that people use as reference to people living with HIV/AIDS bears evidence to the attitudes surrounding the process of dying (Mawadza, 2004). Dying from AIDS may not be very dramatic in its initial stages in fact some *"...begin looking fit before they die"*; this seems to relate to change of body size which looks fit before acquiring clinical symptoms of full blown AIDS. This is may suggest the reason that *"they can hear the messages, they see the posters but sex is different. It doesn't register in the mind."* Sex in this quote is apparently being contrasted with the awareness of the posters and the application of the knowledge to sexual behaviour. "Sex is different" represents sex almost as if its occurrence is obvious because it is different. Though prevention messages are on posters, they don't register because they seem to be overpowered by sex.

The metaphor of pomping represents release of pressure. The image denotatively stands in for 'pumping', which is changed into *'pomping'*. The connotation takes on an image of pumping water or any fruit and relates it to sexual intercourse. This metaphor of pumping water signifies a masculine orientation to sexual intercourse as a 'pumping'

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reducing the female counterparts to the '*pomped*' or objects for the reduction of male pressure. In the narration of risk and accelerated mortality, the student instances his friend, who continued having sexual intercourse, having not tested for HIV, was losing weight "*from being huge, to lean and fit*." The invocation of "*a friend who died of AIDS*" seems to appeal to an experience that is close to him thereby rendering credibility to his story. He highlights the gap that is inherent between "dying and death". This narration of risk and behavioural gap is further illustrated in the story of another student "*we are all going to die one day, does it matter who dies first?*" representing a form of fatalism that admits the inevitability of death, hence "*if you have to do it enjoy, do it and do it well.*" This defies the logic that in the threat of death or infection, one may be deterred from pursuing risky behaviour; but this is further reinforced with the metaphor of "*dying like a bee stuck in honey*". This seems to indicate the inevitability of death. Honey represents pleasure, and is contrasted with death, which nonetheless is inevitable. One would seem to want to enjoy the pleasure of sex rather than be preoccupied with the threat of death.

Sexual Health: Competing discourses-Denials and Dissidence

The trial of Jacob Zuma, the president of the African National Congress, provided an opportunity to elicit discussions with students on various themes that emerged in the trial. This was a criminal trial in which Zuma was accused of raping a woman fully aware that she was HIV positive. He justified his behaviour by appealing to culture. He further posited that the risk of contracting HIV was reduced by taking a shower[lx] and that in a moment of arousal, sex was a necessary outcome that had the blessings of Zulu culture. The context of the following discussion was fuelled by the on-going trial which had occupied the media for slightly over a year[lxi].

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Figure 24: Zuma sorry for not using condom

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Zuma sorry for not using condom
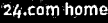
Former Deputy President Jacob Zuma has apologised to South Africans for not using a condom during sex.

This detail emerged during his trial on a rape charge, of which he was cleared on Monday. It caused shock in a country where 5m people are infected with HIV.

Zuma's comments on HIV shocked Aids activists

Figure 25: Zuma 'took shower' to reduce HIV risk

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NEWS24.com

Zuma off the hook
News24's picture gallery captures the joy and celebration as Jacob Zuma's corruption trial is struck off the roll.

What next?
Jacob Zuma has been acquitted rape but repercussions from the are likely to continue.

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Special Report   The Zuma files

Zuma 'took shower' to reduce HIV risk
05/04/2006 12:19 - (SA)

Johannesburg - Jacob Zuma took a shower straight after sex with his HIV-positive rape accuser as a way of reducing his chances of contracting the virus, the Johannesburg High Court heard on Wednesday.

"It... would minimise the risk of contracting the disease," he told the court.

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• 'There must be something she is up to'
• Zuma trial continues
• Zuma: She had needs
• Zuma: She wanted sex with me

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Figure 26: Zuma - She wanted sex with me
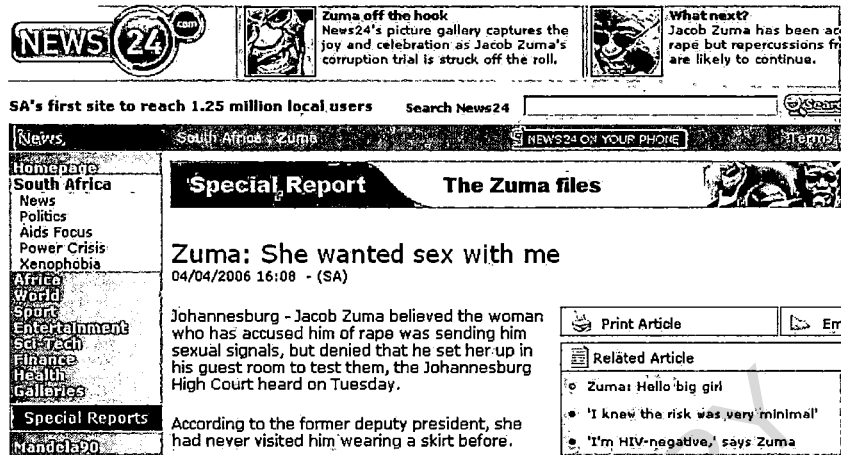
This discussion took place when we were playing soccer with students at the residence. There is a small place in the middle of the residences were we would gather and play soccer. The Jacob Zuma trial was still going on and had been a part of student and staff conversations about the weight of the accusations and the obtaining circumstances. On this day, as usual someone asked which side I was on, referring to whether I believed the account of Zuma or Kwezi, (the woman who accused Zuma of rape). I chose to be non-committal. But this was followed by comments from various players in the game. We were nine people in total. Some just listened and played whilst others were passionately engaged in the debate. For this discussion, I asked them if I could document some of their opinions.

Figure 27: South African rape trial raises AIDS alarm bells

A woman pretending to fire a mock weapon joins supporters of former deputy president Jacob Zuma in protest outside the High Court in Johannesburg on Wednesday, April 5, 2006. In Zuma's ongoing rape trial he told the court that he took a shower to reduce the risk of infection after unprotected sex with an HIV-positive woman
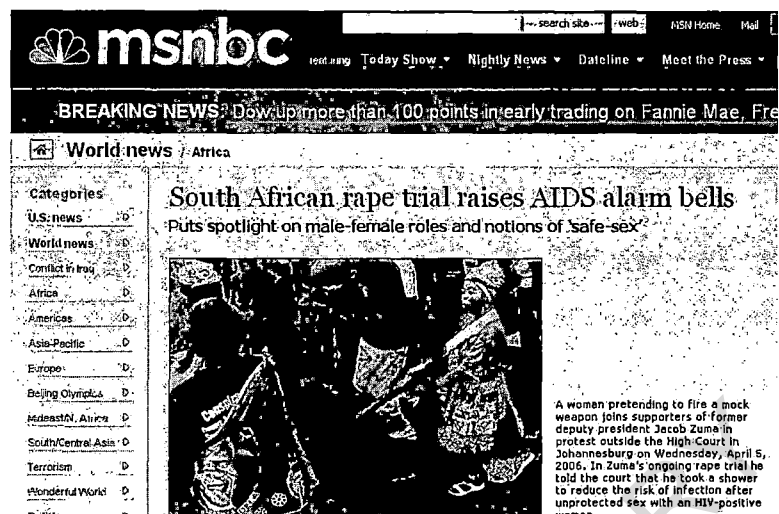
This high profile case highlighted a number of issues. Since many students find it difficult to discuss their personal lives on sex, the Jacob Zuma trial provided an opportunity to do so. Students talked in the third person about what should or should not be while at the same time using the personal "I" to illustrate an argument. A discussion followed and I had the opportunity to document views on sex, HIV and AIDS, and perceptions of risk.

> NOGD: Black male student: *"He is a fool, how can someone really sleep with someone who is clearly HIV positive? I think it is not true, maybe the woman is not even HIV positive"*

> White female student: *"But did he know that she is HIV positive?"*

The issue coming out of this discussion seems to be the willingness of the students to question whether Zuma was aware of the HIV status of the woman. The message of using condoms seems not have hit home as it is not seen as obvious. *"How can he just sleep with someone like that without a condom?"* The implication is that one may need to ask with whom a condom should be used or not when they choose to have sex or not. As such, the use of condoms seems not to be taken for granted.

Figure 28: Set back for safe sex in South Africa

Set back for safe sex in South Africa?

Kevin Anderson | 5 Apr 06, 01:03 PM

Ex deputy president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma is on trial for the rape of an HIV positive women. He denies the charges but admitted that he willingly had unprotected sex, despite the risk of HIV.

Safe Sex campaigners were outraged by his admission that, having lead the government AIDS council, he believed the risks "were minimal". He did have a shower after sex though.

NOD: Black Male Student: *"Yes, according the newspaper reports and what he said in court is that he knew and they had discussed it. I find it hard to believe. That is why sometimes it is hard to believe this AIDS thing. Zuma is an intelligent man, how can he just sleep with someone like that without a condom?"*

Students seem to have mixed feelings about someone having sex with someone whose status is clearly known by considering someone who has unprotected sex with a partner who is HIV positive, *"a fool"*. But this is immediately rectified with disbelief in the possibility of an HIV negative person having unprotected sexual intercourse; *"I think it is not true, maybe the woman is not even HIV positive"*. Indeed, denial has been a prominent feature in South Africa's political landscape since the year 2000 (2007, van Rijn, 2006). Intelligence is also linked to one's ability to choose to use a condom *"Zuma is an intelligent man, how can he just sleep with someone like that without a condom."* The political profile of Jacob Zuma did a lot to add to the confusion over HIV

and risk perception: It is recognised by some students that the choice for safe sex practices are 'about life'; *"if you know that you are likely to get the virus then how can you go and want to get it?"*: This seems to exacerbate the tension between knowledge and practice. Denotatively HIV is perceived as a life-threatening virus, but connotatively not well understood as there is denial. This is augmented by lack of trust in politicians whose integrity is in question, *"these guys are politicians. They can say anything"*. At the same time consolidating conspiracy theories were advanced that the woman was not HIV positive, but was paid by political individuals opposed to the Zuma camp in order to dent his public image.

I.   *"But he is free to choose who to sleep with, not so? Whether positive or negative?"*

Black female student: *"No. it is about life. If you know that you are likely to get the virus then how can you go and want to get it? Something is not right"*

Black Female student: *"But he tested negative"*

Black Male student 1: *"Ha, I really don't know. These guys are politicians. They can say anything. Just to sleep with a woman without a condom when you know she is HIV positive is not clear to me"*

Black male student 2: *"The whole issue has just become a political issue. It is rivals fighting against each other. That woman has been paid by the camp that is opposed to Zuma"*

White female student: *"No. the issue is that Zuma knows that the woman is positive, how can he just sleep with her without a condom? Moreover doesn't he have other wives? What does he think of them?"*

Black male student1:.*"Hey wena* (showing familiarity) *he is a Zulu man. Polygamy is not an issue"*

Female student: *"Here it is not a question of polygamy it is a question of being unfaithful to all of them."*

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Whilst the issue of polygamy and Zulu culture is raised, the discussion centered on perceptions of risk for men and women:

White male student: *"What about the shower thing, is it true?"*

Black Male student 1: *"Yes, I think it reduces the chances of getting the virus. You see the virus is washed away before it finds a cut."*

Black female student 2: *"I don't know."*

Black Male student 3: *"I am not sure. If the whole vice president took a shower, then he must have some evidence for it. Anyway so far all his results have come out negative"*

Black Male student 2: *"But you know that even without the shower the chances of a man getting it immediately are less compared to a woman?"*

The idea of taking a shower as a prevention method for HIV, though ridiculed in the media, found fertile ground in some discussions. There seems to be common sense logic applied to washing away a virus after sex with an infected person: *"...the virus is washed away before it finds a cut."* This forms a discourse which reinterprets risk in terms of the port of entry of the virus into the body of the uninfected through a cut on the penis. The authority figure of Zuma gives credibility to the ploy of having a *"shower"* as a preventive measure: *"if the vice-president took a shower; then he must have some evidence for it"*: The blow to consistent risk messaging came in as a result of the reported negative HIV status of Jacob Zuma. Despite having had unprotected sex with an HIV positive woman, his test was negative. Explaining how slim chances are of a male getting HIV compared to a woman, a student said, *"...that even without the shower, the chances of a man getting it immediately is less compared to that of a woman"*. This understanding of disproportionate risk may fuel risky sexual behaviours on the part of male students who believe that they are less likely to contract the virus than their female counterparts. This assumption seems to draw on the facts relating to the anatomy of the male penis in which a far smaller area of mucosal surface is exposed in the *meatus*, than is the case in the woman's vagina. If the virus is washed away

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immediately after sexual intercourse the chances of getting infected is reduced because *"the virus is washed away before it finds a cut"*.

Amongst the most salient themes drawn from the Zuma discourse are: one does not need to use a condom if someone hasn't got HIV, men are less at risk, and that showering may be a good protective measure.

Love, Sex and Risk: The Role of Rationalities

Male sexuality is taken to mean that it is almost a given for a man to have sex whenever he feels like it or wants it. In instances, where men feel they are provoked by females into sexual activity they are less likely to believe in personal control:

Black male student: *"This whole issue is a scam. How can a woman come to your home want to spend the night, dressed the way she was, and expects to go away without sex? She wanted it. She probably enjoyed it. If she was raped she could have gone away from the house, but she spent the rest of the night there, took a shower in the morning....made some phone calls...guys get real. Zuma is just a victim of being a man...she was dressed in a kanga...probably I would do the same..."*

Black male student: *"To an HIV positive woman?"*

Black male student: *"AIDS works if you believe in it. That is it."*

Black male student who had been silent throughout the discussion: *"Guys.....guys....the man made love to a woman he is in love with. How many of us do it? Don't pretend? How many girls do we do it with? And do we always test them...."*

Black male student: *"Get out! That is not the point. It is different when you know that she is sick"*

Black male student: *"Ha...that is not true. You guys sleep with someone you can clearly see doesn't look well. You see a girl has spots everywhere. Her hair looks*

like that of a baby...all the signs but you just ignore because you want to shoot..."
(Based on visual clinical diagnosis).

White female student: *"...men and their toys. It is all about their toys...you mean you can't even keep your toys under control?"*

One telling revelation in this particular discussion was the connection between sex and risk. In defending Zuma one student stated that HIV status is not what determines love. A person has the freedom to love someone regardless of HIV status. Love is presented as justification for unsafe sex: *"...the man made love to a woman he is in love with"* and goes on to pose a rhetorical question, *"how many of us do it?"* This question is left unanswered. The implication seems to indicate that unsafe sex is not uncommon. *"How many girls do we do it with?"* And *"do we always test them"* seems to challenge unsafe sex practices in which HIV status is not enquired before sexual intercourse. This seems to bring out the conceptions of risk in which, despite all the signs of HIV and AIDS, the man is still has sex with the woman. It appears to challenge notions of rationalities in sexual behaviour. The implication is also that men do not seem to believe that they are accountable for their own actions including taking care of their own health. What is being shown here is the triumph of the irrational over the rational. Others have observed that sexual behaviour is not rational and this seems to be an argument that may explain the perception of risk. Fear of HIV prevents some students engaging in sex.

Black female student: *"I don't like penetrative sex; I am afraid of pregnancy and HIV; because if someone tries to penetrate me with or without a condom, I just freeze..."*

Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT)

Voluntary testing and counselling is a major component of prevention and treatment though evidence of effectiveness is equivocal (Painter, 2001, Swanepoel, 2006). I had some encounters with students who had taken tests and were willing to risk more unsafe sexual encounters. One minute they would be telling me that they had taken the test and they were feeling lucky and great, and the next they would be telling me that they have

just had unprotected sex and regretted the act. It is difficult to estimate how widespread this kind of behaviour is, but it raises questions relating to the role that VCT plays in HIV/AIDS prevention.

> Black male student: "*By the way, wow... I went for a test today... you see my wife told me that she would be going for PMTCT so I wanted to know the results first. It feels good. There is always that feeling that you might be infected, you know, ...I only tested once and this is the second time I am doing it. It is done so nicely here by the way. I don't feel like having sex anymore. It just feels good to know that I am negative.*"

> I: "*Is this the first test?*"

> Black male student: "*No, this is like my third one. You know after the test you feel good and then afterwards you feel what if the test was wrong. Your mind is never very clear afterwards. But I keep doing it somehow. Here the nurse is friendly... I hope to abstain now.*"

> (Meeting him later)

> I: "*How is it going?*"

> Black male student: "*Not very good. I did something stupid.....I slept with another one and didn't know her status. So I am worried again. But there was no time to think, it all happened so fast*"

The initial feeling of having taken a test seems to be one of reassurance and a boosted self-esteem. Due to the publicity that HIV has received, the feeling of being 'optimistic' about a positive test may not be surprising. Ironically, I had a discussion with the same individual a week later in an encounter in which he described his behaviour as "*stupid*". This was in reference to the fact that he had had unprotected sex with a woman whose status he did not know and the reason given for this behaviour was that "*there was no time to think, it all happened so fast*". This behaviour gives insight into the dilemma of the knowledge-practice gap. Fear of HIV is also not uncommon, to

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the extent that it seems to affect sexual responses: *"if someone tries to penetrate me without a condom, I just freeze."*

On Silence, Sex and AIDS

Despite efforts to break the silence about HIV and AIDS, some find it difficult to talk about HIV, especially when it affects a close relative or sibling. I was attending ballroom dancing lessons at another campus, and during one of the breaks, a woman I was sitting next to, asked me about my area of research. She shared her experience:

> IPD: White female: *"My brother died of AIDS and no one to date wants to talk about it. It's been three years...don't ever tell my sister because they just don't wanna fucking talk about it, this is denial and it is very sad"*

Then she continued:

> White woman talking about her family: *"With my maid, it was easy we talked about it because we feared for the baby* (couples' baby), *she got tested and started medication...she is okay now but of course she couldn't continue with her work. I support her though...."*

This woman revealed silence which seems to be common in families with cases of HIV and AIDS. She is freer to discuss the status of the maid, *"with the maid, it was easy we talked about it because we feared for the baby"*. This may partly be explained by a desire to present the family to the public as 'morally upright' since HIV still invokes, in some people, a sense of shame. This sense of shame may also draw from the image of immoral sexual behaviour as the cause of HIV. An exchange student after attending a discussion session on HIV and death, made a comment on a contribution by participant who had indicated that his sister had died of AIDS:

> FD: White female student: *"It is surprising that someone can talk about his family like that... Mentioning a relative who dies of AIDS in X is generally unheard of. We tend to keep these things close to the family and don't easily talk about them in public, especially dying of AIDS. It is admirable here that they do it... "*

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Though silence may be seen as pervasive, there are positive indications of talk about AIDS amongst students; *"it is admirable"*. Silence is seems to be further perpetuated in talk that uses less direct language. Students sometimes seem to advise each other on risk by using 'euphemisms' like *"she comes from a high prevalence country"*. In the discussion below, that the student is alerting his friend to the need to be careful in selecting his sexual partner. This conversation was part of a discussion that two students were involved in. One of the students was in discussion about a relationship he had developed with a female student and his colleague offered him advice:

> NOD: Black male student 1: *"Just be careful my friend, that girl you are hooked on to comes from high prevalence"*

> Black male student 2: *"....of course I know I wouldn't want to infect my wife when I go back home....but you know there are too many....but I choose to stick to this one...."*

Silence is further associated with non-explicit discussion of the risk involved in casual sex, *"be careful my friend, that girl you are hooked on to comes from high prevalence"*. This seems to indicate awareness of the need for protection. The use of *"high prevalence"* area may be associated with knowledge about HIV and AIDS in the region and specific countries that are deemed high prevalence. This discussion seems to draw on fidelity as he chooses to be faithful to his wife and his other girlfriend, *"you know there are too many...but I choose to stick to this one..."*

Silences and Homosexuality: Dangerous Silences

Despite South Africa being the only country in Africa in which homosexuality is legal, there is silence around it. It is spoken in dark spots and is yet to be socially accepted within social interactions. Suspicion had grown around two men suspected of being homosexuals, but none of the students in the working area wanted to commit himself or herself to the subject so they talked about it in dark corners until one day I was involved in one such a discussion:

> IGD: Male white student: *"That Indian boy is the girlfriend of that guy right!"*

Male black student: "*I don't know.*"

Male white student: "*Do you mean they are ....eh...you know?*" (hesitates to mention homosexuality)

Black male student: "*I don't know because I meet them here and sometimes in the night coming from that office. This other day, they were drenched in sweat. I just wonder are they,* (hesitation) *you know..... (Hey, you I don't know).*"

Male student: "*Do you know anything if at all they are....?*" (Hesitates and doesn't mention the exact word (homosexual)

The subjects of this discussion were regular visitors to the coffee shop. They were almost always seen in public together. There seems to be stereotypes of gay individuals. One of the subjects was a white male student with a shaven head, wore tight clothes, and spoke with a feminine voice. These visual images are commonly drawn upon in representing individuals who are gay. In the discussion above, being homosexual is glossed over in silence: "*Do you mean they are*" seems to give the assumption that discussants are aware of the homosexual status of subjects of the discussion. The silence around being homosexual is striking.

Sexual Health: Communication and Peer education

White and Indian students seem less likely to attend university peer education programs. The majority who attend discussion meetings that have to do with HIV and AIDS are mainly a captive audience. These are students who are in some way connected to peer educators. A few new students may be invited but it is not always easy to get students to give up their time to attend such events. I spoke with one of the leaders of the discussions who was working with the HIV and AIDS support unit who acknowledged the bias and offered the following explanation:

FPI: I. "*Why is it that most whites from South Africa don't seem to attend such functions?*"

White Female student: *"...well they have a lot of other leisure activities. They drive with their girl-friends to wherever they want. You know they have the time and the money"*

It was quite telling for me to note that there were 14 black students and three white female students but there was no student of Indian origin in an organised peer education meeting. The three white female students were exchange students from outside of South Africa. White students are seen as coming from a background of privilege hence could afford other leisurely activities.

The above-cited except preceded a discussion forum on HIV and AIDS: but to make the seminar more attractive, the title was deliberately pro-sex in tone: *'how to make love better'*. To elicit discussion, questions were raised as to the number of styles that one can engage in when having sex. It was fascinating to see the conversation being changed to ideas around sexual passions and positions. The moderator had to keep reminding the group that the discussion was not a sex lesson on positions or styles but on HIV and AIDS.

Influences on Attitudes and Behaviour

Participants sometimes linked talk about sex and watching of pornography on the internet. I asked about talking about sex in conversations: This conversation took place after attending a lecture on cultural diversity focused on language. The discussion started with the difficulties inherent in translating cultural terms outside of their context. Students argued on how new words emerge almost on a daily basis in discussions especially on chats either on the internet or when sending short text messages. Then I asked them about sex talk and the following excerpt depicts the response:

Black female student 1: *"it is obviously we talk about it, but you see it very much on the internet"* (friend joins in)

Black female student 2: *"You see guys looking serious and busy; they are just watching pornography in the LAN. That is where it is ...you find someone watching stuff on hours just watching and watching"*

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Black female Student 3: "*It is weird, why not just do it instead of wasting time watching pictures of stuff, plenty of gay stuff as well; guys kissing and humping...it is all there on the net...you can even play the tube stuff..*".

Black male student 2: "*I had a weird experience, I wanted to greet someone I knew in the LAN but I got embarrassed because they had scrolled down the screen, then accidentally the screen shot up and it was eeeeeissh...*"(referring to pornographic images).

While pornography in itself is not a risky practice, it is noteworthy that the Internet is seen to be a source of information on sex and sexuality. The private nature of the medium seems to allow space for exploration of the erotic. It may be necessary to find how the sourcing of information on the Internet on sex and sexuality may influence behaviour.

Sexual Health Strategies

Protecting pleasure: Sex and Condom-use

Condoms are seen as protective and are discussed in the context of safety and fears of premature death; though sex is seen as inevitable, "*I just give*"; especially when there is someone ready to have it with, "*me I don't hesitate if one is available*". Apparently reckless behaviour is rectified by introducing the use of a condom; "*...make sure you use a condom*". The reason for the caution is not explicitly stated; "*...because it is better*" seems not to explain the link to benefits or losses of non-use of condoms. However, "*you may end up eating your own PhD. A PhD will escort you to the grave*" situates the context of caution by linking death to non-condom use. On a denotative level, the narrative locates condom use as a preventive action, while at the same time connotatively weighing it against losses and gains; but ideologically assuming common sense link of condoms and death. This discussion seems to represent how talk about HIV and AIDS may take on an assumed common-sense awareness. Talking about sex uses metaphors of silence, which are concomitantly connected to HIV and AIDS. This silence may be noted for instance in the quote below in which sex is not explicitly mentioned and neither is HIV and AIDS:

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NOGD: White male student: *"Me I don't hesitate, if one is available ..., I just give. Just make sure you use a condom because it is better. You may end up eating your own PhD. A PhD will escort you to the grave."*

In the citation above, "eating your own PhD" refers to the death after someone has worked hard to earn the higher qualification. Condom use, aside being linked to promiscuity, is also linked with maturity. The older students who are deemed experienced and mature are expected to be conservative with regard to sexual behaviour. Older students are seen as less likely to engage in sexual behaviour or those who do are usually in stable relationships and as such many not need to use condoms. This seems to suggest the belief that students who are married or are living together in stable relationships are less likely to use condoms. As one student observed when we were playing soccer.

Black male student: *"There are so many condoms in these residences. Anglo especially (post-graduate residence)...in tower, condoms go fast, the chaps use them a lot there unlike you guys down here. Anyway, guys in tower are still excited so you can understand...Hey but still it is too much ..."*

Black male student: *"I think it is because the guys in Anglo are married...but even in Collin Powell it is the same they eat the condoms fast...You shift into a new room and you see that someone had almost a whole box of condoms. That I say is being a man, already ready..."*

Students living in Anglo are post-graduates and generally older than students in undergraduate residence. Most postgraduate students are either in stable relationships or married hence the assumption of low condom use. This observation is explained by other studies which have indicated low condom use within marriages or cohabiting relationships in South Africa (Maharaj and Cleland, 2004). There seems to be widespread knowledge of the need for condom use for safe sex. But as to how widespread actual use is, is hard to tell since even the quantitative measure only estimates reported condom use. The reason for the high rate of condom consumption, as the metaphor used *"eating them"* is that *"guys in tower are still excited so you can understand"*. This form of talk assumes that since they are young and are just being

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initiated into sexual freedom, it may be understandable to expect high rates of sexual intercourse. But the rate of consumption to this black male student is still surprising as he comments "...*still it is too much*." Condom accessibility, not actual use may be inferred from the ability to discuss the subject in public. The prevalence of condom consumption is also visible in rooms "*you shift into a new room and you see that someone had almost a whole box of condoms*". This may indicate that there is a lot of sex going on within campus residences. I had a similar experience when I first moved into residence myself. I found a packs and packs of both male and female condoms not only in my room but also in the kitchen of the residence. Condoms are part of daily talk. This is consistent with surveys in which it has been noted that condoms have been common place in university settings (Maharaj and Cleland, 2006).

There is evidence of objections to condom-use. Disposed condoms have been found in classrooms and toilets after use. I was privy to a conversation between a student and a lecturer in which the discussion concerned what to do about used condoms found in a classroom. A student tutor found used condoms in one of the classroom and came to the department with the story. He told us how they found the used condoms in the classroom and then someone had written on the black board;

Male Indian student: *"this is a place of intellectual intercourse and not sexual intercourse..."*

Female student: *"That is desperate, in classrooms, what the hell is going on? Don't they know there is AIDS? How do you think of AIDS in that moment of passion...?"*

Indian female student: *"(...), some students are disgusting!"*

Indian male student: *"But at least they had the thought of trying to protect themselves"*

The discussion brings out the incongruence of sexual behaviour and notions of rationality and thoughtfulness. Sex in a classroom depicts this polarity. The classroom represents rationality, whereas sex is contrasted with this rationality and posted as reckless passion. In this incongruence of sex and rationality is a representation of

condoms as evidence of promiscuity whilst others may see it as a precaution; *"But they had the thought of trying to protect themselves"*. The use of, 'but' separates notions of irrationality from rationality. Rationality seems to be ascribed to the thought of using a condom.

This exchange reflects the fact that sex is seen by some as having no place in an orderly scholarly environment. It is, however, ironical that by implication sex is seen as 'ok' in a university residence hall. *"That is desperate, in classrooms?"* is an attitude that locates sex within an orderly system of management as opposed to instantaneous passions that may drive reason. She further questions if the couple would have been aware of AIDS at all, but the female student is quick to re-order her reason; *"how do you think of AIDS in that moment?"* drawing on a notion of unstoppable sexual urges. This seems to reveal the varying circumstances under which sex can be had. 'Opportunistic' sexual encounters resulting from lack of space may explain classroom sexual exploits. Students who do not reside within university residences may find the university to be the only space for sexual intercourse. As such, this may occasion incidences of sex in classrooms and other university spaces that may be deemed public. There seems to be an indication that condom use is not normalised. They are subjected to the same secrecy and silence as sex, even though it is a responsible thing to do.

Safe sex, Condoms and Pregnancy

White female student: *"She is pregnant but not married; I don't think that is a good idea. I would only get pregnant if there is marriage. But we have different values, what is important to me may not be important to some else. It would be hard to convince my parents that it is okay"*

I: *"But isn't she allowed to have a child?"*

White female student: *"No it is shameful, unless she is married, or something. But that one is not married and she is not living with anyone. It is a pity. When you are at university, you shouldn't allow it, and there are many ways of doing it, she is old enough and she knows"*

This discussion was initiated by gossip surrounding a female student who was pregnant out of wedlock. We were returning from an evening out where a group of students had organised a farewell party; when a female student noticed and greeted one of the students she had known before. She introduced me to the woman and the above comments were made after the woman had gone.

The idea that pregnancy should occur in marriage seems to be almost hegemonic *"she is pregnant but not married"*. The fact of pregnancy is interpreted within the ethic of marriage. This is more so true when this idea is subordinated to *"different values"* in which she presents her value-system as embedded in a conservative family *"it is hard to convince my parents that it is okay"*; draws on the stigma associated with pre-marital pregnancies whether consensual or otherwise. But sex can be had in relationships as long as precautions are taken to prevent the 'shameful' occurrence of a pregnancy; *"when you are at university, you shouldn't allow it, and there are many ways of doing it"*: An assumption is made that knowledge about safe sex is commonplace, *"she is old enough and she knows"*. The fact of being pregnant is understood as an irresponsible act if not within marriage, but the gravity of moral culpability is lessened if a condom had been used. But this act is ideologically rooted in common beliefs of the good or lack thereof of pregnancy as tied in to marriage. This woman's moral status is brought into question by the fact of her being pregnant whilst not married. The discussion seems to recognise the relativity of values and that the idea of having a child out of wedlock is wrong and may be represented as a moral absolute. Resonating with this theme was a predicament of one student who had fallen pregnant and was seemingly in a dilemma about keeping the baby or aborting:

Black female student: *"I can't keep this baby...I know it is wrong but I will do it. I didn't want the baby....I don't want to disappoint my sister"*

There is positive reinforcement in some instances for those who use condoms as they tend to be called 'smart'. This denotes an intelligent choice and contrasted with carelessness. But there are also negative connotations associated with condom-use. In some instances, they are called 'West Street' representing one of the main business streets in Durban city centre. This connotes *'looseness'* as in lax morals, which are ideologically used to represent condoms as a script of promiscuity.

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Female students who have more than one partner gain themselves the label 'Point' denotatively referring to the famous street, Point Road, in Durban in which a number of sex workers are found. It is also an area known for crime and muggings. The primary connotation is one of 'loose sexual morals' as this place is the catch point for sex workers and drugs. The use of the script 'Point' in reference to a female student is especially insulting and degrading.

Abstinence: Calling students to virtue

Insights into students' perceptions of abstinence and virginity were provided by the nicknames used to describe students appearing to 'abstain' from sex. The tone was slightly mocking. *"Some of my friends are still virgins, can you believe that?"* is a rhetorical question implying the common sense that virginity is not expected and that sexual activity may be prevalent. *"Virgins...I can bet on it, I was shocked for a university graduate to be a virgin";* follows on the expected cultural scenario in which students are expected not to be virgins hence the antithesis manifested by the surprise and shock. This dominant assumption seems to suggest that everyone else is having sex. A white female student describes her experience;

> White female student: *"Some of my friends are still virgins, can you imagine that, virgins.... I can bet on it. I was shocked for a university graduate to be a virgin... of course was wondering what is up with them..."*

> I. *"But shouldn't this be the normal thing?"* (Interviewer probe).

White female student: *"Not in today's terms and for that matter at university. I can understand secondary school or even better primary school."* The student chooses to contrast sexual practice today with that in the past, which is perceived as having had stricter sexual norms. *"not in today's terms";* contemporary society is expected to be a bit relaxed with sexual norms especially university culture; *"for that matter at university"*. This expectation of sexual permissiveness relates to the university cohort, and not that of primary school or secondary school norms in which students may be expected to be younger, and less sexually experienced.

PEGD: Female Peer educator: *"The only absolute way to protect oneself is through abstinence. You just have to know that sex is safe as long as the port of entry is taken care of? that is if there is a sore in the mouth and you also have one, then you open the possibility to risk of infection of the port of entry, but grinding is safe, or tea-bagging[lxii], ...I think it is only when there is a sore or cut in the lining of the penis or the vagina which can let in the virus. But I agree that abstinence is the perfect mode of self-protection."*

For students who are Christians, abstinence is lauded as a higher value, and it is assumed that Christians have less need of receiving ABC messages. "The dominance of religious discourse in sexual morality is pervasive (Cohen and Tate, 2006, McClelland and Fine, 2008, Thomas, 2000). *"I know that many guys don't agree with me but this ABC thing is for non-Christians"* may represent a common case of moral categorisation in sexual morality. Though the respondent admits prevailing sexual norms by providing positive deviation from the norm, she affirms the religious bias which divergently places on one spectrum students who are non-Christian as the targets of safe sex campaigns, while negating Christians since they are expected to abstain from sex in the first place. She seems to purport that it is the non-Christians who should be the targets of conversion and 'missionary activity'. Discourses on abstinence are also represented in nicknames:

Abstinence discourses: usurping collective efficacy

As illustrated above abstinence is a virtue that is important in sexual health. But it is also contested terrain, as it does not seem to be a realistic strategy. Discourses on abstinence seem to invoke negative social and religious imagery, which may work to negatively affect collective efficacy. The following labels used to describe abstinence seem to denigrate students who abstain by giving them labels with negative connotations. Some of these labels are denotatively positive as they may represent a highly held value within culture. But when used in reference to students, they denote being out of step with the rest of the norms of students' culture. The use of virgins to denote abstinence is not meant to show the exact status of a person in question but is often used to tease students who seem to show little interest in sexual activities. In some case the label 'virgin' is followed by 'Mary' to draw from religious ideology

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within the Catholic belief-system in which Mary is the symbol of purity and perpetual virginity. Some labels are denotatively offensive like, *Bari*: a fool or an idiot, some are innocent and admirable on the denotative level. But they are then taken up and appropriated to signify a not-so-common practice, in this case abstinence. This may be shown in cases where a student who abstains may be referred to as a 'loser'. This same label may be attributed to someone who doesn't seem to be hot with girls and doesn't show keen interest. These connotative meanings draw on the taken-for-granted assumption that not having sex is somehow not in tune with the sexual culture of students within the university.

The concept 'innocent' is used to denote the opposite of guilt[lxiii]. On the denotative level, this means not having had sex while connotatively associating in the light of sexually active students. On the ideological level, the concept borrows from religious/cultural ideology in which innocence is a primordial status acceptable within a Christian or cultural ethical system. Those who have had no sex as yet are seen as not having lost the innocence of childhood, usually lost through sexual knowledge. Sex is seen as an assault on innocence. "Are you still innocent?" or "why do you pretend to be innocent?"

The word innocent is used as a synonym for virginal status. Connotatively, though admired, the 'innocents' tend to suffer ridicule. This is in expectation that sexual intercourse is a normal process for students and those students who are not engaged in it seem to deviate from a perceived norm. They are sometimes treated as heroes. Linked to the concept of innocence is 'nuns': In the concept of a nun, abstinence is linked to chastity which is denotatively a virtue taken by professed religious nuns not to engage in sexual intercourse or to practice 'intemperate acts' in a vow of chastity. Those who abstain are therefore, connotatively, seen as pure and unblemished. This is religious discourse, which is mocked in order to describe the 'deviance' or 'abnormal' nature of abstinence. It is a cause for surprise and suspicion. With such notions and attitudes positive deviation from social norms may be experienced as difficult. Oxen are yet another concept that is used and refers to castrated cows used for ploughing and related chores on a denotative level.

Connotatively, oxen represent a tough cow that is used for work but in the end is good for nothing in sexual relationship as it is tantamount to impotence. On ideological level – i.e. the taken-for-granted level, within popular cultural practice, it is not a virtue to be admired but a label for mockery of students living away from the expected conventional norms. *iSishimane*: a label given to someone with none or only one sexual partner. It is used to denote a male as unmasculine. The *isishimane* is used in contradistinction to an *isoka* who traditional Zulu culture represents as males with multiple sexual partners (Hunter, 2004). The *isoka* was praised and the named played a positive social function whereas, the *iSishimane* was worse than an insult. In a patriarchal society where men could have many sexual partners and whose masculinity dependent to a large extended on the constructed meaning of being an *isoka*, the *iSishimane* became a symbol of ridicule.

When used in reference to students, the *iSishimane* is a mockery against students who may be faithful to their partners or are not engaging in sexual relations. The ideological function of the label is in its contrast with *isoka* and roots itself within a dominant ideological structure in which the meaning of masculinity is defined *vis-à-vis* the number of sexual partners that one may have. For a fuller discussion on the historical developments of the concept Vilakazi gives a detailed motif (Vilakazi, 1962). As for representing females, the use of the label 'chicken' signifies innocence. It is difficult to assess how innocence is related to chicken, but it is the vulnerability of a chicken but also its appeal as a delicious meal. On the denotative level, the chicken symbolises food whilst connoting attractiveness and vulnerability. On the ideological level it is the stereotype of meekness that is labelled on women who are seen as 'chicks' or 'babes'.

Negating positive social deviation

As noted above, the use of humour, ridicule, and mockery plays a social function of filling up the gap of silence. In themselves jokes become a silent vehicle for the noise that is associated with a given subject. For instance, when student discourse uses positive names and turns them into nicknames, they relativise their meaning in order to contextualise within their discursive community a language that appropriates meaningful social relations. This is true of the concept of abstinence or virginity. These states of life, though idealised, are appropriated and used to represent what is

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perceived as unattainable. The force of their meaning comes out strongly when such labels are given concrete realisation e.g. placed on students who live a particular lifestyle.

The use of virgin, pronounced in *isiZulu*, mocks the very idea that it seeks to applaud. Denotatively, virgin signals a girl who has had no sexual intercourse while implying purity. But in these interactions it is used to mock those living out of date with sexual trends. Virginity signals an almost abnormal status. In order to borrow from religious discourse, the label virgin is further reproduced with religious symbolism by appealing to 'Mary' which adds a different connotation to the notion of virgin. Virgin Mary is borrowed from scriptural discourse in which the Virgin Mary represents the biblical image of purity and Immaculate Conception. When used to represent students who abstain, the phrase is not meant to praise virginity as a moral statute but to infer abnormality especially in trends where sexual prowess seems to have significant social connotations for peer acceptance.

In further denigration of abstinence labels like grannies are used. Grannies refer to sexually inactive women and men. Connotatively, it is used to represent sexually inactive students which augment the belief that sexual inactivity is not in step with the trend of student cultural scenarios. In the same line as grannies, is the use of Uptight which means tense and nervous. It refers someone who is uneasy with his or her sexuality. Uptight connotes a state of uneasiness especially when a student doesn't have regular partners or is perceived as not having a sexual relationship. When the label uptight is used a student is noted for not being easily accessible or allowing of sexual offers. One may also be referred to as a 'Prude' by which is meant a person who is described as being overly concerned with decorum or propriety. They are tight and uncomfortable with sexuality, nudity, alcohol and drugs or mischief. They are self-controlled and virtuous. It is denotes excessive modesty, unflattering, and insulting. Such a person may be reluctant to participate in sexual activity. Prone to abstinence and condoms Prude sometimes may be called Puritan referring to the puritan sect.

The phrase 'Not willing to give it up' may also be used as a description of someone holding on to their sexuality. It refers to being tight with ones 'generosity' with regard to sexual favours. It connotes abstinence but in a mocking tone. The *'Intombinto'* is a

virgin who reportedly yields a lot of cows and is deemed preferable for marriage. In traditional culture, she denotes someone who represents an ideal bride to be.

Traditionally virginity was as such a value that was prized for girls. There has been an attempt to showcase this traditional value through virginity testing (Leclerc-Madlala, 2001). But when used as a label, this imagery is twisted to represent an *Intombinto*; a girl who has not yet broken through into the conventional network of sexual relationships. It represents immaturity and is used to mock university students who should be of age but act like an ' *Intombinto'* i.e. an immature young girl. On a religious note, the use of, for instance, *Umzalwane* represents a fellow church goer. It is a mark of distinction in which the person given the label stands for someone who faithfully follows church teachings that embrace truthfulness and morality. Such a one is considered moral and upright. It is a positive religious term that takes on meaning depending on the context of use. If it is used in reference to abstinence, it is used to negatively label students who are not having sex nor indulging in multiple sexual relationships. This is an appropriation of religious discourse to signify either an accepted value or one that is deemed wanting.

In the same line of religious discourse, *Igwala* (scared person) or a coward invoked to denote a scared person while at the same time referring to students who abstain as cowards. It connotes students who are opposed to sexual involvement or are seen in public not to have sexual relationships. Their cowardice contradicts the more sexually active students who also give a public display of their relationships. It works to script sexual activity as normative whereas non-participation in the hegemonic display of sexuality is labelled in negative terms. This labelling also works with the borrowing of terms like *isilima* or *isidalwa*: (nguni/ Ndebele/xhosa word for) disabled person, to script on a popular cultural level the perception of abstinence. Other terms in the same scripting category include, *Wipt, mzalwane*, priests, Sticker whilst 'wewe' is used to represent a female ghost with large drooping breasts, but is connotatively used to describe female students who abstain.

Safe- Sex, Language, and practices: 'We have our own language'

Safe sex is a central tenet to reversing the HIV/AIDS epidemic. This is because safe-sex practices are central to prevention efforts (Slaymaker and Buckner, 2003, Richters et al., 2003, Reddy, 2004, Flood, 2003, Eaton et al., 2003, Carrol, 2003). It is, however, important to understand the nature and meaning of safe sex amongst members of a given discourse community. As with student discussions a number of discourses on sexual styles emerged in the discussion on safe sex practices. The following practices may be considered as safe sex. The gist of these practices is that they exclude ejaculation in the vagina and anal penetration. The following discussion also highlights how talking about sex can lead to sexual arousal and brings to the fore the danger that inexperienced facilitators may face. It is probably one of the reasons why so many cultures and religions have made talking about sex taboo. It is apparently difficult to talk about sex in a dispassionate and scientific way, which is what health promoters and peer educators may need to learn to do.

Grinding is sexual arousal by rubbing one fully clothed body against another's body. This is also performed in dances where for instance a girl would bend over for a boy then rub her buttocks on the boys groin to simulate sexual positioning. Tea-bagging; this is when the scrotum hangs on the girls mouth while she licks and lets them in and out of the mouth like a tea-back pushed in and out of a tea cup. Phone sex is also identified as sex being had on the phone by detailed oral descriptions of movements and positions with sounds of passions like, *'oh ah'*, 'that is good, slowly faster and.... a simulation of actual sex'. Mxit[lxiv] is the use of mobile phone text messaging in which sexual emotions and fantasies are explored and shared.

The exploration of pleasure is also achieved through the use of fists. Fist is a form sexual exploration in which the fist is used to make love by rubbing it on the vagina or inserting it in. It is talked about as giving intensive pleasure. Sometimes the whole fist is pushed into the vagina. An adventurous one is where two fists are pushed into the vagina simultaneously. Frotting is where sexual arousal is achieved through rubbing each other with clothes on. It is viewed as extremely arousing and can lead to orgasm. Titty sex refers to a fondling of the nipples using different parts of the body, from toes, tongue, penis, breasts, vagina, and chest. The purpose is to reach orgasm without actual

exchange of bodily fluids in order to prevent infection with HIV or becoming pregnant. The use of fists may also be accompanied by what is known as foot sex. Foot sex is the use of the foot to excite the vaginal area. Robot sex may involve penetration, but it was discussed as one of sexual performance where one is completely still while the partners fondles them and makes love to them without actual vaginal or anal penetration. Taxi to Soweto can be made non-penetrative, this is where the girl sits on top of the partner while her back faces the partner. One looks as if he or she is driving a taxi. It normally is experienced as penetrative sex. The concept of the *Karma Sutra* was described and appropriated as a liberal approach to sex between partners. It connotes openness and ability to talk about the different positions and feelings associated with love-making. The emphasis here is about openness and ability to talk to a partner about the sexual relationship.

As the groups got obsessed with the idea of sexual positions, the moderator had to remind them to concentrate on HIV prevention and not sexual positions. She emphasised that the title was just to make the posters provocative and attractive. "*You see when students read something like that then they are likely to come in numbers then we can talk about the real issue which is HIV*". This social technique to elicit talk by appealing to the erotic is one that Lovelife has adopted and it has been condemned as facilitating sexual behaviours that are deemed inimical to HIV prevention messaging. Whilst on a denotative level, the above-enumerated names of sex may only serve to represent erotic fantasy; they are a dialogic form representing prevailing negotiations of sexualities within student cultural experiences. They are a form of language of how students may perceive the attraction of sexuality and how it is talked about within students' sexual cultural space. While the danger of these practices may lie in leading to situations that may facilitate unsafe sex, they however, do provide an opportunity for sexual exploration which achieves the purpose of giving young people an opportunity to explore sexual fantasy without the risk of engaging in actual unsafe sexual practices.

Chapter Eleven

Implications for Sexual Behaviour: Major themes

The previous four chapters have primarily focused on analysing the discourses of talk collected during fieldwork. This chapter interrogates the findings within the theoretical framework which informed the study. It specifically elaborates on the nature of the taken-for-granted subject position of the students who appropriate sexual discourse in a way that is consistent with 'what is present in the mind all at once' i.e the '*phaneron*'. The chapter starts by giving a brief rationale for the marriage of qualitative and quantitative approaches. It then re-assesses the concept of the phaneroscopy in the light of script theory. The dominant theme that this study has highlighted is in the understanding of sex as an irresistible biological drive, especially for men. This is examined in the light of risky sexual practices. An exposé of perceptions of risk and how partners are selected based on connotative associations of an HIV positive status is given. Concurrent sexual partnerships are the driving force of HIV infection. They form a central area of consideration in this section. Major themes highlighted include: post-modern fatalism; attitudes to condoms; gendered personae in assessing sexual behaviour; notions of abstinence; love and marriage; sexual utilitarianism; and the appropriation of language in sexuality discourse.

There is the understanding in this study that qualitative research is beginning to show that a nexus of strong, socio-cultural forces shape sexual behaviour, that is, numbers of sexual partners, condom use, abstinence and talk. But all this is manifested on the level of denotation i.e. meanings arising out of an experience with objects of encounter. There is a higher level of connotative meanings which are and become discursive practices informed by an ideological ethos which may be particular, but not exclusive to the interpreting community, in this instance, students. While reported sexual behaviour may be unrepresentative, it does, however, depict preferred notions of meanings attached to them. These meanings are represented in discourses of talk, as patterns of preferred ways of self-representation. While qualitative studies promise to answer the

'whys' of a phenomena, quantitative studies are favourable to answering questions like "how many sexual partners do you have at the time?", but give little of the relational dynamics surrounding sexual behaviour. (Marston and King, 2006b). Major themes have been discussed in the presentation of results i.e., Chapters Seven to Nine. Chapter Ten of this study concentrates on the following dominant themes that may be important in confronting questions of sex, and sexuality vis-à-vis HIV and AIDS within the universities. These themes are analysed within the context of an ideological structure that allocates specific meanings to behaviours that may be labelled deviant from the dominant legitimated social norms.

Re-assessing the notion of the Phaneroscopy in the context of a Scriptoscopy

The discussion of discourse in this chapter is located within the idea of the phaneroscopy placed alongside the theory of scripted sexual behaviours:

> *Phaneroscopy is the description of the phaneron; and by the phaneron I mean the collective total of all that is in any way or in any sense present to the mind, quite regardless of whether it corresponds to any real thing or not. If you ask present {sic} when, and to whose mind, I reply that I leave these questions unanswered, never having entertained a doubt that those features of the phaneron that I have found in my mind are present at all times and to all minds. So far as I have developed this science of phaneroscopy, it is occupied with the formal elements of the phaneron*[lxv].

The phaneroscopy represents all that is present to the mind. The perception of a sign or systems of signs is located within one's state of mind. This state of mind is the ideological standpoint giving meanings to what is encountered. The nature of the encounter is in turn informed by this en-cultured discourse. This discourse, therefore, refers to relationships, ways of negotiating meanings, and the use of specific codes in legitimising experience. This process of legitimisation is an underlining tenet to the culture of groups as it establishes a negotiated way of relating by subjects within a given discourse community. The analysis and presentation of the data of this study is based on the understanding that the concept of discourse is *sine qua non* in appreciating the nature and functions of the relationships between sex-talk, behaviour and the ideological structure informing this behaviour. Talk as such is important for collective efficacy, by which is meant the belief as a group that something can be done about a problem that the group may be facing. In giving a hermeneutical analysis, the three-level

understanding of how meaning is perceived within a discourse community is combined with the perception of the three-leveled appreciation and appropriation of sexual scripts. What one perceives has meaning already within cultural scenarios (Thirdness). Its meanings (Secondness) are observed in the actualization of an act (Firstness). The nature of sexual behaviour is that we are able to observe certain things, but only to a certain extent because sex is a reality that is shrouded in mystery, hence prone to silence. We, however, also depend on reported data. Actual sexual behaviour is the manifestation of the connotations which draw meanings within an ideological structure. For instance, the perception of abstinence by an individual, says a Zulu young man, is located within his patriarchal family system. The underlying script is the normative social norms that have made him who he is. He is as such more likely to act in consonance with his cultural scenarios and interpersonal demands within a relationship. The influence itself may be discrete only to be noted in oppositional meanings of overt behaviour. The former gives him the dominant script while the latter allows him room to renegotiate and appropriate this dominant script in actual relationships. But I must be quick to mention that notions of patriarchy do not only operate within a particular Southern African context as it has been deeply embedded within the understanding of sexuality globally through the normalisation of heterosexuality (heteronormativity) and pathologisation of the other forms of sexualities (Cameron and Kulick, 2003);

> *"The idea of heterosexuality as a norm rather than simply one option among others is still part of feminist thinking,...Compulsory heterosexuality is not just bad because it denies individual women, and indeed individual men, the freedom to define and express their own sexual preferences. Rather, heterosexuality is a political institution, and the 'compulsory' status of heterosexuality has a key political function in maintaining the gender hierarchy that subordinates women to men" (Ibid.,p.44-45)*

Sex talk amongst students, though shares similarities with other South African notions (Oxlund, 2007, Harrison, 2008). It is a restricted language that operates within a university-embodied discourse. The discourses that are used in most health promotion messages; especially AB and C are laden with dominant cultural and religious ideologies, which seem at odds with students' discourses. It is this disjuncture that has

led some sexual health researchers to advocate for the use of a language that is reminiscent of the culture of young people in order to break through the barriers that create a gulf between theory and practice (Selikow, 2004, Cameron and Kulick, 2003, Ogechi, 2005). This study has been an attempt to unravel the students' observed experiences so that it becomes feasible to comprehend how students understand and relate to notions of sexuality, love and marriage, abstinence and fidelity and the nature of multiple partnerships. The connotative level of meaning is replete in the binary meanings that are appropriated to sexual talk. Some of these meanings are manifested in non-verbal experiences, for instance the public display of affection by students of Indian ethnicities. This behaviour is, therefore, a language that can be decoded in the light of discussions and inquiry. The inquiry seeks to clarify the language of behaviour that in itself represents a form of resistance to social and normative controls of family spaces as compared to university spaces.

The area of ideology has the concept of dominant ideology which refers to the semantic grid of social significations through which signs are sifted and ordered (Tomaselli, 1996). Ideologies exist both in praxis as well as in forms of representations (Tomaselli, 1996, Hall, 1997). What is noticed here is that ideologies are a form of embedded script which in itself is a cultural scenario. They do not exist in the individual subject, but within the structure in which the individual is located. This cultural script informs notions of meaning-making which in turn affect behaviour in practice. According to the levels of scripts, ideology functions on two main levels i.e. the structure (ideological) and the interpersonal (sociogenic); and is translated into action on the categorical level of practice.

Sex as a Stubborn Biological Drive: Accounting for risky sexual practices

Sexuality, as discussed above has been a subject of major disciplines, i.e. sociology, anthropology, psychology, sexology, public health, etc.. It has also been variously conceptualised. One of the dominant perceptions of sexuality is the irrepressible biological drive theory. This is one theory that Foucault was quick to warn against that "sexuality must not be described as a stubborn drive, by nature alien and of necessity disobedient to a power which exhausts itself trying to subdue it and often fails to control it". (1979:103) Foucault is seen as denaturalising sexuality and describing it as a locus

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of power relations *'point de passage'*. He translated the Freudian biological drive and sought to refute its stubbornness by replacing it with a notion of sexuality as intricately woven within an individual's volition and knowledge. This makes sexuality into a discursive reality which can be transformed and transcended. Student perceptions of the males' sexual drive seems to fall dominantly within 'the uncontrollable biological sexual drives' discourse. Male sexual drives continue to be represented as difficult to control (Selikow, 2004). This may explain the perception by a higher proportion of respondents (45%) agreeing to the assertion that it is okay for male students to have multiple sexual partners against 19% who do not agree and 36% who neither agree nor disagree (Appendix VIII). This perception may also inform the notion that males are incapable of controlling their sexual urges. A higher proportion of respondents (58%) indicated that men do not have power to abstain or choose to use a condom during sexual intercourse. This is in contradiction to a higher proportion of respondents (63%) who believe that women have power to control their sexual urges (Appendix V & VI). This discourse is drawn from is a script of biology and tradition, that is, it is natural and unchangeable (Selikow, 2004). This myth is used to represent not only why men have multiple partners but also why condoms may not be used in sexual relationships.

This theme repeatedly emerges from the qualitative data in which men are perceived as almost in bondage to sexual feelings **(see Chapter Nine)**. Despite near universal knowledge of HIV and its modes of transmission (95%), this knowledge does not seem to explain the apparent display of risky sexual behaviour. In student talk, fatalism may reveal an attitude that raises more questions than it answers. For instance, *"we are all going to die, does it matter who dies first?"* **(cf.p.174)**. In the daily interactions of students, the expectations of social norms are clear as is evidenced in the discourses that either affirm or deny submission to taken-for-granted assumptions. Adherence to social norms seems to succumb to peer-expectations, resulting in performances which make students fit in. Whereas, there is widespread knowledge of HIV/ AIDS, it is surprising that a student who knows someone who has disclosed his or her HIV status is more likely to report having a concurrent partner. This may be explained by the apparent denialism that may be present in some discourses. The debates surrounding the Zuma case being a case in point. While knowledge of HIV is widespread, in practice there are taken-for-granted assumptions that inform behaviour. These are discrete expectations

informing one's actions that form a level of influence that is scripted through available discourses in the culture.

Visual assessment of sexual partners: Presentation of the better self

In discourses of talk, the choice to have a sexual relationship may be based on assessing whether an individual appears to be HIV positive or negative. This visual inference goes on despite high levels of awareness of HIV/AIDS and that one cannot tell an HIV positive individual merely by visual diagnosis of individuals. In some instances, as reflected in the qualitative discussions, a person's moral status is evaluated based on the perceived number of sexual partners that a student has. This seems to be truer with female students who are expected to be 'more chaste' than male students. Decisions to have sex with a partner are partly based on their physical appearance as to whether they may be HIV negative or positive. Male students may display a tendency to select women based on sexual behaviour which is usually used to mark stability or suitability or its lack thereof.

The selection of sexual partners through a process of visual elimination of risk is a practice that has been reported. This draws on the taken-for-granted notions of a positive-HIV status as manifesting particular clinical and visual signs (Mawadza, 2004). These 'signs' (symptoms) become signals of a positive risky encounter. The mind picks up what has been commonsense (ideology) assessment of a possible HIV status and categorises a possible sexual partner through a process of clinical diagnosis (connotations). This seems to replace talking about HIV status prior to having sex. On the level of taken-for-granted assumptions, a script has been embedded into systems of sexual negotiation vis-à-vis HIV status. Within these taken-for-granted assumptions is a response to the silent moral charge that is associated with sex.

The presentation of the self is a moral enterprise within a context of situated sexual norms with particular understandings of risk and moral responsibility. Stories of the uncontrollable sexual drives are stories of urgency and accountability. They are represented as a way of distancing oneself from moral culpability of not acting in accordance with perceived moral sanctions, hence Goffmann's presentation of the self (Goffman, 1959) is apt in explaining the scripted nature of sexual compulsion as

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narrative in student discourses. On the first level, students explain the biological drive as a physical urge that demands expression. In daily talk, it finds expression in connotations like a 'fire burning' creating pressure for expression. On a deeper ideological level is the perception of the taken-for-granted belief in the male sexual drive as uncontrollable hence in need of release. This release is apparently interpreted as sexual intercourse. The representation of the nature of this biological sexual drive has been contested by Michel Foucault (Pollis, 1987, Foucault and Rabinow, 1984, Foucault, 1979) in his notion of the repressed hypothesis. This notion of the biological drive has been studied as a pervasive form of representing the sexuality (Stein, 1989, Gonzaga et al., 2006, Coveney and Bunton, 2003).

Aside from implications for sexual health, the drive theory has been taken as a re-formulated script amongst university students in which it is used as an excuse for failure at controlling sexual feelings. But the sexual drive performs a corrective social function in the performance of an individual in which he or she is absolved of moral culpability for being under the influence of 'an impersonal drive'. The notion of the biological drive finds expression in religious metaphors by placing blame on an external force; hence the use of *yielding to temptation* as an indicator of one's loss of the ability to exercise self-restraint in the light of temptation. The notion of temptation is ideologically located within the perception of the Devil as the author of temptations. The same biological myth in these religious connotations is scripted in line with the dominant religious ideological outlook. The script is influenced by the dominant ideology. The level of Firstness which is experienced as the failure to resist sexual urges in a particular encounter; and choosing to have sex is interpreted within the notion of temptation, which is informed by an ideological structure controlled by the 'External Other'/Deity.

The biological sexual drive: Powerlessness and coercion

The biological drive myth also positioned risky sex as an outcome of exogenous factors limiting one's power to control unprotected sex. This appeal to the biological myth places emphasis on lack of capacity rather than awareness of the dangers of unprotected sex. This is manifested in the discourses which excuse acts of unprotected sex. Though the self is considered responsible, one is, however, made powerless by rendering powers

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of self control unattainable in moments of sexual intercourse. This powerlessness is often predicated as a function of the lack of assertiveness in negotiating sex. For male students, the sexual drive myth leads them to interpret female partners as objects of release. The onus for safe sex practices is on the shoulders of women who are perceived to be much more rational when it comes to sexual urges. Males are presented in this discourse as driven by an internal urge that is difficult to manage. While most research posits that women are victims of male dominance in power relations (Smith, 2007, Simbayi et al., 2007), the discussions in this study highlight another dimension which considers a man a victim of an unknown force while the female is credited with rational abilities in dealing with sexual drives.

The lack of agency arising from forces of nature positions the self as lacking capacity for self-determination in relating to sexuality. These notions of sexuality as driven by external forces are commonplace (Stein, 1989, Lauretis, 1998). They are used as excuses to account for sexual desire and behaviour in order to present the self in a favourable light. Sex, as a naturally occurring phenomenon once in motion may not be stopped. While talk rationalises the sexual as under the control of the people involved, unprotected sex is, however, presented as the natural course of events, hence the use of condoms is an interruption to the process.

Unprotected sex is ideologically embedded in notions of naturalness. Natural sex is the norm. Condom use is not natural, but is interference to the natural process (Shelton, MacPhail and Campbell, 2001, Campbell and MacPhail, 2003, Maharaj, 2006, Hendriksen et al., 2007, Flood, 2003). *"How can you stop?"* or *"sex is sex"* *"it is difficult to stop once you have been aroused"* these forms of talk present unprotected sex as biologically driven and, consequently the normal thing to do. Whilst on the level of categorical action, the acts of unprotected sex are represented as normal acts; they are placed within the fundamental connotations of differentiating the natural from the unnatural. On the level of praxis, one absolves the self from the unacceptability of the action, but goes further to locate, by association, attempts to create a sign of unprotected sex as representing the 'irrational and illogical' of sexual behaviours. Condoms, while known to be protective and necessary, are nonetheless shown to be unnatural barriers that interfere with the natural process of sexual intercourse.

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Multiple and concurrent sexual partners: Denials and Opportunity sex

It is currently common knowledge that the epidemic in Southern Africa is a mature generalised epidemic. It has also been argued that the challenge in Southern Africa is not knowledge of the epidemic, but "knowing how to bring about profound social and normative changes to reduce multiple, and especially concurrent, sexual partnerships" (Wilson and Daniel, 2008). The disproportionate effect of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa is currently being explained in terms of concurrent sexual partnerships which is concluded in scientific literature as a catalyst for the epidemic (Kalichman et al., 2007, Halperin and Epstein, 2004, Potts et al., 2008, Halperin et al., Green et al., 2006). The nature of concurrent sexual relationships amongst students shows that there is a pattern showing multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships. Eighteen percent (18%) of respondents report having concurrent sexual partners against 81% who do not report concurrent sexual partnerships.

Of those reporting concurrent sexual partnerships, a higher proportion reported having two extra relationships alongside the main one (9%), while four percent (4%) reported; one and four extra partners respectively. About two percent reported having more than four extra sexual partners. This pattern of sexual relationships may seem insignificant but if the 18% constitute a very active sexual group, they may pose a threat as drivers of the virus. In a generalised epidemic, the drivers need not be many but a small group may operate within a network and in the process spread the disease within and beyond the network. As noted in the qualitative results, notions of love, sex and fidelity undergo a process of renegotiation within student interactions. These notions may explain the apparent acceptability of multiple partnerships. Hiding an extra-marital relationship may itself signify an attempt at fidelity. As such in this context of relating, fidelity is not the traditional monogamous, family-oriented romantic love, but a skill to successfully maintain a secret affair. A CADRE study supports this finding when it found that truth, faithfulness and honesty is not understood in the context of an exclusive relationship, but have to do with not hurting the 'main' partner:

"As for me, I have my girlfriend, the one that I spend most of my time with. I am faithful to her because even when I have other girlfriends I do not walk around

with them for her to see me. I hide the other girlfriends." (FGD, Male, 20-30, Gauteng) (Makhubele, 2007)

In other cases, revenge on cheating partners is used as justification for having extra partners. A *laissez faire* attitude in which 'whatever passes near the gun' is to be shot may be reminiscent of macho, hunter or *Isoka* masculinity which is deeply rooted in a patriarchal system in which women have been subordinated to male dominance. A CADRE study on multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships corroborates some of my findings, for instance, on the nature of concurrent sexual partnerships (Parker et al., 2007). Casual sex or 'fuck buddy' phenomena represents a form of multiple sexual partnerships. The 'fuck a fresher' phenomenon seems to explain the higher number of sexual partners amongst the third year students and the first years. This is explained in terms of third year's students who consider themselves as the seniors tending to 'gold rush' for the incoming first year students. The less likelihood of fourth years reporting concurrency is mainly due to stable relationships and cohabitation. But as noted from the logistic regression, fourth years are less likely to report condom use because they have developed higher levels of familiarity and trust. Multiplicity in sexual relationships may also be explained in terms of being caught up in a web. A student may not have the necessary skills to end a current relationship and may as such sustain more than one sexual partner because he/she may not be able to put closure to an existing relationship which has *de facto* broken down.

Postmodern Fatalism: Abdicating the rational self?

The assumption in assessing sexual behaviour is that the understanding of risk management and avoidance is premised on rational choice (Airhihenbuwa, 2000). This approach to life is seen as the norm. Human beings are presented as risk aware by which is meant that they are able to calculate risks in order to avoid danger or death. This is perceived as the rational view. Some of the students account for the acceptability of the inevitability of death as a fate that must be met by all. This represents a post-modern fatalism (Rhodes and Cusick, 2002). Though attitudes of a post-modern fatalism may be present in individuals who are HIV positive, individuals who have not tested may fall prey to the same rationale. As discussion about the Jacob Zuma trial seems to indicate that one *"would rather die like a bee stuck in honey"*

indicating an attitude oriented towards the present much more than the future. This form of behaviour is denotatively seen as representing recklessness. Its connotation is unveiled in oppositional choices for risk avoidance. These are the dominant narratives of risk management theories in health promotion which emphasise rational risk assessment and prevention.

Risk assessment, however, is rooted in deeper experiences within a cultural space in which the future is only remotely controllable, as such there is nothing that one can do about his or her destiny. This script of the inevitability of death and the lack of control of the future is remote and unengaged. The notion is not only a disposition of character but a negotiation of the presentation of the self in accounting for sexual behaviour especially those of a risky kind. Apparent appeals to fate or uncertainty, which is also due to the gradual effect of HIV on the body, can be interpreted as resistance to dominant prevailing discourses on the nature of risk assessment in HIV prevention. When the time of death in HIV is incalculable, fatalism may be invoked. One factor that HIV prevention plays on is the perception of risk as the motivation to behaviour change. In contrast, there is little attention to perceived risk as in itself a motivation for some forms of sexual behaviour. This means that the chance of getting HIV, and or pregnancy, may in itself ignite sexual excitement; hence the need to revisit notions of risk based on what may be perceived as rational choices (Rhodes and Cusick, 2002, Davis et al., 2006, Elford et al., 2004). It must be understood that representation of the sexual self is negotiated through linguistic discourse in which normative scripts are reformulated and appropriated within dynamic forms of sexual relationships.

Condoms connote infidelity and lack of trust

Scripts have been presented as standard, and essentialist (Simon and Gagnon, 2003, Simon and Gagnon, 1986, Rose, 1989, Maticka-Tyndale, 1991, Irvine, 2003, Hynie et al., 1998, Frith and Kitzinger, 2001, Faulkner, 2007). But as Derek Edwards (Potter and Edwards, 1999, Edwards, 1994) has noted scripts are formulated within interactions. They are dynamic engagements in which individuals involved in an interaction weave the script in such a way as to present the best possible self. The choice of language that is used is not universal, but has particular performativity. Language fulfils a particular social function and is used to account for the self in a way that positions oneself within

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the social group in order to gain acceptance. In social interactions, like sexual interaction, accounts are situated representations of particular phenomena. They are used as retroactive rectification or justification of past actions perceived as inimical to social norms or which others may deem offensive. In these situations individuals would like to present themselves as moral subjects (Williams, 1986; Goffman, 1959).

While students' use of condoms is high within universities (80%), condoms are still represented as connotative of infidelity (46% agree that condoms connote infidelity compared to 38% who do not agree and 16%, see Appendix VII), or lack of trust or sexually transmitted infections. They are also reported to be available save for female condoms. 54% disagree that female condoms are accessible against 24%. While for male condoms, the majority report that they are accessible, 57% against 6%; while the others neither agreed nor disagreed (p.89). But the actual use of condoms during sexual intercourse seems to be mitigated by the nature of the sexual encounter. Almost half of the respondents agreed that insistence on condom use during sexual intercourse may lead to break-up of a relationship, 43% agree, compared to 37% who do not agree while 20% neither agreed nor disagreed (Appendix VII). Some students explain this failure to trust and stability as in the case of postgraduate students who are less likely to report use of condoms. This seems to collaborate with the qualitative finding in which undergraduates are represented as *eating a lot of condoms* (p.204) which is a metaphor for using condoms. There is also the lack of planning of sexual intercourse which renders itself opportunistic. This may lead to failure to discuss condom use among partners. Young students coming to universities especially need to be equipped with the necessary skills to negotiate sex with older students as they are likely to be victims of the 'fuck a fresher' phenomenon.

Gender stereotypes

A stereotype is a fixation of a non-essential identity characteristic. Gender stereotypes are important in highlighting expectations of female/male sexual behaviour. Male students may have more sexual exploits while chastity is anticipated for females. Males may be allowed to go out and actively seek pleasure, but female students may not. This comes out in labels given to women who seem more pro-active by being branded as *sluts* or *mahoshe* (p.180). On the level of denotations, the differences are noted on

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gendered lines. But on connotations, various attributes are labelled on the opposite gender. As noted above, females may not be expected to be pro-active in sexual relationships, whilst males are dominantly expected to be pro-active. These expectations render sexual negotiation initiation by females much more difficult as they are placed in a disadvantaged position.

The connotations of *sluts* or *mahoshe* go to represent an assertive woman who displays characteristics of self-assertiveness and initiative. This gendered approach to sexual relationships is commonplace (Jewkes et al., 2003, Marston and King, 2006b, Rose, 1989). It is rooted in cultural and religious ideological structures in which the female has always been subordinated to male dominance. This form of representing the female feeds into conversations and is drawn upon by students. Females who counter this expectation are shunned and labelled in discrediting terms. This has led some scholars to argue that some feminists have bought into these stereotypes. They "...have (ambivalently) reproduced the psychoanalytic tendency to read all desire and sexual pleasure as essentially 'masculine' or that least in 'collusion' with masculinity" (Albury, 1997). Female sexual desire tends to be negatively representing university students. It is oppositionally defined in terms of negations i.e. what it is not and what may be considered 'bad'. This makes it difficult to represent female sexuality as a positive drive. Its meaning is ideologically placed and the value of female sexual passivity is a limiting social boundary. Such a representation underscores some of the cultural attitudes which tend to marginalise feminine agency. This is because there are limited categorisations of femalehood. To be female is to be docile.

"According to the dominant discourses which construct sexuality, heterosexual female desire can only be legitimately expressed as passivity. Desire is expressed through waiting to be chosen as a wife. Within a psychoanalytic framework, a woman's most natural sexual role is that of a mother,...A sexually active woman who chooses rather than waits to be chosen is a wore-she belongs to no man, and therefore is (supposedly) available to all" (Albury, 1997).

Of 'marriageables' and 'unmarriageables': Binary opposites of a relational matrix

Students in discussing sexualities use binary opposites to signify the nature of the relationship. A stable relationship is differentiated from an unstable one by the names and labels given to the sexual partner (see p.108). 'Marriageables' are represented as the ideal type of woman who represents stability fitting into the typical ideological views of a woman with marriageable characteristics. By this is meant docility, caring, and subservient to the needs of male partners. On the level of denotation, females are interpreted as sexual subjects but they are connotatively contrasted from each other and placed into two dominant categories based on accidental characteristics like their appearance and the number of partners or friends that they associate with. These connotations which are used to segregate females into oppositional categories feed into justifying casual sex with the 'unmarriageables' since no one will marry them anyway. Hence sexual intercourse with the 'unmarriageables' is depicted in almost expected terms in which the 'unmarriageables' are given what is due to them i.e. casual sex. On the other hand, the 'marriageables' are preserved for marriage because they are considered serious and potential wives. These binary terms are associated with normative mythical attributes which present preferred value systems. By inference, the 'unmarriageable' logically invoke the 'marriageables'. This way of connoting sexual partners is a script that has been observed elsewhere in which *"regte"* (right one) are contrasted with *"cherrie"* (wrong one) (Selikow, 2004). *Regte* is the equivalent in my findings of 'marriageables' while *"cherrie"* is the equivalent of 'unmarriageables': "Indeed, while *cherries* are the "bad girls," symbols of sex and fun, the *regte* is seen as suitable for being a serious long term partners and mother of a child" (Selikow, 2004).

Romantic love as ideal: Shifting notions of fidelity and monogamy

Romantic love is deemed a necessary tenet of a relationship. But this romance is antagonised by being pitted against sex. For some students, romance is an excuse for sex. Sexual intercourse is embraced as an *act of men/women (actus hominis)* as opposed to a linear, planned, conscious and free act. This is against a historical tension between "rational sex" and irrational animalistic sex (celibacy suspicion), but we know that sex is not as rational as models seek to suggest, though we can learn from patterns of well-designed studies (Cleland et al., 2004, Zaba et al., 2004a). On the denotative

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level, students expressed their experience of love as a given that can be romantically explored. This script as an ideal is noted as desirable, and contrasted with notions of opportunistic love in which love is used to polish the apple. Complements may be used to solicit sex. On the experiential connotative level, love, commitment and stability are admired. But on the level of praxis there is a gap in experience. There seems to be an appreciation of intimate relationships as not necessarily synonymous with marriage. Marriage is seen as an institution connoting almost an imprisonment of the expression of the self. *"What is marriage?"* (p.145) rhetorically implies the notion of the deeper value of love over and against institutionalised love. This ideological shift seems to inform relationships which may be stable but may not necessarily be exclusive. Sex is denotatively an act that elicits pleasure and emotional gratification. As such in some cases some students choose to enter into loose partnerships (fuck buddies) as a way of expressing relational freedom. They are not tied down to regulation. This behaviour represents an ideological standpoint from which notions of sex and love are disjointed. Challenging the notion of fidelity as commitment between two individuals to live together and have exclusive monogamous relationship. In student's representations, what is unknown cannot be accounted for. As such sexual behaviour without relational, i.e. pre-agreed commitment and access to each other for emotional and material support, content is not morally accounted for. In a way, casual sex signifies a non-existing relationship. This is even more the case with condom use. As long as condoms are used in a casual encounter, then this may be justifiable. The idea that condomised sex is devoid of emotional commitment means that fidelity in such an encounter is retained. On the first level, sex is depersonalised in order to distinguish it from intimate sexual intercourse with a regular partner. This connotative difference, that is, depersonalised and personalised sex, qualifies a new form of post-modern morality in which fidelity is not assessed by not having a single partner but by the nature of the sexual encounter. If a partner is kept secret and or a condom is used, then fidelity is implied. Ideologically, depersonalisation of the sexual encounter is a growing phenomenon popularised by internet adult-dating websites like swingers and 'fuck-buddies'.

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The nature of marriage and sex: A post-modern ideology

Marriage, though aspired to by students, is not an end in itself. It is perceived as a status that can be by-passed in preference for a stable loving relationship. The value of friendship featured as an important consideration in relationships; *"for me, I think the best thing is what we have. Just being friends like this..."* (p.150) indicates that affective love is important while sex is also perceived as a part of the relationship. *"Sex is just part of the story"*. Sex is not the determinant of the relationship but is a part of the process of relating. This justification of the primacy of relationships, and the consideration of sex as arbitrary, is contrasted with the notion of marriage. *"What is in marriage...? I think marriage is hypocrisy"* signifies defiance against regulation as espoused in the notion of marriage. This notion of marriage which is constructed as a normative ethical domain is contested and placed within the context of freedom: *"we can just live our lives."* This is the reason for invoking *"fuck buddies"* or *"one-night-offs"*. There is also deviation from the norm of commitment as 'fuck buddies' signal sexual relationships meant for pleasure.

Sexual utilitarianism

Sexual utilitarianism is the functional understanding of sex as oriented towards physical gratification. It is a depersonalised sexual encounter in which the act of sex does not diminish an individuals' status or physical being; *"If you fuck me, am I taking anything away from you or your wife?"* This is a physical reduction of sex and romance to a functionalized individual in which morals of monogamy are divorced from the concept of fidelity. The fact that nothing is physically lost justifies casual sex. While having sex with a man or woman may be seen as infidelity, this representation detaches it from the notion inter-subjective morality representing a shift into a new form of fidelity assessed on the basis of utility and non-loss function of sex. *"I am just sharpening it for her"* paradoxically shifts infidelity into a function of service by showing that this kind of act is an enhancement of sexual performance which the wife will benefit from.

> IGD: Black female student: *"If you fuck me, am I taking anything away from you or your wife? I am just sharpening it for her"*

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Besides the perception of risk, a female's posture or self-presentation may be read as an appeal to want to have sex. This taken-for-granted attitude to having sex with females was present in the rape trial of Jacob Zuma, as in affirming his decision to have sex, played on culture as the driving reason:

> "And I said to myself, I know as we grew up in the Zulu culture you don't leave a woman in that situation because if you do then she will even have you arrested and say that you are a rapist."[lxvi]

Uninvited sexual advances may find excuses in cultural appeals; "I know as we grew up in Zulu culture you don't leave a woman in that situation"; this is in reference to a woman who is perceived as being in a state of sexual desire who may not be left unattended to. In discussion this attitude found itself in responses like "how can a woman come to your home want to spend the night, dressed the way she was, and expects to go away without sex?" This stereotype draws on understandings that when women dress in miniskirts and or dress in ways that men perceive as sexually provocative, then the woman has asked for sex whether consensual or otherwise. This is more the reason that conclusions like "she wanted it. She probably enjoyed it" are drawn. Without justifying nor denying the various dimensions to the rape trial, one appreciates the script that is present in this discourse. A woman in a miniskirt, let alone without underwear, is implicitly inviting sex. While there may be many reasons that a particular way of dressing may be preferred by the female, there is a counter-discourse which reads this dressing as an invitation. There are other cases in which this myth of sexual invitation is manifested, for instance, females were stripped naked in Johannesburg for dressing in a provocative way[lxvii].

This eroticisation of dress and eventual reinterpretation as an invitation shows how disjointed the notion of cultural erotics are; for instance, women in Zulu culture may traditionally expose their breasts, or thighs especially in traditional attire. This kind of dressing is not usually interpreted as a sexual invitation or unspoken consent to have sex. This cultural attire which denotatively is a way to cover one's body, and takes on a connotative attribute of adornment is, for instance in the case of Jacob Zuma's case, within a dominant cultural-meaning-system interpreted as a sexual invitation or feminine-unspoken-consent. The politics of miniskirts and the way they are represented plays in part on a male dominant perception of sexuality as a domain of a man in which

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the female is but a victim. Visual representations of women's bodies border on contempt of the male mores but little attention is given to the miniskirt as a form of resistance to dominance and a quest for the celebration of feminine sexuality. Whereas this notion may be tolerated, though not justified in places other than the university, its presence within university raises a red flag for continued education and advocacy i.e. a re-orientation of cultural discourse to represent mutual respect and responsibility. Professor Louise Vincent aptly discusses the politics of miniskirts:

"Women in minis who do not wish to be touched and leered at seem to be insisting that a distinction be drawn between their bodies and consumer merchandise. Unlike the latter, the body on display, along with its sexuality, is — these women seem to be saying — not to be read as being advertised or to indicate saleability or availability. It is a refusal to take responsibility for the male gaze by "covering up" and an insistence that the gaze itself be seen as problematic; a rejection of the familiar complaint that it is women's bodies that are problematic: leaky, provoking, unruly, the cause of male immorality" [lxviii].

"We have our own language": A ridicule of Abstinence

Language plays a major role in regularising and reproducing sexuality among students. Special discourses, which may not be exclusive to the student body, are formed as a way of representing sexuality. This is achieved through the use of linguistic codes which depict a particular state, identity and orientation of students. The relationship between language and sexuality may be explored by assessing denotations and connotations, as described in the Phaneroscopic table. The denotation on one hand is the obvious literal meaning.

On the other hand the connotative is an evaluative meaning that is laden with comparative distinction and is polysemic i.e. more open to interpretation. In social interactions, connotations establish a normative social order in which social categories for negotiation of meaning are produced, circulated and re-circulated. This discourse achieves two major factors hegemonising certain attitudes as well as segregating certain populations of the student community into sexual groups with particular traits. Someone who is abstaining is said to belong to the *abashandi* to represent a non-

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normative sexual status. Group identity and peer approval is a critical function of growing up; some codes and nicknames used by students seek to isolate and ridicule. This may in turn have the effect of *peer pressure* oriented towards submission to a group ideology over and against personal preferred norms of behaviour. The connotative meanings may also function to create double standards in which the same behaviour on a denotative level is connotatively used to, for instance, exhort male sexual behaviour while chastising female sexual assertiveness.

In both script and semiotic analysis: the language used reveals connotations and myths which are embedded in taken-for-granteds (myth/ideology) i.e. sex is normative and as such expected in relationships; the experience (being students and having sex) indicates that having sex and having sexual relationships is a part of student identity. As such students who do not fit this mythical description are linguistically represented as Other. This 'otherness' is mocked as a form of deviance, hence the derogatory nature of the language. This representation is made intelligible by the students themselves through an appropriation of a language that employs binaries and opposites in order to invoke a discourse of conformity. On the level of 'Thirdness' on which this study is located, sexual behaviour is scripted as an integral expectation within relationships at university. This discourse, which is a public text, is manifested in overt behaviours and sex talk.

Though abstinence is known to be the best option in sexual health, it seems to remain as an unachievable ideal. The majority of students are not abstaining with 70% reporting ever having had sex, and 77% of sexually active respondents reported having had sex in the last twelve months (see p.86-87). Attitudes to abstinence come out in daily discourses and nicknames that ridicule students who may be perceived as abstaining. The special language that is used in describing sexual status seems to ridicule abstinence and glorify sexual prowess (pp.209-213).

Sexuality: Indian ethnic silences – resistance in practice

Whilst it is difficult to give a complete racial-ethnic representation of sexualities amongst students, one cannot ignore the salient public display of affection as exhibited by students of Indian ethnic affiliation. I must however hasten to mention that within this ethnic group is a variation of groups by religion, descent and nuanced ethnic

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varieties; as such generalisations may not be inferred as representative. This study has highlighted the gendered representation of sexuality in sex talk among students (Fenton et al., 2005, Saxena et al., 2006). Virginity is deemed a respectable virtue as such pre-marital sex is seen to compromise 'family honour', though females are expected to be virtuous much more than males (Harilal, 1993, Esat, 2003). There is silence about sex education within Indian communities. This is because sex is considered a taboo subject amongst most Indian families. Indian society may generally be depicted as a 'male dominated society' in which sons were historically preferred with strict regulation of the female expression of sexuality.

This may explain the low reports of sexual activity, especially amongst Indian female students (Figure 15). Despite this strictness and silence, premarital sexuality is part of the male-female sexual interaction (Harilal, 1993). It is in this context that the public display of affection amongst students of Indian origin, without giving it a moral tag, may be revelatory of a resistance to regulation in a conservative cultural environment. The university is thus constructed as open space for the exploration of one's sexuality in a context away from parental regulations (Esat, 2003). Public display of affection and reported sexual behaviour is denotatively representative of a common romantic attribute evident amongst students of Indian ethnicity, but is connotatively differentiated from other ethnic displays which are explained differently. This sexual behaviour symbolically serves to highlight the tensions present in a conservative approach to sexuality especially amongst a group of dynamic young people who are also exposed to other cultural influences through peer relationships and the media. An ideological conflict, manifested as a dominant conservative cultural ethos, is found to be contra-hegemonic as the university seems to offer spaces for challenging parental restrictions. This form of resistance shows the dynamic nature of sexual experiences which develop in tandem with cultural change. Young people in this case represent a contemporary movement in cultural practices representative of the many forces that are operational. They are the barometers of what the prevailing sexual behaviour may be. This reported sexual behaviour as exhibited in public may be read as a signifier of a taken-for-granted assumption or desired form of practice. The behaviour in itself is a form of discourse revelatory of a structural resistance revealed in the perceived dominant conservatism against a 'loud public display of affection'.

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Synthesis

The findings of this study are consistent with findings of other studies on sexual behaviour amongst students (Maharaj and Cleland, 2006). Despite high levels of knowledge, students may choose not to use condoms even in cases where the status of the partner is unknown. There is pervasive silence on sexual behaviour and contraception which makes discussion and planning of contraception difficult. This is further exacerbated by opportunistic sex within university premises.

Students use condoms for various reasons; for of HIV prevention, avoidance of STIs and pregnancy. But the perception of risk is eliminated by visual diagnosis of sero-status. Condoms may also not be used in cases where a female student wants a pregnancy. There is need to explore the reasons that lead some students to seek pregnancies for purposes of keeping a male partner hostage.

There is also silence on homosexuality with some students engaging in duo-relationships. This means that some male students may have girl friends at university while at the same time seek homosexual experience at gay clubs. There is silence on confronting the uncomfortable subject of homosexual experience despite homosexuality being legal in South Africa. The subject of homosexuality remains under-researched in South African universities and little is known about student homosexual behaviour.

Study limitations

The conclusion highlights the main strengths of this study. However, there have been limitations: I am a male researcher working with both male and female students. This posed a challenge in getting easy access to female students and their discussions of sexuality. My study combined two disciplines, public health and cultural studies. This posed a challenge on two levels. The first is theoretical and the second is analytical. Though this may be read as a weakness, it is in fact a major contribution as it brings a novel approach. Public health is outcome based and emphasises the use of a conceptual or theoretical framework to generate data that is used for practical purposes (Wendy et al. 2007). Cultural studies takes on a theoretical approach. The thrust of the discipline is in engagement with theory i.e. how data that is generated contributes to the refinement

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of theoretical arguments. And finally, my study was exploratory. The aim of this research was to create a baseline for concepts that should be explored further. It was not meant to prove or disprove models of behaviour change but to explore the nature of sexual relationships that can be rigorously tested.

Recommendations

It is my recommendation that peer ethnographic studies should be taken up in order to understand sexual dynamics at play amongst university students. The wider project, of which this study only formed a part, is important and must continue so that it continues to provide data that will inform thinking around HIV prevention within universities. Student peer ethnographies must be encouraged as part of action research.

Conclusions

Meeting the objectives

Chapter five presented patterns of sexual behaviour and met the first objective of showing the patterns of sexual behaviour using data from an omnibus cross-sectional survey. The basic patterns are that:

- Most students report ever having had sex, and also having had sex in the last 12 months indicating that students are generally sexually active.
- There is a small group of students who report having concurrent sexual partners with an average of two sexual partners.
- Fourth year students are less likely to report having used a condom at their last coital encounter.
- There are positive indications of a high rate of condom use with students who have multiple partners reporting more condom use.

Chapters 7-9 have answered the questions of talking about sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS. The chapters offer a detailed discourse analysis of the conceptions of sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS. The dominant themes that emerged are:

- Notions of love and sex are placed within an ideal of romantic love, but are apparently difficult to live out in practice because these notions are located in changing perceptions of marriage.

- An understanding of the biological sexual drive as pervasive and uncontrollable emerged as a strong theme. This has implications for sexual health as it may affect safe sex practices and negotiation especially in men.

- There is a strong male-dominated script in which stereotypes represent females as subservient to male sexual exploits. Strong social conventions seem to applaud male sexual prowess and show a disdain for female affirmative sexualities.

- The university offers space for the exploration of one's sexuality. It may thus be a 'risky' environment for young students especially first years.

- The nature of risk is represented in forms of postmodern fatalism, visual eradication of positive risk (the elimination of risk based on physical appearance) and is embedded within a denialist and suspicious environment.

- The forms of language used show a negative attitude towards abstinence. The appropriated discourses indicate that students who abstain are represented in negative terms and/or metaphors.

- The conclusion is that in order to design effective prevention messages, it is critical to understand discursive practices of the interpretive community, in this case, that of students.

The values, the norms, the attitudes of a people, the way reality is interpreted are based on cosmology and culture. Cosmology and culture reflect the ideologies that guide social formations. Different groups have nuanced variations of cultural experience which is inspired by the ideological ethos that the particular community embodies. These ideological standpoints are experienced in interpersonal relations as a negotiation of meaning, and categorically applied to acts of behaviour. Social interaction embodies an appropriation of meaning as emerging from taken-for-granted assumptions. This interaction legitimises certain norms; appropriates them into a value, which is often deeply honoured in the subconscious. The emerging equation is one in which customs are based on norms, norms on values and values on ideology. Ideology is based on charter and charter on myth. The myth embodies the stories, narratives which in turn

express cosmology which is the basis of a collective conscience. Myth is herein understood as a taken-for-granted narrative embodying ideas and concepts which seek to explain why certain things are the way they are. Individuals in communities do not always operate consciously on the level of ideology. They operate on norms which are experienced as values. These norms are operative on the level of connotations as meaning in adduced and oppositional categories. But ideological ethos's are experienced in the concrete acts that inform behaviour.

The appropriation and representation of values in social interaction is achieved through language. It is the vehicle through which meaning is negotiated, common-sense is socialised, and culture is expressed. Thus, individuals find themselves in language. They participate in a reality that is both programmed and is continuously in the process of being programmed. Ideology, norms, and myth do change, they subconsciously adapt themselves to new realities or times. This process of change and adaptation is achieved through fictional elaboration, and reactivation. In the former, elements that may not have been a part of a given cultural experience are added to a new way of talking in an attempt to legitimise a new ideological practice. In the latter, this is an appeal to the past in which the old practice is invoked in order to legitimate a current practice. While the former may involve an addition of new elements, the latter does not. In order to appreciate the ideological vistas that a group is operating on, we turn to language. Language is the sum-total of communication within a community or between individuals. It is the negotiation of meaning (Mody, 1991).

The basic assumptions of language are that language embodies signs and symbols. Symbols have deep meanings. They normally expressed in recurring conceptual images. A symbol is the best sublimation of what operates as the ideological impetus of behaviour. The meanings that are expressed in language are expressed symbolically. Symbols open up new levels of understanding the reality of a people which would otherwise remain hidden. As much as individuals may participate in reproducing symbols, they more often than not spring from the collectively agreed categories of interpretation. This thesis has treated language as pregnant with symbols which can be analysed for ideological meaning that lingers within the social formation of students. This 'hermeneutical exegesis' has been achieved through the instrumentality of the

phaneroscopy alongside the scripting theory, coming up with a notion of scriptoscopy. The basic assumption being that symbols of encounter have meaning on three levels:

- The obvious meaning (denotative) or the external form. This level has already implied in it the connotative with connections to the hegemonic context.

- The social structural meaning, which is the level of interaction how meaning is experienced in comparison with alternative others. Meaning is achievable only in relation to others. Herein is an elaboration of how symbols and concepts are oppositionally contested in order to behave in a particular way.

- Cultural context (ideological, mythical), these are the taken-for-granted that appear as ritualised through interactions. They are experienced as already negotiated. Individuals do not enter into immediate deliberate reflection on ideological master narratives before acting. For instance, a student being influenced by 'the fuck buddy' phenomenon, having been in practice a long time, may begin to view his experience as normal. He does not deliberately reflect on this ideological influence on every act of sexual intercourse or relationship with his sexual partners. It is taken-for-granted.

Ideological positions do not merely affect individuals. Governments, NGOs, religious organisations, families and groups of people have their own ideological positions from which they operate. In HIV/AIDS, these positions influence how sexuality, HIV/AIDS and relationships are assessed. The approaches to HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment may be influenced by these ideologies. The ABC strategy is one form of ideology with nuanced variations depending on the organisation advancing a particular cause. For PEPFAR, ABC has been interpreted as AB and Other to reflect its, mainly religious, ideological position.

Ideologies work as a practice which represents their own positions as representative of the real (Crossberg 1984:409). Students as a group form a cultural entity with its own ideological position. They negotiate this meaning within social interaction. It is experienced as the real, and the normal thing to be as well as to do. The norms are experienced, largely unconsciously, as the values. Anyone who is not in conforming is

seen as a 'deviant' and may be a subject of ridicule. The study of student talk becomes the entry point into a cultural ambience with its idealised meanings. These ideological positions revealed in talk may have the impact of attenuating collective efficacy. Students seem to reproduce and appropriate certain ideologies into their interactions in order to appropriate sexual behaviour. The following interpretation shows how acts of talk in interaction are appropriated: e.g. fuck buddy, biological drive, risk.

Contemporary sexual behaviour talk amongst students' appropriation of various ideologies goes to show how meaning in interaction is a way of being accepted within a discourse community. This talk also shows that meaningful representations among students have the role of creating social categories which reflect preferred norms which are experienced as values. Whilst HIV is understood, the script that presupposes risk awareness is renegotiated through risk elimination by using visual diagnosis. This visual diagnosis is based on accidental categories of clinical signs with are typical of a positive HIV sero-status. Visual diagnosis then becomes hegemonic and largely remains unchallenged.

Tracing the literature on ABC, young people tend to be represented within predominantly two moral regimes (ideological); the first one is the adult ideological norm against premarital sex. This then leads to a paradoxical moral ambience in which prohibition, silence, and suspicion prevails on the part of the adult world. The moral backdrop embedded in the ABC creates a moral ideal which is then supposed as normative and valuable to young people. There is almost little consideration of the status of students' lived experience with its own unique sexual challenges. The influences on the sexuality of young people are diverse. These are sourced from the immediate social environment as well as within the unregulated media space e.g. the internet. An apt example would be the popularisation of the 'fuck buddy' phenomenon which has become a major dating norm. In actual experience, it becomes fuck buddy or one night offs. While Parker et al. (2007) discuss the notion of 'one night stands' its ideological basis is not delved into. This thesis opens a window into the link of the fuck buddy/one-night stands in the context of an emerging sexuality unhindered by social norms like the normative 'monogamous-heterosexual-bedroom-union'.

The second moral regime is the moral imperative of a monogamous union challenged by the romantic love ideal in which sexual activity is acceptable as long as the individuals involved are in love. Cohabitation is taken on as an alternative form of marriage. A post-modern marriage is one in which love is the defining factor over and against legal or religious ritualised sanctions. The arising conflict when students read 'abstinence' and 'being faithful' is measured against the dominant ideological standpoint of marriage as the norm. Anything else is considered illegitimate. The encountered meaning is one which resides within their experiential categories i.e. the taken-for-granted belief systems. In prevention messages, a conflict of ideological positions ensues. More often than not, silence and casuistic prohibition replaces talking and listening. It seems that the phaneroscopy provides the tools to exhume meanings that are deeply embedded in taken-for-granted assumptions. This is important if meanings that students attach to sexual experiences can be mobilised and used to empower them to deal with their sexuality within the context of HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Appropriation of sexual discourses in talking and listening

The disjuncture between dominant scripts/phanerons and those of subjects of research that are used in assessing sexual behaviour and the nature of risk and HIV/AIDS may explain the gap that still pervades in the knowledge/practice dichotomy. The failure to capture meaning in process may lead to failure in conceptualising risk in the context of HIV/AIDS that is appropriate to a given discourse community. The concept of the *phaneroscopy* hinges on discourse. A discourse is an elaborate system of meaning restricted to a particular community in a specific area of focus and performs a given ideological function. There are ways of talking that a given community adopts. This is what discourse refers to, i.e. relationships, ways of talking, using specific codes that are meaningful to the given community (Tomaselli, 1996:40).

Discourses are therefore particular ways of speaking or seeing reality that are typical of certain groups and communities. In sexual discourse, students seem to form normative and counter normative discourses in the way they represent each other. This is true of the way ABC is represented via the proxy of sexuality. For instance, in representing Abstinence, nicknames may be adopted which signify students who abstain as being out of date. This is equally true of discourses of love and intimacy. While love is cherished

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as a basic tenet of relationships, its normative import in marriage is questioned. Marriage is a social institution symbolised in ceremony. As such, the ceremony is deemed inconsequential to the nature of marriage, its success or lack thereof. I have also noted that discourses can be non-verbal, like in the case of kissing within campus spaces. When you see individuals kissing in public, the act may signify a form of resistance to restrictive casuistry of moral oughts and ought-nots. This may be read as a discourse of resistance.

Sexuality thus presents itself as a site of varying forms of resistances. The dynamics affecting the transmission of HIV/AIDS are reminiscent of the dynamics affecting sexuality. It is sexuality that determines the way HIV/AIDS is perceived. Sexuality amongst students is versatile and calls for action both on ideological standpoints, which inform behaviour, as well as on the nature of interactional influence that may militate against collective efficacy. Collective efficacy is inspired by a shared worldview whose meaning is rooted within taken-for-granted assumptions. The sum-total of these 'taken-for-granted social expectations' offers meaning to a base for the phanerons. The examples of the dominant themes highlighted in study serve to demonstrate that sexual talk embodies ideological content. In talk about sex and HIV/AIDS, ideological notions of sexuality are brought alive in social interactions. This ethnographic study offers an opportunity to give room to the politics of symbolic representation as rooted in subtle ideologies which are present in everyday practice.

The scriptoscopy is an opportunity to assess the role of context in social interaction and the need to understand the complex nature of the appropriation of meanings. Students in interaction are not deliberately aware of the ideological meanings associated with their particular choices. These choices are in-built modes of relating. Being there within the student environment has allowed me to document, take a distance and critique, notions of how talking in interaction reveals the process of meaningful negotiation.

Theoretical Challenges: Towards a new paradigm of HIV prevention

Ideologies are the bases in which meaning is conceived, reproduced and circulated within discursive communities. Sexual behaviour is a manifestation of particular trends

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and patterns that are constituted in ideological bases of communities. The study of HIV/AIDS has anchored knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and practices in which these factors are assessed as determinants of particular behaviour outcomes, for instance the use of condoms. They presuppose stable categories of meaning. Yet cultural expressions which are the ambit of social interactions are never static. The experience of the denotative in itself is necessarily linked to connotations which are also intrinsically embedded in the ideological structure of a particular group of people. The use of the phaneroscopy as a semiological tool addresses reality as embedded within higher structures of meaning with historical significance. Influences on condom use are not homogeneous, neither are attitudes. Individual interpretive communities, like the body of students, attach meanings to objects of experience. These meanings are engaged, reproduced, and re-circulated in a pre-negotiated fashion.

For instance, various notions of abstinence are advanced by different groups depending on their ideological focus. PEPFAR presents abstinence within a religious discourse. Abstinence in this discourse is measured against the dominant ideology of marriage. In the campaigns that are advanced by PEPFAR, the expectation is that recipients of their messages understand abstinence in the same light. This may not be true in an environment where abstinence is dominantly understood in a secular fashion. The surprise, and ridicule at abstinence, for example, may serve to demonstrate the presence of a counter-discourse that is in dissonance with the PEPFAR-driven ethos. Existing systems of meanings within student social interactions are taken up, reinterpreted and appropriated to suit their dominant understandings. Some of these meanings are passed on within this cultural space and become dominant-hegemonic. These legitimate certain practices, not in conscious rebellion, but through the subtle influence of taken-for-granted assumptions. These taken for granted notions build the first and second order of signification by offering a linked system of concepts in which the world is made sense of.

The findings in this study affirm the necessary stepping stones for understanding sexuality of university students using the semiotic tool of the phaneroscopy alongside scripts. The assessment of talk as text within a semiological lens gives hermeneutical meaning which is a critical ingredient of all prevention campaigns, especially those

aimed at shaping attitudes with their resultant behaviour in a particular direction. The key assumption is that by a critical examination of what young people, in this case students, say and do, researchers are more likely to attune themselves to a contemporary frame of reference (phaneron) that exist within a discourse community. This phaneron becomes the basis of interrogation in HIV prevention messages. Let us take for instance, the 'sex as biological myth' concept. Like all other myths, there is some fundamental truth to the experience of sexuality as a biological fact necessary for the propagation of the human species (denotation), but this drive is experienced within a context of meanings attached to the sexual factor (connotative); and these meanings are located within a mythical understanding of what sexuality is, and its role in the community with the concomitant regulations (mythical/ideological). While dominant groups, especially of the adult world may view sex as a property of marriage between two consenting adults, some students may have their version of marriage in which love is the supreme value with or without ceremonies. These two views while not mutually exclusive signify how nuanced phanerons are. Listening to talk, enables entry into phaneroscopic frames of experience of a given discourse community which is a critical entry point for prevention.

There is silence on the role of pleasure in harm reduction within student discourses. This may be a result of a culture that perceives formal discussion of sexual pleasure as more likely to encourage 'promiscuity'. There is need also to engage on the meaning of romance, self-esteem and issues of marriage or its lack thereof. A culture of integral formative training as opposed to mere education may be an area of consideration for students by university administration.

Language is the locus of interaction. It is the site where meaning is negotiated. Students have a particular way of talking about their sexual experiences and fantasies. In this time of HIV and AIDS, listening to students' stories becomes an important entry point into their sexual lives. Peer ethnographic studies may render a better understanding of the nature of sexual practices within campuses. Social interaction is formed by a particular culture and feeds into daily interaction.

Social pressures hamper honest and straightforward communication; including talk on subjects of abstinence, condom use and partner reduction. Breaking the silence will

open up a process of owning up to sexual experiences. Talking and listening taps into the existing discourses among students. This engagement is critical if sexuality, as a reproductive imperative as well as a relational challenge, is to be understood and demythologised in an effort to stem the deadly epidemic of HIV.

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APPENDIX

Appendix I: Definition of Concepts

The following are the main concepts under discussion in this thesis:

Listening: refers to the perception of symbols and images to decipher meaning. That is decoding sounds, images, symbols or metaphors into meaningful communication;

Talking: refers to the act of producing, verbally and paralinguistically, features, sounds, images or symbols that can be decoded into meaningful communication. Meaningful communication is herein understood as the establishment of rapport between parties in a communicative contract (Heidegger, 1971);

Discourse: refers to patterns of talk, verbal or print, as representations of ideas or meaningful sounds or symbols (Fairclough, 2003, Sherry, 1993, Gee, 1999);

Discourse analysis: Is the breakdown of discourse in an attempt to hermeneutically pound out meaning to establish overt over structures (Gee, 1999, Potter and Wetherell, 1987, Wetherell and Potter, 1994);

Conversation analysis: is the analysis of talk-patterns in order to understand the dynamics of conversation and how meaning is constructed (Ten Have, 1999, Silverman, 1998);

Behaviour: is the overt manifestation of mental activity. Behaviour is the symbolic manifestation of internal disposition;

Fundamental: is the general orientation that an individual or state of being assumes with regard to a particular goal;

Categorical: is the acting out in specific moments of space and time the general orientation or belief system.. For instance, one may have a general homosexual or

heterosexual orientation. The specific acts of that orientation would be the categorical behaviour;

Firstness: The thing as it appears to the naked eye i.e. the phenomena (pheno-appearance) and noumena (essence/substance) (Tomaselli, 1996);

Secondness: the distinguishing features of an object or subject. The identification of phenomena in comparison with another (Tomaselli, 1996);

Thirdness: The level of abstract essentials where meaning is structured in consciousness (Tomaselli, 1996);

Culture: symbolic expressions of relationships within given group dynamics;

Human being: is used in the classical Thomistic concept 'humane rationale'- rational animal;

Phenomenology: This is based on Edmund Russerl and Martin Heidegger's exposition of consciousness of being as always consciousness-of-something. Consciousness thus constructs as much as it is constructed by the objects of its perception (Holstein and Gubrium, 2005);

Phaneron: All that is present to the mind as the backdrop within which reality is experienced;

Multiple sexual partners: having more than one sexual partner in the 12-month period at the survey time;

Condom use with non-regular partner: whether a condom was used at the last sexual encounter with a non-marriage or cohabiting partner;

Abstinence: whether one has not had sex in the previous 12 months to survey date;

Respondent's current age: the number of completed years; i.e. age of an individual at their last birthday;

Race: respondent's ethnic categorisation;

Respondent's sexual debut: the age of a person at the first time they ever had sex;

Gender: being male or female;

Sexual intercourse: the penetration of the penis into either the vagina or anus with a person of the same or opposite sex;

Place of residence of respondent: type of place of residence where the respondent resides when a university is in session, defined in this study as in residence or outside residence;

Year of study of respondent: Highest education level attended. This is a standardized variable providing level of education in the following categories: first years, second years, third year, and postgraduate (including honours, Masters and PhD students);

HIV awareness: whether someone has heard about HIV/AIDS;

Knowledge of HIV prevention: whether one knows the correct ways of HIV prevention;

Union status: whether one is never married, married, separated, divorced, cohabiting or widowed. For purposes of this study, the current marital status has been collapsed to include only in union (married and cohabiting) and not in union (never married, separated, divorced, or widowed);

Living with spouse/partner: whether the respondent lives with the spouse or partner;

HIV testing: this is whether one has had an HIV test or not;

Condom use: whether a respondent used a condom at the last sexual encounter, regardless of whether it was a regular or non-regular partner;

Ever had sex: whether respondent has had sex before prior to the survey;

Social Norms: respondents belief about what is accepted as norms guiding sexual behaviour;

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Intention to have sex: whether respondent intended to have sex in the period 6 months prior to survey;

Discussion: Whether one has talked to someone about HIV, AIDS, or sex with a friend, relative or family member;

Agency: Belief in the individual and or collective ability to do something about a perceived problem.

Appendix II: Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF
KWAZULU-NATAL

RESEARCH OFFICE (GOVAN MBEKI CENTRE)
WESTVILLE CAMPUS
TELEPHONE NO.: 031 – 2603587
EMAIL : ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

29 NOVEMBER 2006

MR. JEL KUNDA (206521374)
CULTURE, COMMUNICATION & MEDIA STUDIES

Dear Mr. Kunda

ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/06708A

I wish to confirm that ethical clearance has been granted for the following project:

"They have ears but they cannot hear" Listening and talking as HIV prevention: A new approach to HIV/AIDS campaigns at the three Universities of KwaZulu Natal"

Yours faithfully

MS. PHUMELELE XIMBA
RESEARCH OFFICE

cc. Faculty Office (Post-Graduate Studies)
cc. Supervisor (Prof. K Tomaselli)

Founding Campuses: ▭ Edgewood ▭ Howard College ▭ Medical School ▬ Pietermaritzburg ▬ Westville

Appendix III: Questionnaire for Students

Research Topic

Understanding responses to the ABC strategy in the Higher Education Sector in South Africa; towards an advocacy framework to influence policy and practice for the prevention of infection with HIV among university students

A.	**CAMPUS**	1	Howard
		2	Medical School
		3	Pietermaritzburg
		4	Westville
		5	Edgewood
		6	University of Zululand
		7	Durban University of Technology

Demographic data

1.1	**Sex of respondent** (code by observation)			Male	Female
				1	2

1.2	**What is your race group?**	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Other (specify)
		1	1	3	4	5

1.3	**What is your age?** (in completed years)	

1.4	**What is your marital status?** (ONLY ONE response possible)	1	Married (living with husband/wife)
		2	Married (<u>not</u> living with husband/wife)
		3	Not married (living with boyfriend/girlfriend)
		4	Single
		5	Widow / widower / divorced / separated
		6	Other (specify)

1.5	What category of student are you? (ONLY ONE response possible)	1	Full-time student at COLLEGE / TECHNIKON / UNIVERSITY
		2	Part time student
		3	Other (specify)

1.6	Which year of study are you? (ONLY ONE response possible)	1	First year
		2	Second Year
		3	Third year
		4	Post-graduate

1.7	Where do you reside while on session? (ONLY ONE response possible)	1	On-campus residence
		2	Rental house/room off-campus
		3	Off-Campus with my parents
		4	Off-Campus with my relatives/friends

1.8	In the Course of This Academic Year, how often have you gone without the following (READ OUT ALL)	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a.	Enough food to eat	1	2	3	4
b.	Enough fuel to cook food	1	2	3	4
d.	Fare to and from campus	1	2	3	4
e.	Basic needs such as soap, body lotion etc	1	2	3	4

2. Relation to HIV/AIDS

2.1	In the course of this academic year which of the following apply to you? (READ OUT ALL)	Yes	No or not applicable
a.	I have attended a workshop on HIV/AIDS within campus	1	2
b.	I have attended a rally on HIV/AIDS within campus	1	2
c.	I have attended a meeting on HIV/AIDS within campus	1	2
d.	I have discussed HIV/AIDS with peer educators within campus	1	2
e.	I have attended classes about HIV/AIDS at campus	1	2
f.	I have attended workshop, training or lecture on Decision making Skills/Negotiation skills/Interpersonal skills relating to HIV prevention?	1	2

g.	I have heard HIV/AIDS spoken about at a place of worship (church, mosque, etc.)	1	2
h.	Someone I know has told me that he/she is HIV positive	1	2
i.	I have helped or volunteered at an HIV/AIDS organisation or groups in my community	1	2
j.	I personally know someone who has died of AIDS	1	2
k.	I have helped care for a person sick with AIDS	1	2
l.	I personally know children who have lost a parent to HIV/AIDS	1	2
m.	I have worn a red ribbon while on campus	1	2
n.	I have worn a t-shirt, cap or other item with an HIV/AIDS message while on campus	1	2
o.	I have received information about HIV/AIDS from a nurse or doctor	1	2
p.	I have received information about HIV/AIDS from a traditional healer	1	2
q.	I have received information about HIV/AIDS from an organisation within campus	1	2

2.2a.	Have you attended any funerals in the course of this academic year?	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 3.0)

2.2b.	How many of these funerals were for a person you know, or think has died of AIDS?	None / Don't know	1	2	3	4	5	More than five

3. Media Exposure

3.1	In the course of this academic year, from which of the following sources have you found personally useful in obtaining information about HIV/AIDS (READ OUT ALL)	Yes	No
a.	Campus HIV/AIDS support unit	1	2
b.	Student organizations	1	2
c.	Religious groups on campus	1	2
d.	Class lectures	1	2
e	Peer Educators	1	2
f.	Friends	1	2
g.	Blood donor groups	1	2
h.	Other (please specify)	1	2

3.2	While on Campus, which of the following media of information have you personally found useful for getting HIV/AIDS information? (READ OUT ALL)	Not seen or heard	USEFUL for HIV/AIDS information	NOT USEFUL for HIV/AIDS information
a.	Posters	1	2	3
b.	Billboards	1	2	3
c.	Leaflets and information booklets	1	2	3
d.	Internet	1	2	3
e.	Plays or drama	1	2	3
f.	Television news	1	2	3
g.	Television dramas, talk shows, and other programmes	1	2	3
h.	Television advertisements	1	2	3
i.	Radio news	1	2	3
j.	Radio dramas, talk shows, and other programmes	1	2	3
k.	Radio advertisements	1	2	3
l.	Articles in newspapers	1	2	3
m.	Articles in magazines	1	2	3
n.	Murals	1	2	3

3.3	How often do you hear/read the following information about HIV/AIDS being emphasised while on campus? (READ OUT ALL)	Very often	Often	Rarely	Very rarely	I have never heard
a.	Abstain until marriage	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Be faithful to one partner	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Use condom during sexual intercourse	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Go for Voluntary Counselling and Testing	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Care for the HIV positive	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Stop sexual violence against females	1	2	3	4	5

3.4.	Do you think the HIV/AIDS campaigns in your campus are adequate?	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 3.6)

3.5	Why do you think the HIV/AIDS campaigns are adequate? (open-ended)	
a.		
b.		
c.		

3.6	Why do you think the HIV/AIDS campaigns are not adequate? (open-ended)	
a.		
b.		
c.		

4. Knowledge, attitudes and perceptions

4.1	Are the following statements true or false? (READ OUT ALL)	True	False	Don't know
a.	HIV causes AIDS	1	2	3
b.	You can reduce the risk of HIV transmission by using condoms	1	2	3

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c	HIV can be spread through anal sex between a woman and a man	1	2	3
d.	HIV can be spread through anal sex between men	1	2	3
e.	HIV is spread through the air	1	2	3
f.	Traditional healers can cure AIDS	1	2	3
g.	You can reduce the risk of HIV infection by having fewer sexual partners	1	2	3
h.	You can be infected with HIV by touching a person with HIV/AIDS	1	2	3
i.	A mother can pass HIV on to her baby during pregnancy and childbirth	1	2	3
j.	AIDS is caused by witchcraft	1	2	3
k.	A person with HIV can look healthy	1	2	3
l.	You can reduce the risk of HIV by being faithful to your sexual partner	1	2	3
m.	A woman can transmit HIV to her baby through breastfeeding	1	2	3
n.	A person who has been raped can receive drugs from a clinic or hospital to reduce the risk of becoming infected with HIV	1	2	3
o.	Sexually transmitted infections increase the risk of HIV infection	1	2	3
p.	HIV can be transmitted by sharing a meal with someone who is infected with HIV	1	2	3

4.2	If a friend told you they had a sexually transmitted infection, what would you advise them to do? (DO NOT READ OUT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES possible)	
	Go to a pharmacy	1
	Treat it himself/herself	2
	Go to a private doctor	3
	Go to a hospital or clinic	4
	Go to a traditional healer	5
	Go to a herbalist	6
	Stop having sex	7
	Don't know	8
	I Don't know what a sexually transmitted infection is (SKIP TO 4.5)	9
	Other (specify)	10

4.3	**What are the signs and symptoms of sexually transmitted infections?** (DO NOT READ OUT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES possible)	
	I don't know	1
	Itching in the genital area	2
	Pain during sex	3
	Sores on the genitals	4
	Swelling in the groin	5
	Pain in the abdomen	6
	Burning sensation when urinating	7
	Unusual discharge	8
	Other (specify)	9

4.4	**What should you do to prevent sexually transmitted infections?** (DO NOT READ OUT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES possible)	
	Only have sex with someone who doesn't have an STI	1
	Use condoms	2
	Only have sex with one partner	3
	Not have sex	4
	Take a shower immediately after sex	5
	Don't know	6
	Other	7
	Other (specify)	8

4.5	**Is there a treatment for HIV/AIDS**	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP TO 4.13)

4.6	**If yes, what is that treatment** (DO NOT READ OUT, MULTIPLE RESPONSES possible)	
	Antiretroviral drugs (ARVs)	1
	Traditional medicine (skip to 4.13)	2
	Homeopathic treatment (skip to 4.13)	3
	Don't know (skip to 4.13)	4
	Other (specify) (skip to 4.13)	5

4.7	How long should people on antiretroviral drugs stay on treatment (DO NOT READ OUT. ONE RESPONSE ONLY)	
	For the rest of their lives	1
	As long as they want	2
	Until they feel better	3
	Don't know	4
	Other (specify)	5

5. Behaviours and practices

I am now going to ask you some questions related to sex. As I have mentioned before, your answers are confidential.

5.1	Have you ever had sex before? (Sex is defined as the penis entering the vagina or anus with a person of the opposite or same sex)	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 8.1)

5.2	How old were you when you first had sex? (If respondent is unsure, they can estimate approximate age)	

5.3	Would you say that you are able to say no to sex if you don't want it?	Yes 1	No 2

5.4	Have you had sex in the past 12 months?	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 5.9)

5.5	In the past 12 months have you been physically forced to have sex against your will?	Yes 1	No 2

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5.6	How many sexual partners have you had in the past 12 months?	1	2	3	4	5	6	More than 6

5.7	Do you have more than one sexual partner at the moment?	Yes 1	No 2 (Skip to 5.10)

5.8	How many sexual partners do you have at the moment? (SKIP TO 5.10 after this question))	1	2	3	More than 3

5.9	What are your reasons for having multiple partners?(open-ended)	
a.		
b.		
c.		

5.10	What nicknames or labels are given to students with multiple partners? (open-ended)	
a.		
b.		
c.		

5.11	What is your understanding of marriage? (open-ended)	
a.		
b.		
c.		

5.12	What are the reasons that you have not had sex in the past 12 months? (PROMPT IF NECESSARY. MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE)	
a.	I have not found a partner	1
b.	I am not interested in sex	1
c.	I want to wait until I am married	1
d.	I am not interested in having a sexual relationship	1
e.	I have chosen to abstain from sex	1
f.	I am worried about the risks of HIV infection	1
g.	I am worried about the risks of an unwanted pregnancy	1
h.	I am worried about the risks of sexually transmitted diseases	1
i.	I am worried about partner violence	1
j.	Other (Specify):	

5.13	What are your reasons for getting into a relationship with sexual partner(s)	
a.	Relationship leading to marriage	1
b.	Relationship for fun/companionship only	1
d.	For financial/material benefits	1
e.	Everyone else has a partner	1

5.14	When it comes choosing a sexual partner, which of the following applies to you? (READ OUT ALL. Multiple Responses possible)	
a.	My parents advise me on whether or not I should have (accept) a sexual partner	1
b.	My friends advise me on whether or not I should have (accept) a sexual partner	1
d.	My brothers/sisters advise me on whether or not I should have (accept) a sexual partner	1
e.	My relatives advise me or whether or not I should have (accept) a sexual partner	1
f	I make personal (independent) decisions on whether or not to have (accept) a sexual partner	1

5.15	How much older or younger than you was your MOST RECENT sexual partner? (If respondent is unsure, they can estimate. ONLY ONE response possible)	
	Same age as me	1
	1-2 years younger than me	2
	3-5 years younger	3
	6-10 years younger	4
	More than 10 years younger	5
	1-2 years older	6
	3-5 years older	7
	6-10 years older	8
	More than 10 years older	9

5.16	With your MOST RECENT partner, did you do anything to prevent HIV infection?	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 5.18)

5.17	What did you do to reduce the risk to yourself or your partner of HIV infection? (DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE)	
	Nothing	1
	My partner and I are faithful to each other	2
	I am faithful to my partner	3
	My partner and I know our HIV status	4
	We stop before ejaculation (withdrawal)	5
	We have thigh sex	6
	We have anal sex	7
	We have oral sex	8
	We use contraceptives (pill, IUD/loop, injection, etc.)	9
	We use male condoms	10
	We use the natural method / safe period	11
	Other (specify):	

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5.18	Have you ever used a condom before?	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 5.23)

5.19	Did you use a condom the last time you had sex?	Yes 1	No 2

5.20	Did you use a condom the last time you had sex with a person you are married to or living with?	Not applicable	Yes 1	No 2

5.21	Did you use a condom the last time you had sex with a person you are NOT married to or living with?	Not applicable	Yes 1	No 2

5.22	Do you ALWAYS use condoms when you have sex with a person you are NOT married to or living with?	Yes 1	No 2

5.23	When it comes to using condoms, which applies to you? (READ OUT ALL. ONLY ONE response possible)	
	I always use condoms	1
	I use condoms most of the time	2
	I use condoms sometimes	3
	I seldom or never use condoms	4

5.24	MALES ONLY. Are you confident that you are using condoms correctly?	Not Applicable	Yes 1	Unsure 2	No 3

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5.25	Have you ever had sex in exchange for money or things of value to you?	Yes 1	No 2

5.26	Do you know of a place within campus where you can be tested for HIV?	Yes 1	No 2

5.27	What are the benefits of getting an HIV test? (DO NOT READ OUT. Multiple responses possible)	
	To know your HIV status	1
	To access antiretroviral therapy	2
	To protect your partner from HIV	3
	To decide whether to have children	4
	Other (Specify)	

5.28	Have you ever been tested for HIV?	Yes 1	No 2 SKIP To 5.30

5.29	When was your last HIV test? READ OUT. ONLY ONE RESPONSE POSSIBLE	
	In the last 12 months	1
	More than 1 year ago, but less than 2 years ago	2
	More than 2 years ago	3

5.30	Have you ever gone for an HIV test with your partner? (Note, partner is girlfriend/boyfriend/husband/wife)	Yes 1	No 2

5.31	What were your reasons for having your most recent HIV test? (DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE)	
	I wanted to know my HIV status	1
	I engaged in risky sexual behaviour	2
	My partner asked me to go for testing	3

	I wanted to start a new sexual relationship	4
	I applied for an insurance policy or loan	5
	My employer requested it	6
	I was feeling sick	7
	I was pregnant	8
	Other (specify):	9

5.32	**What are your reasons for not going for HIV test?** (DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE)	
	I do not know where to get tested	1
	I do not think that I have HIV	2
	I am not at risk for HIV	3
	I trust my partner	4
	I was afraid to find out that I might be HIV positive	5
	I am not ready to have an HIV test	6
	I haven't gotten round to it	7
	I was concerned about CONFIDENTIALITY	8
	I was concerned about STIGMA, DISCRIMINATION or REJECTION	9
	I was concerned about LOSING MY JOB	10
	I am concerned about the STANDARD OF SERVICE	11
	I haven't got around to it	12
	Other (specify):	13

5.33	**Do you talk to fellow students about going for VCT?**	Yes 1	No 2 (Skip to 5.34)

5.34	**What are your reasons for not talking about VCT?**	
a.		
b.		
c.		

5.35	What names, phrases and or terms or nicknames are used to describe VCT?	
a.		
b.		
c.		

6. Social Norms

6.1	How much do you agree with the following statements about the community where you live? (READ OUT ALL)	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know / not applicable
a.	Students in my campus do not take HIV/AIDS seriously	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Students in my campus are joining together to help people with HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	5
c.	The number of students in my campus openly saying that they are living with HIV/AIDS is increasing	1	2	3	4	5
d.	When students in my campus say they have HIV/AIDS, other students do NOT support them	1	2	3	4	5
e.	There are enough organisations in my campus helping with HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Male condoms are easily accessible	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Female condoms are easily accessible	1	2	3	4	5
h.	I trust most people in my campus	1	2	3	4	5
I.	Students in my campus frequently talk about HIV/AIDS in their ordinary conversations	1	2	3	4	5
j.	Students in my campus frequently discuss abstinence, being faithful and use of condoms in their ordinary conversations	1	2	3	4	5

6.2	When it comes to sexual relationships among students in your campus, to what extent do you agree with the following statements? (READ OUT ALL)	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
a.	Abstinence is a realistic HIV preventive option among students	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Being Faithful to one uninfected partner is a realistic HIV preventive option among students	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Using Condom is a realistic HIV preventive option among students	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Condom use is associated with infidelity	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Condom use is associated with having STI	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Insistence on condom use could break up relationship	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Males have powers to decide whether to abstain from sex or use condom during sexual intercourse	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Females have powers to decide whether to abstain from sex or use condom during sexual intercourse	1	2	3	4	5
i.	It is ok for a man to have more than one sexual partners	1	2	3	4	5
j.	It is ok for a woman to have more than one partners	1	2	3	4	5

7 TALKING ABOUT SEX, HIV/AIDS/VCT

7.1	In your ordinary conversions, Does the following apply to you	Yes	No
a.	I often talk about sex with my friends.	1	2

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

b.	I often talk about HIV/AIDS and VCT with Parents.	1	2
c.	I often talk about issues related to HIV/AIDS at home	1	2
d.	I often talk with friends about abstinence and being faithful to sexual partners.	1	2

7.2	What names, phrases and or terms are used to describe students who abstain from having sex?	
a.		
b.		
c.		

7.3	What names, phrases and or terms are used to describe students who practice fidelity to a sexual partner?	
a.		
b.		
c.		

7.4	What names, phrases and or terms are used to describe students who insist on using condoms?	
a.		
b.		
c.		

7.5	What names, phrases and or terms are used to describe students who abs?	
a.		
b.		
c.		

THANKYOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY

Appendix IV: Revised Final Questionnaire for students

Revised Final Questionnaire for Students

Research Topic

Understanding responses to the ABC strategy in the Higher Education Sector in South Africa: towards an advocacy framework to influence policy and practice for the prevention of infection with HIV among university students

A.	CAMPUS	1	Howard
		2	Medical School
		3	Pietermaritzburg
		4	Westville
		5	Edgewood
		6	University of Zululand
		7	Durban University of Technology

Demographic data

1.1	**Sex of respondent** (code by observation)	Male 1	Female 2

1.2	**What is your race group?**	Black 1	Coloured 1	Indian 3	White 4	Other (specify) 5

1.3	**What is your age?** (in completed years)	

1.4	**What is your marital status?** (ONLY ONE response possible)	1	Married (living with husband/wife)
		2	Married (<u>not</u> living with husband/wife)
		3	Not married (living with boyfriend/girlfriend)
		4	Single
		5	Widow / widower / divorced / separated
		6	Other (specify)

1.5	What category of student are you?	1	Full-time student at COLLEGE / TECHNIKON / UNIVERSITY
		2	Part time student
	(ONLY ONE response possible)	3	Other (specify)

1.6	Which year of study are you?	1	First year
	(ONLY ONE response possible)	2	Second Year
		3	Third year
		4	Post-graduate

1.7	Where do you reside while on session?	1	On-campus residence
		2	Rental house/room off-campus
	(ONLY ONE response possible)	3	Off-Campus with my parents
		4	Off-Campus with my relatives/friends

2. Relation to HIV/AIDS

2.1	In the course of this academic year which of the following apply to you? (READ OUT ALL)	Yes	No or not applicable
a.	I have attended a workshop on HIV/AIDS within campus	1	2
b.	I have attended a rally on HIV/AIDS within campus	1	2
c.	I have attended a meeting on HIV/AIDS within campus	1	2
d.	I have discussed HIV/AIDS with peer educators within campus	1	2
e.	I have attended classes about HIV/AIDS at campus	1	2
f.	I have attended workshop, training or lecture on Decision making Skills/Negotiation skills/Interpersonal skills relating to HIV prevention?	1	2
g.	I have heard HIV/AIDS spoken about at a place of worship (church, mosque, etc.)	1	2
h.	Someone I know has told me that he/she is HIV positive	1	2
i.	I have helped or volunteered at an HIV/AIDS organisation or groups in my community	1	2
j.	I personally know someone who has died of AIDS	1	2
k.	I have helped care for a person sick with AIDS	1	2
l.	I personally know children who have lost a parent to HIV/AIDS	1	2
m.	I have worn a red ribbon while on campus	1	2

n.	I have worn a t-shirt, cap or other item with an HIV/AIDS message while on campus	1	2
o.	I have received information about HIV/AIDS from a nurse or doctor	1	2
p.	I have received information about HIV/AIDS from a traditional healer	1	2
q.	I have received information about HIV/AIDS from an organisation within campus	1	2

2.2a.	**Have you attended any funerals in the course of this academic year?**	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 3.1)

2.2b.	**How many of these funerals were for a person you know, or think has died of AIDS?**	None / Don't know 1	1 2	2 3	3 4	4 5	5 6	More than five 7

3. Media Exposure

3.1	**In the course of this academic year, from which of the following sources have you found personally useful in obtaining information about HIV/AIDS (READ OUT ALL)**	Yes	No
a.	Campus HIV/AIDS support unit	1	2
b.	Student organizations	1	2
c.	Religious groups on campus	1	2
d.	Class lectures	1	2
e	Peer Educators	1	2
f.	Guest speakers	1	2
g	Friends	1	2
h.	Blood donor groups	1	2
i.	Voluntary Counselling and Testing Centres	1	2
j.	Music, theatre or puppetry groups	1	2
k.	Other (please specify)	1	2

3.2	While on Campus, which of the following media of information have you personally found useful for getting HIV/AIDS information? (READ OUT ALL)	Not seen or heard	USEFUL for HIV/AIDS information	NOT USEFUL for HIV/AIDS information
a.	Posters	1	2	3
b.	Billboards	1	2	3
c.	Banners			
d.	Leaflets and information booklets	1	2	3
e.	Internet	1	2	3
f.	Plays or drama	1	2	3
g.	Television news	1	2	3
h.	Television dramas, talk shows, and other programmes	1	2	3
i.	Television advertisements	1	2	3
j.	Radio news	1	2	3
k.	Radio dramas, talk shows, and other programmes	1	2	3
l.	Radio advertisements	1	2	3
m.	Articles in newspapers	1	2	3
n.	Articles in magazines	1	2	3
o.	Murals	1	2	3

3.3	How often do you hear/read the following information about HIV/AIDS being emphasised while on campus? (READ OUT ALL)	Very often	Often	Rarely	Very rarely	I have never heard
a.	Abstain until marriage	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Be faithful to one partner	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Use condom during sexual intercourse	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Go for Voluntary Counselling and Testing	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Care for the HIV positive	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Stop sexual violence against females	1	2	3	4	5

g.	Human rights and HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	5
h.	HIV/AIDS prevalence	1	2	3	4	5
i.	Modes of HIV transmission	1	2	3	4	5

3.4	Of the following channels of communication: posters, billboards, leaflets and information booklets, what draws you to the message?	absolutely	sometimes	Never
a.	Visual images	1	2	3
b.	Words	1	2	3

3.5	HIV/AIDS messages can appear in words only or images only OR they can be mixed. However,	agree	disagree	don't know
a.	Use of both images and words result(s) in mixed messages	1	2	3
b.	Images make the message clearer	1	2	3
c.	Images make the message even more ambiguous	1	2	3
d.	Words alone, are sufficient	1	2	3

3.6	Do you agree with the following statements?	agree	disagree	don't know
a.	The ABC (Abstain, Be faithful, Condomise) approach in messages leaves out other useful information.	1	2	3
b.	The ABC messages are clear and precise	1	2	3
c.	The C (Condomise and consistent use) is biased towards females only.	1	2	3
d.	HIV/AIDS campaigns are biased towards the black student population	1	2	3
e.	Some HIV/AIDS messages, especially those advocating condom use, are more promotional than	1	2	3

	informative			
f.	Effective HIV/AIDS messages should be specific to the diverse student population	1	2	3

4. Student's Involvement in HIV/AIDS Messaging

4.1	Do you think the HIV/AIDS campaigns in your campus are adequate?	Yes 1	No 2

4.2	Do you think the HIV/AIDS campaigns:	Yes	No
a.	Relates messages that people understand	1	2
b.	Are well designed and researched	1	2
c.	Have messages that are applicable to the youth it targets	1	2
d.	Involve the audience it targets in the design and implementation of campaigns	1	2
e.	Are educational and entertaining	1	2

4.3	Do you think students should be involved in HIV/AIDS prevention messaging?	Yes 1	No 2 (skip to 4.5)

4.4	Why do you think student involvement is necessary?	Yes	No
a.	Students need to be part of the research, design and implementation of programmes.	1	2
b.	Students understand their sexual practices and are best placed to construct their own messages	1	2
c.	Students are more responsive when it's a message created by them.	1	2

4.5	Do you think the ABC (Abstain, be faithful and condomise prevention strategy is effective?	Yes 1	No 2

5. Knowledge, attitudes and perceptions

5.1	Are the following statements true or false? (READ OUT ALL)	True	False	Don't know
a.	HIV causes AIDS	1	2	3
b.	You can reduce the risk of HIV transmission by using condoms	1	2	3
c	HIV can be spread through anal sex between a woman and a man	1	2	3
d.	HIV can be spread through anal sex between men	1	2	3
e.	HIV is spread through the air	1	2	3
f.	Traditional healers can cure AIDS	1	2	3
g.	You can reduce the risk of HIV infection by having fewer sexual partners	1	2	3
h.	You can be infected with HIV by touching a person with HIV/AIDS	1	2	3
i.	A mother can pass HIV on to her baby during pregnancy and childbirth	1	2	3
j.	AIDS is caused by witchcraft	1	2	3
k.	A person with HIV can look healthy	1	2	3
l.	You can reduce the risk of HIV by being faithful to your sexual partner	1	2	3
m.	A woman can transmit HIV to her baby through breastfeeding	1	2	3
n.	A person who has been raped can receive drugs from a clinic or hospital to reduce the risk of becoming infected with HIV	1	2	3
o.	Sexually transmitted infections increase the risk of HIV infection	1	2	3
p.	HIV can be transmitted by sharing a meal with someone who is infected with HIV	1	2	3

5.2	If a friend told you they had a sexually transmitted infection, what would you advise them to do? (DO NOT READ OUT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES possible)	Yes	No

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	Go to a pharmacy	1	2
	Treat it himself/herself	1	2
	Go to a private doctor	1	2
	Go to a hospital or clinic	1	2
	Go to a traditional healer	1	2
	Go to a herbalist	1	2
	Stop having sex	1	2
	Don't know	1	2
	I Don't know what a sexually transmitted infection is (SKIP TO 4.5)	1	2
	Other (specify)	1	2

5.3	What are the signs and symptoms of sexually transmitted infections? (DO NOT READ OUT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES possible)	Yes	No
	I don't know	1	2
	Itching in the genital area	1	2
	Pain during sex	1	2
	Sores on the genitals	1	2
	Swelling in the groin	1	2
	Pain in the abdomen	1	2
	Burning sensation when urinating	1	2
	Unusual discharge	1	2
	Other (specify)	1	2

5.4	What should you do to prevent sexually transmitted infections? (DO NOT READ OUT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES possible)	Yes	No
	Only have sex with someone who doesn't have an STI	1	2
	Use condoms	1	2
	Only have sex with one partner	1	2
	Not have sex	1	2
	Take a shower immediately after sex	1	2
	Don't know	1	2
	Other (specify)	1	2

5.5	Is there a treatment for HIV/AIDS	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP TO 6.1)

5.6	If yes, what is that treatment (DO NOT READ OUT, MULTIPLE RESPONSES possible)	Yes	No
	Antiretroviral drugs (ARVs)	1	2
	Traditional medicine (skip to 4.13)	1	2
	Homeopathic treatment (skip to 4.13)	1	2
	Don't know (skip to 4.13)	1	2
	Other (specify) (skip to 4.13)	1	2

5.7	How long should people on antiretroviral drugs stay on treatment (DO NOT READ OUT. ONE RESPONSE ONLY)	
	For the rest of their lives	1
	As long as they want	2
	Until they feel better	3
	Don't know	4
	Other (specify)	5

6. Behaviours and practices

I am now going to ask you some questions related to sex. As I have mentioned before, your answers are confidential.

6.1	Have you ever had sex before? (Sex is defined as the penis entering the vagina or anus with a person of the opposite or same sex)	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 6.9)

6.2	How old were you when you first had sex? (If respondent is unsure, they can estimate approximate age)	

6.3	Would you say that you are able to say no to sex if you don't want it?	Yes 1	No 2

6.4	Have you had sex in the past 12 months?	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 6.9)

6.5	In the past 12 months have you been physically forced to have sex against your will?	Yes 1	No 2

6.6	How many sexual partners have you had in the past 12 months?	1	2	3	4	5	6	More than 7

6.7	Do you have more than one sexual partner at the moment?	Yes 1	No 2 (Skip to 6.9)

6.8	How many sexual partners do you have at the moment? (SKIP TO 5.10 after this question))	1	2	3	More than three 4

6.9	Do you seek to have more than one sexual partner in the next 12 months?	Yes 1	No 2

6.10	When it comes many sexual partners, which of the following applies to you? (READ OUT ALL. Multiple Responses possible)		
a.	I don't see anything wrong in having multiple sexual partners	1	2
b.	I intend to reduce the number of my sexual partners in the next six months	1	2
d.	I have decided to be with only one sexual partner	1	2
e.	I have always had one sexual partner	1	2
f	I encourage others to have only one sexual partner	1	2

6.11	What are the reasons that you have not had sex in the past 12 months? (PROMPT IF NECESSARY. MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE)	Yes	No
a.	I have not found a partner	1	2
b.	I am not interested in sex	1	2
c.	I want to wait until I am married	1	2
d.	I am not interested in having a sexual relationship	1	2
e.	I have chosen to abstain from sex	1	2
f.	I am worried about the risks of HIV infection	1	2
g.	I am worried about the risks of an unwanted pregnancy	1	2
h.	I am worried about the risks of sexually transmitted diseases	1	2
i.	I am worried about partner violence	1	2
j.	Other (Specify):	1	2

6.12	What are your reasons for getting into a relationship with sexual partner(s)	Yes	No
a.	Relationship leading to marriage	1	2
b.	Relationship for fun/companionship only	1	2
d.	For financial/material benefits	1	2
e.	Everyone else has a partner	1	2

6.13	When it comes choosing a sexual partner, which of the following applies to you? (READ OUT ALL. Multiple Responses possible)	Yes	No
a.	My parents advise me on whether or not I should have (accept) a sexual partner	1	2
b.	My friends advise me on whether or not I should have (accept) a sexual partner	1	2
d.	My brothers/sisters advise me on whether or not I should have (accept) a sexual partner	1	2
e.	My relatives advise me or whether or not I should have (accept) a sexual partner	1	2
F	I make personal (independent) decisions on whether or not to have (accept) a sexual partner	1	2

6.14	How much older or younger than you was your MOST RECENT sexual partner? (If respondent is unsure, they can estimate. ONLY ONE response possible)	
	Same age as me	1
	1-2 years younger than me	2
	3-5 years younger	3
	6-10 years younger	4
	More than 10 years younger	5
	1-2 years older	6
	3-5 years older	7
	6-10 years older	8
	More than 10 years older	9

6.15	With your MOST RECENT partner, did you do anything to prevent HIV infection?	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 6.18)

6.16	What did you do to reduce the risk to yourself or your partner of HIV infection? (DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE)	Yes	No
	Nothing	1	2
	My partner and I are faithful to each other	1	2
	I am faithful to my partner	1	2
	My partner and I know our HIV status	1	2
	We stop before ejaculation (withdrawal)	1	2
	We have thigh sex	1	2
	We have anal sex	1	2
	We have oral sex	1	2
	We use contraceptives (pill, IUD/loop, injection, etc.)	1	2
	We use male condoms	1	2
	We use the natural method / safe period	1	2
	Other (specify):	1	2

6.17	Have you ever used a condom before?	Yes 1	No 2 (SKIP to 6.23)

6.18	Did you use a condom the last time you had sex?	Yes 1	No 2

6.19	Did you use a condom the last time you had sex with a person you are married to or living with?	Not applicable 1	Yes 2	No 3

6.20	Did you use a condom the last time you had sex with a person	Not applicable	Yes	No

	you are NOT married to or living with?	1		
			2	3

6.21	Do you ALWAYS use condoms when you have sex with a person you are NOT married to or living with?	Yes 1	No 2

6.22	When it comes to using condoms, which applies to you? (READ OUT ALL. ONLY ONE response possible)	
	I always use condoms	1
	I use condoms most of the time	2
	I use condoms sometimes	3
	I seldom or never use condoms	4

6.23	MALES ONLY. Are you confident that you are using condoms correctly?	Not Applicable	Yes	Unsure	No
		1	2	3	4

6.24	Have you ever had sex in exchange for money or things of value to you?	Yes 1	No 2

6.25	Do you know of a place within campus where you can be tested for HIV?	Yes 1	No 2

6.26	What are the benefits of getting an HIV test? (DO NOT READ OUT. Multiple responses possible)	Yes	No
	To know your HIV status	1	2
	To access antiretroviral therapy	1	2
	To protect your partner from HIV	1	2
	To decide whether to have children	1	2
	Other (Specify)	1	2

6.27	**Have you ever been tested for HIV?**	Yes	No
		1	2
			SKIP To 6.31

6.28	**When was your last HIV test?**		
	READ OUT. ONLY ONE RESPONSE POSSIBLE	Yes	No
	In the last 12 months	1	2
	More than 1 year ago, but less than 2 years ago	1	2
	More than 2 years ago	1	2

6.29	**Have you ever gone for an HIV test with your partner?** (Note, partner is girlfriend/boyfriend/husband/wife)	Yes	No
		1	2

6.30	What were your reasons for having your most recent HIV test? (DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE)	Yes	No
	I wanted to know my HIV status	1	2
	I engaged in risky sexual behaviour	1	2
	My partner asked me to go for testing	1	2
	I wanted to start a new sexual relationship	1	2
	I applied for an insurance policy or loan	1	2
	I wanted to show example to others	1	2
	I wanted to donate blood	1	2
	I applied to travel outside the country	1	2
	My employer requested it	1	2
	I was feeling sick	1	2
	I was pregnant	1	2
	Other (specify):	1	2

6.31	What are your reasons for not going for HIV test? (DO NOT PROMPT. MULTIPLE RESPONSES POSSIBLE)	Yes	No
	I do not know where to get tested	1	2
	I do not think that I have HIV	1	2
	I am not at risk for HIV	1	2
	I trust my partner	1	2
	I was afraid to find out that I might be HIV positive	1	2
	I am not ready to have an HIV test	1	2
	I was concerned about CONFIDENTIALITY	1	2
	I was concerned about STIGMA, DISCRIMINATION or REJECTION	1	2
	I was concerned about LOSING MY JOB	1	2
	I am concerned about the STANDARD OF SERVICE	1	2
	I haven't got around to it	1	2
	Other (specify):	1	2

6.32	Do you talk to fellow students about going for VCT?	Yes 1	No 2

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7. Social Norms

7.1	How much do you agree with the following statements about the community where you live? (READ OUT ALL)	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know / not applicable
a.	Students in my campus do not take HIV/AIDS seriously	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Students in my campus are joining together to help people with HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	5
c.	The number of students in my campus openly saying that they are living with HIV/AIDS is increasing	1	2	3	4	5
d.	When students in my campus say they have HIV/AIDS, other students do NOT support them	1	2	3	4	5
e.	There are enough organisations in my campus helping with HIV/AIDS	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Male condoms are easily accessible	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Female condoms are easily accessible	1	2	3	4	5
h.	I trust most people in my campus	1	2	3	4	5
I.	Students in my campus frequently talk about HIV/AIDS in their ordinary conversations	1	2	3	4	5
j.	Students in my campus frequently discuss abstinence, being faithful and	1	2	3	4	5

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		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
	use of condoms in their ordinary conversations					
7.2	**When it comes to sexual relationships among students in your campus, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?** (READ OUT ALL)	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
a.	Abstinence is a realistic HIV preventive option among students	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Being Faithful to one uninfected partner is a realistic HIV preventive option among students	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Using Condom is a realistic HIV preventive option among students	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Condom use is associated with infidelity	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Condom use is associated with having STI	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Insistence on condom use could break up relationship	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Males have powers to decide whether to abstain from sex or use condom during sexual intercourse	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Females have powers to decide whether to abstain from sex or use condom during sexual intercourse	1	2	3	4	5
i.	It is ok for a man to have more than one sexual partners	1	2	3	4	5
j.	It is ok for a woman to have more than one partners	1	2	3	4	5

8 TALKING ABOUT SEX, HIV/AIDS/VCT

8.1	In your ordinary conversions, Does the following apply to you	Yes	No
a.	I often talk about sex with my friends.	1	2
b.	I often talk about HIV/AIDS with my friends.	1	2
c.	I often talk about HIV/AIDS with Parents.	1	2
d.	I often talk about VCT with my parents	1	2
e.	I often talk about issues related to HIV/AIDS at home	1	2
f.	I often talk with friends about abstinence	1	2
g.	I often talk with friends about being faithful to sexual partners.	1	2
h.	I often joke about sex with friends	1	2
i.	It is easier to joke about sexual issues with friends than to seriously talk about them	1	2

Thank you for your participation

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Appendix V: Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

(To be read out by researcher before the beginning of the interview/Focus Group Discussion/Questionnaire. One copy of the form to be left with the respondent; one copy to be signed by the respondent and kept by the researcher.)

We are doing research on a project entitled **Understanding responses to the ABC strategy in the Higher Education Sector in South Africa; towards an advocacy framework to influence policy and practice for the prevention of infection with HIV among university students.** The aim of this project is to understand how HIV/AIDS information is communicated to students at this university and students' reception of the HIV/AIDS messages. We are managing this research as a team of four students: Abraham Mulwo (Student No: 205527655), John-Eudes Lengwe Kunda (Student No:) Irene Pule (Student No: 206521574) and Eliza Moodley (Student No: 200268424). This project is supervised by Professor Keyan Tomaselli and Professor Lynn Dalrymple at the School of Culture, Communication and Media Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal. Should you have any questions our contact details are:

Culture, Communication and Media Studies,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Howard College Campus
Durban, 4041.
Tel: 27 031 260 2505.

Cell Numbers and Email:
Abraham: +27736602036 email: abraham.mulwo@gmail.com

John: +27781792441 email: lengwe.kunda@gmail.com

Irene: +27769848670 email: mmalecha29@yahoo.com

Eliza: +27822686656 email: eliza@hivan.org.za

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the project. Before we start I would like to emphasize that:

-your participation is entirely voluntary;
-you are free to refuse to answer any question;
-you are free to withdraw at any time.

The information you provide in the questionnaire/Interview/Focus Group Discussion (researcher to tick where necessary) will be kept strictly confidential and will be available only to members of the research team. Excerpts from the Interview/Focus group discussions may be made part of the final research report but your identity will not be reflected in the report.

If you give consent to participate in the study, please sign this form to show that you have read the contents

I...(Full names) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time should I so desire.

Signature of the Participant.......................................Date.........................

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Appendix VI: Statistical Model

Concurrent Partners

Conditioners	Yes	Total	%	Odds Ratios				Adjusted Odds Ratios			
				OR	95% CI		P Value	AOR	95% CI		P Value
Age group	No.	No.									
<19	22	72	30.6	1							
20-25	78	260	30	0.97	0.55	1.72	0.928	0.98	0.42	2.30	0.958
26+	15	81	18.5	0.52	0.24	1.1	0.085	0.76	0.21	2.71	0.667
Undisclosed	6	15	40	1.52	0.48	4.78	0.478	1.73	0.38	7.91	0.477
Total	121	428	28.3								

Pearson chi2(3) = 5.3853 Pr = 0.146

Race	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
Black	106	326	32.5	1				1.00			
Coloured	2	11	18.2	0.46	0.1	2.17	0.328	0.48	0.09	2.63	0.395
Indian	11	60	18.3	0.47	0.23	0.93	0.031	0.66	0.30	1.49	0.319
White	2	30	6.7	0.15	0.03	0.63	0.01	0.25	0.05	1.19	0.082
Total	121	427	28.3								

Pearson chi2(3) = 13.2556 Pr = 0.004

living with somebody or not	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
With somebody	13	44	29.5	1				1.00			
Single	106	380	27.9	0.92	0.46	1.83	0.818	1.60	0.69	3.70	0.277

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	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
Total	119	424	28.1								

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.0532 Pr = 0.818

Session Residence	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
On-Campus	70	212	33	1				1.00			
OffCampus rent	25	95	26.3	0.72	0.42	1.24	0.241	0.63	0.33	1.21	0.161
offcampus with parents	15	87	17.2	0.42	0.23	0.79	0.007	0.52	0.25	1.10	0.089
OffCampus with relatives	9	31	29	0.83	0.36	1.9	0.658	1.00	0.37	2.73	0.993
Total	119	425	28								

Pearson chi2(3) = 7.7940 Pr = 0.050

Education level	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
First Year	33	86	38.4	1				1.00			
Second Year	18	79	22.8	0.47	0.24	0.94	0.032	0.73	0.33	1.61	0.440
Third Year	53	137	38.7	1.01	0.58	1.76	0.963	1.28	0.65	2.53	0.472
Fourth Year	17	125	13.6	0.25	0.13	0.49	0	0.39	0.18	0.86	0.020
Total	121	427	28.3								

Pearson chi2(3) = 26.0579 Pr = 0.000

University	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
Howard	18	53	34	1				1.00			
medical school	11	45	24.4	0.63	0.26	1.53	0.305	0.33	0.12	0.93	0.035
Pietermaritzburg	12	79	15.2	0.35	0.15	0.8	0.014	0.21	0.08	0.56	0.002
Westville	12	51	23.5	0.6	0.25	1.42	0.242	0.31	0.11	0.83	0.020

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	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
Edgewood	13	52	25	0.65	0.28	1.51	0.316	0.27	0.10	0.72	0.009
Unizulu	28	71	39.4	1.27	0.6	2.66	0.533	1.17	0.49	2.80	0.719
Dut	27	77	35.1	1.05	0.5	2.19	0.897	0.44	0.18	1.03	0.059
Total	121	428	28.3								

Pearson chi2(6) = 14.7952 Pr = 0.022

Sexual Behaviour

Had first sex before 15	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	91	333	27.3	1				1.00			
Yes	26	64	40.6	1.82	1.05	3.17	0.034	1.99	1.04	3.80	0.038
Total	117	397	29.5								

Pearson chi2(1) = 4.5669 Pr = 0.033

Forced to have sex	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	113	403	28	1				1.00			
Yes	7	19	36.8	1.5	0.57	3.9	0.409	1.57	0.52	4.71	0.422
Total	120	422	28.4								

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.6909 Pr = 0.406

Used Condom at last sex	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	26	110	23.6	1				1.00			
Yes	91	305	29.8	1.37	0.83	2.27	0.216	1.50	0.81	2.79	0.199

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	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
Total	117	415	28.2								

Pearson chi2(1) = 1.5349 Pr = 0.215

Whether has had HIV test or not	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	80	236	33.9	1				1.00			
Yes	36	183	19.7	0.48	0.3	0.75	0.001	0.44	0.26	0.75	0.002
Total	116	419	27.7								

Pearson chi2(1) = 10.4196 Pr = 0.001

Is knowledge high?	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	61	193	31.6	1				1.00			
Yes	52	200	26	0.76	0.49	1.18	0.22	0.64	0.37	1.11	0.110
Total	113	393	28.8								

Pearson chi2(1) = 1.5069 Pr = 0.220

Know someone disclosed HIV status	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	61	278	21.9	1				1.00			
Yes	59	137	43.1	2.69	1.73	4.18	0	3.03	1.81	5.05	0.000
Total	120	415	28.9								

Pearson chi2(1) = 19.9219 Pr = 0.000

321

know someone who died of AIDS	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	38	160	23.8	1				1.00			
Yes	81	258	31.4	1.47	0.94	2.3	0.093	1.15	0.67	1.99	0.610
Total	119	418	28.5								

Pearson chi2(1) = 2.8346 Pr = 0.092

has cared for someone who has AIDS	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	82	310	26.5	1				1.00			
Yes	36	103	35	1.49	0.93	2.41	0.099	0.98	0.53	1.80	0.953
Total	118	413	28.6								

Pearson chi2(1) = 2.7369 Pr = 0.098

Talking about faithfulness with Friends	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	63	179	35.2	1				1.00			
Yes	54	233	23.2	0.56	0.36	0.86	0.008	0.44	0.26	0.73	0.002
Total	117	412	28.4								

Pearson chi2(1) = 7.1924 Pr = 0.007

Talking about sex with friends	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	17	96	17.7	1				1.00			
Yes	99	316	31.3	2.12	1.19	3.77	0.01	1.83	0.90	3.70	0.095
Total	116	412	28.2								

322

Pearson chi2(1) = 6.7532 Pr = 0.009

Joke about sex with Friends	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
No	22	90	24.4					1.00			
Yes	96	327	29.4	1.28	0.75	2.2	0.36	1.00	0.53	1.89	0.996
Total	118	417	28.3								

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.8397 Pr = 0.359

Men have no power to use condom/abstain	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
Disagree	74	238	31.1	1				1.00			
Agree	43	169	25.4	0.76	0.49	1.18	0.215	0.85	0.50	1.44	0.549
Total	117	407	28.7								

Pearson chi2(1) = 1.5394 Pr = 0.215

women have no power to use condom/abstain	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
Disagree	53	213	24.9	1				1.00			
Agree	64	196	32.7	1.46	0.95	2.25	0.083	1.65	0.99	2.77	0.056
Total	117	409	28.6								

Pearson chi2(1) = 3.0177 Pr = 0.082

Appendix VII: Statistical Model for Women

Concurrent Partners for women

Conditioners	Yes	Total	%	Odds Ratios				Adjusted Odds Ratios		
	Yes	Total	%	OR	95% CI		P Value	AOR	95% CI	P Value
Age group										
Age group										
<19	7	49	14.3	1						
20-25	18	178	10.1	0.67	0.26	1.72	0.411			
26+	10	65	15.4	1.09	0.38	3.11	0.87			
Undisclosed	0	13	0	-						
Total	35	305	11.5							

Pearson chi2(3) = 3.3695 Pr = 0.338

living with somebody or not	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %							
With somebody	5	40	12.5	1						
Single	27	260	10.4	0.81	0.29	2.25	0.687			
Total	32	300	10.7							

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.1628 Pr = 0.687

Session Residence	Yes	Total	Yes

	No.	No.	%				
On-Campus	19	178	10.7	1			
OffCampus rent	7	69	10.1	0.94	0.38	2.36	0.903
offcampus with parents	7	34	20.6	2.17	0.83	5.65	0.113
OffCampus with relatives	1	22	4.5	0.40	0.05	3.13	0.382
Total	34	303	11.2				

Pearson chi2(3) = 4.1125 Pr = 0.250

Education level	Yes	Total	Yes				
	No.	No.	%				
First Year	6	53	11.3	1			
Second Year	11	75	14.7	1.35	0.46	3.9	0.584
Third Year	11	85	12.9	1.16	0.4	3.36	0.778
Fourth Year	7	92	7.6	0.65	0.2	2.03	0.454
Total	35	305	11.5				

Pearson chi2(3) = 2.2870 Pr = 0.515

University	Yes	Total	Yes				
	No.	No.	%				
Howard	1	32	3.1	1.00			
medical school	3	38	7.9	2.66	0.26	26.88	0.408
Pietermaritzburg	2	28	7.1	2.38	0.20	27.81	0.488
Westville	6	24	25	10.33	1.15	92.81	0.037
Edgewood	11	58	19	7.26	0.89	59.05	0.064
Unizulu	8	76	10.5	3.65	0.44	30.44	0.232
Dut	4	49	8.2	2.76	0.29	25.85	0.375
Total	35	305	11.5				

Pearson chi2(6) = 11.3146 Pr = 0.079

Had first sex before 15	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %				
No	32	279	11.5	1			
Yes	3	11	27.3	2.89	0.73	11.47	0.13
Total	35	290	12.1				

Pearson chi2(1) = 2.4904 Pr = 0.115

Forced to have sex	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %				
No	28	280	10	1			
Yes	5	21	23.8	2.81	0.96	8.26	0.06
Total	33	301	11				

Pearson chi2(1) = 3.8164 Pr = 0.051

Used Condom at last sex	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %				
No	7	71	9.9	1			
Yes	25	221	11.3	1.17	0.48	2.82	0.733
Total	32	292	11				

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.1163 Pr = 0.733

326

Whether has had HIV test or not	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %					
No	12	104	11.5	1				
Yes	23	201	11.4	0.99	0.47	2.08	0.98	
Total	35	305	11.5					

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.0006 Pr = 0.980

Is knowledge high?	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %					
No	10	100	10	1				
Yes	20	178	11.2	1.14	0.51	2.54	0.75	
Total	30	278	10.8					

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.1016 Pr = 0.750

Know someone disclosed HIV status	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %					
No	11	141	7.8	1				
Yes	24	164	14.6	2.03	0.95	4.3	0.066	
Total	35	305	11.5					

Pearson chi2(1) = 3.4843 Pr = 0.062

know someone who died of AIDS	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %					
No	6	61	9.8	1				
Yes	28	235	11.9	1.24	0.49	3.14	0.651	

	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %										
Total	34	296	11.5										

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.2058 Pr = 0.650

Cared for someone with AIDS	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %										
No	20	178	11.2	1									
Yes	13	107	12.1	1.09	0.52	2.3	0.815						
Total	33	285	11.6										

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.0545 Pr = 0.815

Talking about faithfulness with Friends	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %										
No	11	60	18.3	1									
Yes	24	245	9.8	0.48	0.22	1.05	0.067		0.4	0.18	0.91	0.028	
Total	35	305	11.5										

Pearson chi2(1) = 3.4581 Pr = 0.063

Talking about sex with friends	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %										
No	6	72	8.3	1									
Yes	27	219	12.3	1.55	0.61	3.91	0.357						
Total	33	291	11.3										

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.8603 Pr = 0.354

328

Joke about sex with Friends

	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %				
No	8	82	9.8	1			
Yes	25	208	12	1.26	0.55	2.93	0.585
Total	33	290	11.4				

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.2987 Pr = 0.585

Men have no power to use condom/abstain

	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %				
Disagree	15	147	10.2	1			
Agree	17	142	12	1.20	0.57	2.50	0.632
Total	32	289	11.1				

Pearson chi2(1) = 0.2292 Pr = 0.632

women have no power to use condom/abstain

	Yes No.	Total No.	Yes %								
Disagree	18	213	8.5	1							
Agree	14	76	18.4	2.45	1.15	5.20	0.02	2.62	1.21	5.64	0.014
Total	32	289	11.1								

Pearson chi2(1) = 5.6549 Pr = 0.017

329

Appendix VIII: Cross-tabulations on condom use

Sex of Respondent

Used Condom at last sex						
	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
No	139	27.6	125	27.2	264	27.4
Yes	365	72.4	335	72.8	700	72.6
Total	504	100.0	460	100.0	964	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 0.0199 Pr = 0.888						

Sex of Respondent

Education level						
	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
First Year	153	23.5	150	20.3	303	21.8
Second Year	126	19.3	179	24.2	305	21.9
Third Year	201	30.8	195	26.4	396	28.4
Fourth Year	172	26.4	216	29.2	388	27.9
Total	652	100.0	740	100.0	1392	100.0
Pearson chi2(3) = 8.7921 Pr = 0.032						

Sex of Respondent

living with somebody or not						
	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
With somebody	50	7.8	68	9.3	118	8.6
Single	595	92.2	663	90.7	1258	91.4
Total	645	100.0	731	100.0	1376	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 1.0505 Pr = 0.305						

Sex of Respondent

Race		Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
Black		467	71.6	481	65.0	948	68.1
Coloured	14	2.1	19	2.6	33	2.4	
Indian		112	17.2	179	24.2	291	20.9
White		59	9.0	61	8.2	120	8.6
Total		652	100.0	740	100.0	1392	100.0
Pearson chi2(3) = 10.9041 Pr = 0.012							

Sex of Respondent

Ever had sex before	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	150	23.3	266	36.6	416	30.3
Yes	495	76.7	460	63.4	955	69.7
Total	645	100.0	726	100.0	1371	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 28.9444 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

Forced to have sex						
	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	416	95.2	387	93.3	803	94.2
Yes	21	4.8	28	6.7	49	5.8
Total	437	100.0	415	100.0	852	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 1.4802 Pr = 0.224						

Sex of Respondent

Able to refuse sex	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	73	14.5	36	7.1	109	10.8
Yes	431	85.5	471	92.9	902	89.2
Total	504	100.0	507	100.0	1011	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 14.3247 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

Had first sex before 15						
	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	422	85.3	450	96.8	872	90.8
Yes	73	14.7	15	3.2	88	9.2
Total	495	100.0	465	100.0	960	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 38.2262 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

Had sex in last 12months	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	94	18.7	136	26.9	230	22.8
Yes	409	81.3	370	73.1	779	77.2
Total	503	100.0	506	100.0	1009	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 9.6132 Pr = 0.002						

Sex of Respondent

number of sexual partners	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
One	194	49.5	267	73.4	461	61.0
Two	99	25.3	58	15.9	157	20.8
Three	47	12.0	17	4.7	64	8.5
Four	15	3.8	13	3.6	28	3.7
Five	13	3.3	3	0.8	16	2.1
Six	8	2.0	2	0.5	10	1.3
Seven	16	4.1	4	1.1	20	2.6
Total	392	100.0	364	100.0	756	100.0
Pearson chi2(6) = 52.5571 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

concurrent Partners	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	307	71.7	375	91.0	682	81.2
Yes	121	28.3	37	9.0	158	18.8
Total	428	100.0	412	100.0	840	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 51.1521 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

# Concurrent sexual partners	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
None	307	70.6	375	90.1	682	80.1
One	16	3.7	17	4.1	33	3.9
Two	60	13.8	20	4.8	80	9.4
Three	31	7.1	3	0.7	34	4.0
More than three	21	4.8	1	0.2	22	2.6
Total	435	100.0	416	100.0	851	100.0
Pearson chi2(4) = 67.6605 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

Ever Used Condom	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	124	23.7	207	34.7	331	29.6
Yes	399	76.3	390	65.3	789	70.4
Total	523	100.0	597	100.0	1120	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 16.0963 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

Is knowledge high?	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	271	45.4	213	31.5	484	38.0
Yes	326	54.6	464	68.5	790	62.0
Total	597	100.0	677	100.0	1274	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 26.1363 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

Is knowledge low?	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	560	93.8	652	96.3	1212	95.1
Yes	37	6.2	25	3.7	62	4.9
Total	597	100.0	677	100.0	1274	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 4.2995 Pr = 0.038						

Sex of Respondent

Whether has had HIV test or not	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	398	60.9	408	55.1	806	57.9
Yes	255	39.1	332	44.9	587	42.1
Total	653	100.0	740	100.0	1393	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 4.8097 Pr = 0.028						

Sex of Respondent

Talking about sex with friends	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	192	30.4	278	38.8	470	34.9
Yes	439	69.6	438	61.2	877	65.1
Total	631	100.0	716	100.0	1347	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 10.4150 Pr = 0.001						

Talking about HIV/AIDS with friends

	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	307	48.4	322	45.0	629	46.6
Yes	327	51.6	394	55.0	721	53.4
Total	634	100.0	716	100.0	1350	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 1.6090 Pr = 0.205						

Talking about HIV/AIDS with Parents

	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
No	486	76.7	503	70.3	989	73.3
Yes	148	23.3	212	29.7	360	26.7
Total	634	100.0	715	100.0	1349	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 6.8310 Pr = 0.009						

Talking about VCT with Parents

	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
No	533	84.6	582	82.0	1115	83.2
Yes	97	15.4	128	18.0	225	16.8
Total	630	100.0	710	100.0	1340	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 1.6543 Pr = 0.198						

Talking about HIV/AIDS at home

	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
No	385	61.0	363	50.8	748	55.6
Yes	246	39.0	352	49.2	598	44.4
Total	631	100.0	715	100.0	1346	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 14.2497 Pr = 0.000						

Talking about Abstinence with Friends

	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
No	378	59.7	323	45.4	701	52.1
Yes	255	40.3	389	54.6	644	47.9
Total	633	100.0	712	100.0	1345	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 27.6525 Pr = 0.000						

Talking about faithfulness with Friends

	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
No	271	41.5	228	30.8	499	35.8
Yes	382	58.5	512	69.2	894	64.2
Total	653	100.0	740	100.0	1393	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 17.2429 Pr = 0.000						

Sex of Respondent

Joke about sex with Friends						
	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
No	176	27.6	280	39.2	456	33.8
Yes	461	72.4	433	60.6	894	66.2
	0	0.0	1	0.1	1	0.1
Total	637	100.0	714	100.0	1351	100.0
Pearson chi2(2) = 21.2768 Pr = 0.000						

Easy to Joke About sex						
	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
No	170	26.9	284	39.7	454	33.7
Yes	461	73.1	431	60.3	892	66.3
Total	631	100.0	715	100.0	1346	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 24.4877 Pr = 0.000						

Whether male condoms accessible						
	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
strongly disagree	27	4.2	51	7.1	78	5.7
disagree	9	1.4	7	1.0	16	1.2
Neither Agree nor disagree	231	36.0	247	34.5	478	35.2
Agree	350	54.5	389	54.4	739	54.5
Strongly Agree	25	3.9	21	2.9	46	3.4
Total	642	100.0	715	100.0	1357	100.0
Pearson chi2(4) = 6.6684 Pr = 0.154						

Whether female condoms accessible						
	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
strongly disagree	203	31.8	112	15.6	315	23.2
disagree	145	22.7	161	22.5	306	22.6
Neither Agree nor disagree	72	11.3	118	16.5	190	14.0
Agree	32	5.0	52	7.3	84	6.2
Strongly Agree	187	29.3	273	38.1	460	33.9
Total	639	100.0	716	100.0	1355	100.0
Pearson chi2(4) = 54.9042 Pr = 0.000						

Condoms associated with Infidelity						
	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
strongly disagree	149	23.9	161	23.0	310	23.4
disagree	87	14.0	100	14.3	187	14.1
Neither Agree nor disagree	108	17.3	101	14.4	209	15.8
Agree	30	4.8	24	3.4	54	4.1
Strongly Agree	249	40.0	313	44.8	562	42.5
Total	623	100.0	699	100.0	1322	100.0
Pearson chi2(4) = 5.2057 Pr = 0.267						

Condoms associated with STI						
	Male	Male	Female	Female	Total	Total
	No.	col %	No.	col %	No.	col %
strongly disagree	98	15.8	122	17.5	220	16.7

disagree	123	19.8	141	20.3	264	20.0
Neither Agree nor disagree	89	14.3	95	13.6	184	14.0
Agree	17	2.7	26	3.7	43	3.3
Strongly Agree	295	47.4	312	44.8	607	46.1
Total	622	100.0	696	100.0	1318	100.0
Pearson chi2(4) = 2.2533 Pr = 0.689						

Men have no power to use condom/abstain						
	Male No.	Male col %	Female No.	Female col %	Total No.	Total col %
disagree 377	60.0	399	56.4	776	58.1	
agree	251	40.0	309	43.6	560	41.9
Total	628	100.0	708	100.0	1336	100.0
Pearson chi2(1) = 1.8471 Pr = 0.174						

Appendix IX: It is OK for men to have multiple partners

Variable	Chi-square	Confidence interval		Probability
Fourth years	35.48	.088	.02	.000
Agegroup	22.47	.203	.21	.083
Livingstatus	44.74	2.75	6.35	.000
Race-indian	22.47	.46	1.00	.052
Race-white	22.47	.30	.83	.008
Ability to say no to sex	22.88	1.85	4.23	.000
Concurrent partners-3	18.85	1.64	10.71	.003
Gone for HIV test	12.44	1.25	2.22	.000
Talking about sex with friends	23.33	1.59	2.97	.000
Talking about HIV with friends	14.99	1.33	2.37	.000
Talking about HIV with parents	5.03	1.04	2.07	.028
Talking abstinence with friends	5.81	1.07	1.93	.017
Joke sex with friends	10.04	1.22	2.31	.001
Condoms infidelity	10.12	1.01	2.80	.045
Condoms STI	12.73	1.24	3.43	.005

Appendix X: It is OK for men to have multiple partners

It is ok for men to have multiple Partners	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
strongly disagree	105	7.85	7.85
disagree	154	11.51	19.36
Neither Agree nor disagree	483	36.10	55.46
Agree	253	18.91	74.36
Strongly Agree	343	25.64	100.00
Total	1,338	100.00	

Appendix XI: Guide for Talk collection

1. Are students talking about ABC and VCT? If they are indeed talking about ABCs, how are they doing so? What discourses are they using and why? If they are not, why aren't they talking about ABCs? Are students responding to VCT?

2. How are students relating and talking to each other about the different choices in the ABC approach?
    i. How are students talking to each other about abstinence?
    ii. How are student talking to each other about fidelity?
    iii. How are students talking to each other about condom use?
    iv. How are students relating ABC to their understanding of an ideal relationship?

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3. How are students appropriating HIV/AIDS discourses in their daily interactions?
   i. How are students relating to issues around HIV/AIDS in their daily interactions?
   ii. Are these ABC discourses a necessary component of student interaction?
   iii. Do students feel HIV/AIDS is still an issue to consider in daily relational interactions?

4. How are students responding to competing discourses and to dissident views about HIV/AIDS issues?
   i. How are students talking about HIV/AIDS?
   ii. How are they responding to dissident views about HIV/AIDS issues?
   iii. How are they relating with *feelings* towards HIV/AIDS issues?
   iv. What are their feelings about HIV/AIDS campaigns?

5. What names, phrases, terms or nicknames are students using for abstinence, fidelity, condoms and VCT?

Appendix XII: Guide

Topic Focus	Core Questions	Prompts and Expansion Material
Talking about sex and HIV/AIDS with Friends	*For women:* Do female students of about sex with friends? - Does this tend to be with male and/or female friends? - With one person or in groups? How do students talk about it? Do you think male students talk about sex like females do? -What about HIV/AIDS? How do students talk about it?	How students talk about sex with their friends - Joke, show off, serious, giggle, give advice, swap information etc. Gender differences Do students talk openly to other people about sex and related issues?
Talking about sex with parents/elders/guardians	*Do students talk to parents about HIV/AIDS? Do students talk to parents/elders/guardians about sex? What are the reasons for talking or not talking about these issues?*	
ABSTINENCE	Is abstinence actively part of the interactional discourse? Do Students actively seek to abstain from having sex?	Reasons for the abstinence message Students' views about the messages Gender differences
REASONS FOR HAVING SEX	Why do you think students have sex? - What do you think they get out of it? - What do you think it means to them? - What do you think they get out of it? - What do you think it means to them? Do students get sexual experience in ways other than with someone they are dating? - How? - With whom? - What proportions?	Feelings about students' sexual activity Does it affect how they feel about themselves (their self image)?
CONDOMS	What does safe sex mean to students? What do students think about condoms? - What are their advantages and disadvantages?	Ease of obtaining condoms Barriers to obtaining condoms

	Where do young men and women generally obtain their condoms from? - What do you think women / men of your age think about that? What do you think would students adopt 'safer Sex' practices?	Other safe sex techniques Differences between young men and women?
DISCOURSES	What are the nicknames for abstinence? Condom-use? Fidelity? What images/names do students use for sex, women, condoms, faithfulness and abstinence Do students talk about HIV/AIDS? Do students talk about Abstinence? Condom-use? Fidelity? Names for sex (knick-names)	What do you call someone who is sleeping around? Man or woman? What about those who are not having sex? what about those who use condoms/do not use condoms?
What is the meaning of marriage? What is the purpose of Sex?	What does marriage mean for? What do your friends say is the meaning of marriage? What is sex? What is its purpose	
What do you feel about the debates about whether HIV causes AIDS or not?	Does AIDS exist? What do you think should be done about it? Do you feel that the behaviour of students suggests that HIV/AIDS can also affect them? Why and How?	

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

Appendix XIII: Nature of Interaction Code

Nature of interaction	Meaning
IPD	Informal Personal Discussion
PD	Personal Discussion
PI	Personal Interview
NOD	Naturally Occurring Discussion
IGD	Informal Group Discussion
NOD	Naturally Occurring Discussion
FD	Formal Discussion
GD	Group Discussion
FGD	Formal Group Discussion/debate
NOC	Naturally Occurring Conversation
NOPD	Naturally Occurring Personal Discussion
IGD	Informal Group Discussion
FPD	Formal Personal Discussion

Endnotes

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[i] CADRE, along with Epicentre and Constella Futures (UK) working through Higher Education AIDS Programme (HEAIDS - http://www.hesa.org.za) and EU, is conducting studies of HIV/AIDS at all Higher Education Institutions in South Africa. The study which is both qualitative and quantitative in approach, is estimated to take 15 months and includes an HIV seroprevalence survey of staff and students (n=25,000).

[ii] A joint study is being conducted at CCMS by four PhD students and one Masters supported by JHHESA (Johns Hopkins Health and Education South Africa) funded by United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) which is funded by the United States Agency for Informational Development (USAID). The study focuses on communication strategies through which HIV prevention programmes are offered at three universities in KwaZulu-Natal - the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), the University of Zululand (UZ) and Durban University of Technology (DUT) with special reference to the ABC approach.

[iii] The debate on the role of ABCs is taken up in the second chapter on contextualising the research.

[iv] The University of KwaZulu-Natal came up with a policy document in response to recommendations and set up programmes within the university to mitigate the impact of the epidemic.

[v] The History of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2007. http://www.ukzn.ac.za/aboutus/history.asp

[vi] Sarafina 1 was a resistance play that became a movie.

[vii] http://www.info.gov.za/events/2005/khomanani.htm

[viii] https://www.healthinsite.net/health/HealthProfile.dll/eCareGeneral?wid=12&sh=10&tp=1 October, 2009.

[ix] http://www.redribbon.co.za/home/default.asp: It has invested in believing that working together creates strategic networks to over-come HIV and AIDS. The Red Ribbon portal

contains detailed information on HIV/AIDS including: basic information and advice on living with HIV/AIDS, information for businesses on managing HIV/AIDS in the workplace, reports on current research an analysis of HIV and AIDS in Africa information on the legal situation around HIV and AIDS and the highlighting of role models in HIV/AIDS activism.

[x] http://www.lovelife.org.za/youth/index.html. 28th July, 2008

[xi] Lovelife is a 1997/8 initiative by a consortium of non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) dealing with adolescent reproductive health in South Africa. Amongst the NGOs are: Advocacy Initiatives, Health Systems Trust, Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa and the Reproductive Health Research Unit (RHRU). lovelife's annual budget is estimated at R150 million with the main funding coming from the Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation giving about R100 million), the National Department of Health with R25 million).Its core partners are the Department of Health, the National Youth Commission, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and UNICEF

[xii] TOMASELLI, K. G. (2003) LoveLife: A measure of success? Durban, Compiled by the Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation(Cadre), South Africa

[xiii] www.cadre.ac.za, accessed on 27th July, 2009.

[xiv] "Declaration on Certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics" of December 29, 1975. That document stressed the duty of trying to understand the homosexual condition and noted that culpability for homosexual acts should only be judged with prudence. At the same time the Congregation took note of the distinction commonly drawn between the homosexual condition or tendency and individual homosexual actions. These were described as deprived of their essential and indispensable finality, as being "intrinsically disordered", and able in no case to be approved of (cf. n. 8, §4)".

[xv] Biblical tradition saw the evolution of monotheism from polytheism in which the existence of other gods was admitted but supremacy was given to YWHW. The God of the Jews. It is from this tradition that the idea of a monogamous relationship emerges. God is one and relates to one people. Marriage reflects this relationship; therefore any polygamous state would be seen as detrimental to this symbolic or sacramental representation (Ephesians 5, Corinthians 7).

xvi This debate shows how the US government was cited for breach of the US Constitution by demanding that public health groups pledge their opposition to prostitution before accessing federal grants MILIO, N. R. (2007) When wars overwhelm welfare. *J Epidemiol Community Health,* 61, 274-275.

xvii http://www.hivan.org.za/gettoknowus/aboutus.asp+HIVAN+south+africa&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1

xviii The introduction of Islam and Christianity came with them a particular cultural orientation which was not necessarily compatible with the local cultures.

xix Casuistry refers to a science of applying abstract moral norms to canons of daily behaviour, for example, moral prescriptions.

xx Lexicalisation is defined as the use of language that is pertinent and current to a group in order to design target oriented interventions.

xxi Posel highlights SoulCity, Soulbuddyz, Yizo-Yizo POSEL, D. (2004a) 'Getting the Nation Talking about Sex': Reflections on the Discursive constitution of Sexuality in South Africa since 1994. *Agenda,* 62, 53-67.

xxii The sense of sexual shame usually accompanies AIDS in communities and acts as a barrier to accessing care and prevention services UNAIDS (2001) Uganda: HIV and AIDS-related discrimination, stigmatisation and denial. *Best practice collection.* Geneva, UNAIDS.

xxiii "...stigma is more often attached to a disease whose cause is perceived to be the bearers' responsibility. To the extent that an illness is perceived as having been contracted through voluntary and avoidable behaviours-especially if such behaviours evoke social disapproval-it is likely to be stigmatised and to evoke anger and moralism rather than pity or empathy..." HEREK, G. M. (1999) AIDS and Stigma. *American Behavioural Scientist,* 42, 1130-1147. People living with HIV and AIDS are considered as having voluntarily an immorally engaged in practices whose consequences are manifested in their state of sickness and are as such stigmatised (Ibid). It is not noteworthy that HIV/AIDS stigma does not arise out of the blue, nor is it something dreamed up in the minds of individuals. Instead, like responses to diseases such as leprosy, cholera and polio in the past, it plays to deep-rooted social fears and anxieties. Understanding more about these issues, and the social norms they reinforce, is essential to adequately responding to HIV/AIDS related stigma and discrimination UNAIDS

(2002) A conceptual framework and basis for action: HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination. *World AIDS campaign 2002-2003.* Geneva, UNAIDS.

xxiv This table is appropriated from the works of Igham and Zeseen INGHAM, R. & VAN ZESSEN, G. (Eds.) (1997) From individual properties to interactional processes, London, Francis & Taylor. and Ferrand and Snijder FERRAND, A. & SNIJDERS, T. A. B. (Eds.) (1997) Social networks and normative tensions, London, Francis and Taylor..

xxv More recently elements of existential phenomenology are found in Jurgen Habermas' works especially in his elaboration of communicative action and the negotiation of validity claims HABERMAS, J. (1984) *The Theory Of Communicative Action,* Boston, Beacon Press.. He is influenced by Martin Heidegger who together with Edmund Husserl represents the phenomenological school.

"In the process of growing up, the child is able to form the interior of a consciously experienced life only through simultaneous externalization vis-à-vis other participants in communication and interaction. Even in expressions of the most personal feelings and most intimate excitations, an ostensibly private consciousness thrives on the electricity with which it is charged by the cultural network of public, symbolically expressed and inter-subjectively shared categories, thoughts, and meanings" HABERMAS, J. & DEWS, P. (1992) *Autonomy and solidarity : interviews with Jèurgen Habermas,* London ; New York, Verso..

xxvi Kenneth Gergen has dedicated his works to the defence of social constructionism and its role in social change. http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/kgergen1/web/page.phtml?st=home&id=home. Date 22 October, 2007.

xxvii Talking is an active consolidation of symbols and images in order to share meaning or thoughts. Listening on the other hand is a way of deciphering symbols into a world-view. When we talk we share our meaning of the world; and when we listen we seek to incorporate another or our own world-view so that an understanding is established. This is why the primary tool for gathering data is listening. This is active listening. It is used in participant observation, questionnaires, FDGs, interviews. There is no other way to gather knowledge that is divorced from listening. Even in observation we are trying to make sense of the observed patterns of behaviour. Talking is thus an act of generating and regenerating of meaning. Listening and talking are together a compositum of sense-making. They form a center for sense-making. At this sense is the complex reality of symbolic exchanges. These

symbols mean something to the parties of the conversation of dialogue. This kind of logic can be extended to electronic media as well. How is this related to this research?

[xxviii] "The essence of a metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" LAKOFF, G. & JOHNSON, M. (1980) *Metaphors we live by,* Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press.

[xxix] The question may be asked as to how one can decipher from a series of isolated acts a meaningful whole. The answer is provided in part by Husserl's stress on the meaningful component of the intentional act which is a process of reducing to the *essentials* of a phenomenon. This takes place through a process of unveiling successive layers of meaning, from the visibly immediate overt manifestation to the central latent "noematic" content. Keyan Tomaselli advances the interpretation of visual images as a prerequisite to the unveiling of deeper layers of meaning TOMASELLI, K. G. (1996) *appropriating images: The semiotics of visual representation,* Hojbjerg, Intervention press. The three-fold analysis of images arrives at ideological underpinnings. In phenomenology the question is asked as to the underlying layer of meaning displayed in physical reality. This depicts the noumena and the phenomena human reality. Its relationship with mental states lies in that the mind grasps essences from abstracting the physical existential constituents[xxix]. "It is the structure of things that gives us their meaning as wholes, and since there are various layers of structure, various strata of meaning, any phenomenon has a certain ambiguity in its relation to its ground" TIRYAKIAN, E. A. (October 1965) Existential Phenomenology and the Sociological Tradition. *American Sociological Review,* 30, 674-688.. We can thus confidently ascertain that individual acts of observed behaviour lie within broader structures of meaning. In observing these acts and subjecting them to systematic analysis leads us to deeper ideological structures upon which meaning is anchored.

[xxx] This conceptual system is expressed varyingly by different authors. Simon and Gagnon talk of cultural scenarios which precede (not linearly) inter-personal scenarios, which inform intra-personal. This process may be seen as a circular model in which scenarios feed and re-feed into each other as a process of cultural maturation.

[xxxi] Goffman has been generally located within the Chicago symbolic interactionist school. But this goes to ignore the broadly eclectic nature of his works. A succinct argument of spontaneous and organised involved in social interaction is depicted by OSTROW, M. J. (1996) Spontaneous Involvement and Social Life. *Sociological Perspetives,* 39, 341-351.

[xxxii] Adam D. Barnhart, 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday life.
http://www.hewett.norfolk.sch.uk/CURRIC/soc/goffman.htm. October, 2008.

[xxxiii] Goffman sees corrective action as one that seeks to redress embarrassment or conduct that meets with reprove in the social order. It is a form of reposition of the self in order to fit the canons of social expectations.

[xxxiv] One area of great influence in literary and cultural studies in Michael Bakhtin's concepts of the 'carnival' and the 'carnivalesque'. Carnivals tend to be moments expressive of a rebellion against dominant discourses. For instance some carnivals would be replete with over-indulgence in sexual and erotic excesses. There are many types of carnivals[xxxiv]. These are spaces of transgression where 'normal' social and moral norms, usually of the elite, are evaded and parked on the peripheries. For Bakhtin, the carnival is the transgressive, rebellious, dissident space. This is based on his studies of the carnivals of the middle ages and of the renaissance though some could be traced to the Roman Saturnalia with its satirical traditions. Carnivals are not merely spaces for debauchery and unrestrained sexuality, they are spaces where dominant discourses were challenged through celebratory ways. As much as a carnival deals with the analysis of power structures of society, they represent a basic desire within human experience. The desire to break the set rules. To evade the prescriptions of high culture and for a moment experience freedom from regulation. Carnivals are a world turned upside down where the sacred norms of social order is satirised and parodied.

[xxxv] Foucault sought to compare ancient pagan and Christian ethics through the test-case of sexuality. He also wanted to trace the development of Christian ideas about sexuality. . The crux of his argument is that the Christian sexual ethic considered acts to be evil in se i.e. on the whole, whereas for the Greeks, sexual acts were a good to be practised with moderation. "it was an aesthetics of the self: the self's creation of a beautiful and enjoyable existence GUTTING, G. (Fall 2003 Edition) Michel Foucault. IN ZALTA, E. N. (Ed.) *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.*

[xxxvi] Foucault discusses that philosophers like Aristotle, or Xenophon would not prescribe the kind regulations that Christian authors impose on the practice of sex in marriage. His critique of policing of sexual desire extends to St. Augustine's classification of desire as carnal concupiscencia i.e. disordered desire of the flesh. This is noted in the resulting exhortation of self-indulgence especially in Nicomean ethics which canonises an individual who restricts the

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pleasures of his mouth, his throats and of sex. This is not to say that Michel Foucault does not admit of regulations. He believes that regualation is a necessary process of ordering society, society cannot exist without a moral structure that is enforceable through an ethics of consent produced through a systematic codification of love and empathy. A detailed discussion in elaborated in Foucault [40].

[xxxvii] This pervaded the Church's regulations in cardinal and moral virtues-the ability to tame the appetites of the flesh. Sex was given clear functions in marriage with two equal ends, procreation and unity. Pleasure was always held suspect. Lust was seen like a sickness of the body, a failure in moderation. Sexual force is so powerful and keen that it is always sitting on the border towards exaggeration and excess (50). "For classical Greek thought, this was potentially excessive by nature, and the moral question was how to confront this force, how to control it and regulate its economy in a suitable way" (Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality, p.50).

[xxxviii] For Foucault, language, or any form of enquiry can never be divorced from the exercise of power. Sexuality was created as a devise to say no to sex. It is thus a means of repressing the body by adjusting it to fit social norms.

[xxxix] Scripting theory is located in the symbolic interactionist and social constructionist brand of sociology. The sexual script concept emerged out of a long history of collaboration between Simon and Gagnon IRVINE, J. M. (2003) Introduction to "Sexual Scripts: Origins, Influences and Changes". *Qualitative Sociology*, 26, 489-490.. The duo placed sexuality in the broader social context and historised individual sexual behaviour. It studies the micro structures of social interaction. Simon and Gagnon give an overview of the origins, influences and changes of this conceptual map. They do caution that scripting was not intended to be a comprehensive theory of sexuality, "...at least not one that could pretend to provide meaningful understanding of all forms of sexual behaviour. To the contrary, what we attempted was to provide a conceptual apparatus that might have utility in examining specific patterns of behaviour observed in the context of pervasive social change and concurrent levels of individuation SIMON, W. & GAGNON, J. H. (2003) Sexual Scripts:Origins, Infuences and Changes. *Qualitative Sociology*, 26, 491-497.

This approach is not an end in itself but a way of charting a way in a field that remains a complex and transient landscape of uses and meanings. It is worth noting that the influences on 'scripting theory' are many and varied. It is rooted in a grounded theory of the sexual

embracing the understanding that such an approach which is traditionally applied to the study of the behaviours of actors seen and experienced as problematic SIMON, W. & GAGNON, J. H. (2003) Sexual Scripts:Origins, Infuences and Changes. *Qualitative Sociology,* 26, 491-497.. It rejected a biological-deterministic theory's explanation of sexuality, by drawing from a social learning perspective to the embrace of social constructionists advance. Furthered compounded by the discovery of homosexuality [Gay and Lesbian committed studies] with the seminal works of Michel Foucault with the concomitance of self-psychology. Mitchel Foucault's contribution projected the view of cultural formations shaping our sense of the world as well as that of the self [495].

The scripting theory however remains to-date a robust and stable explanatory framework for sexual conduct which is responsive to a globally changing historical and cultural environment SIMON, W. & GAGNON, J. H. (2003) Sexual Scripts:Origins, Infuences and Changes. *Qualitative Sociology,* 26, 491-497.. "In our view there is no sexual wisdom that derives from the relatively constant physical body. It is the historical situation of the body that gives the body its sexual [as well as all other] meanings....While the commonsensical view of sex is that it is a spontaneous and ungovernable form of behaviour that presses against social norms, in our view the sexual takes on its shape and meaning from its social character" SIMON, W. & GAGNON, J. H. (2003) Sexual Scripts:Origins, Infuences and Changes. *Qualitative Sociology,* 26, 491-497.p. 492. I find the works of Simon and Gagnon being shaped by Goffman when they testify that "Even though most actual sexual activity in contemporary societies goes on in private settings, often devoid of apparent social costuming, the sexual encounter remains a profoundly social act in its enactment and even more so in its antecedents and consequences. Implicit audiences and explicit audiences [i.e., the self and others as audience] are present in every sexual encounter and the judgements and views of these audiences are considered, even if only in their denial" SIMON, W. & GAGNON, J. H. (2003) Sexual Scripts:Origins, Infuences and Changes. *Qualitative Sociology,* 26, 491-497. P.492. Action in interaction is seen as a performance. A living to the drama of being watched. Existentialist Philosophers view this as an intrusion of the subjectivity of a subject leading to conformity of conduct. In its extreme form, *'homo hominis lupus est'* (man is a wolf to another man, "Homo, sacra res homini (...)". *Lucius Annaeus Seneca: Epistulae morales ad Lucilium, XCV,* 33.).. The three-fold analysis of scripting came in response to the why, with whom, where, and how questions of sexual behaviour. The direction of this research was influenced by the distinction of Burtress on sexual behaviour and sexual conduct (493).

Sexual conduct is behaviour expressing a norm or evaluation by a group [Simon and Gagnon 1973). It is a result of conventionalised contracts in how one is to behave . In the 1980s a need arose to examine the individual as an active social actor and not merely a cog in the wheel of larger societal processes. My own critique of this work is in moving slightly away from the original question, 'How is the sexual represented in behaviour?' to 'what is the sexual revelatory of ?' (495). Edwards offers a critique of the sexual Script Theory from a discursive psychology perspective and proposes for the consideration of 'script formulations' analysis of data collected in interactions EDWARDS, D. (1994) Script Formulations: An Analysis of Event Descriptions in Conversation. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology,* 13, 211-247.. He draws on a firm foundation of the presentation of the self as having an effect of what is said and how it is said especially in talk (interviews or focus group discussions). Individuals tend not to want to speak for the self but rather speak in generalities so as to dispense the self from accounting for the reasoning behind a given standpoint. This is more so true in sexual experiences where individualised narrative is relegated in favour of the second or third person description in order to remain irreproachable. A critical analysis of why women fail to say no to unwanted sex is a case in point. Instead of dwelling on why as individual a woman may find it difficult to say no, it is easier to discuss the reasons and their seemingly inevitable character in generalities.

Sexual scripts are not necessarily representative of the internal states of subjects but may represent an active formulation of discourse in the moment of interaction in talk FRITH, H. & KITZINGER, C. (2001) Reformulating Sexual Scripts: Developing a Discursive Psychology of Sexual Negotiation. *Theory & Psychology,* 11, 209-232..In focus group discussions for instance, individuals form sexual scripts as a way of talking about their experiences but this may not be representative of cognitive status FRITH, H. & KITZINGER, C. (2001) Reformulating Sexual Scripts: Developing a Discursive Psychology of Sexual Negotiation. *Theory & Psychology,* 11, 209-232.} ..

[xl] This idea is clearly in line with Goffman's dramaturgical analysis.

[xli] Cultural scenarios are the general guides to sexual behaviour that exist at the level of society, culture or subculture. This guidance includes who is appropriate for sexual behaviour, appropriate relationship between sexual actors, the places, times, and the underlying assumptions which occasion sexual activities. Interpersonal scripts are interpretations of these cultural scenarios. It is an attempt by an individual to negotiate his/her own understanding vies-a-vies the cultural scenarios. The individual's desires, erotic

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expressions are positioned within this frame. This stance is a product of an individual's history, socialisation and value-system. The same cultural scripts may find different appropriations due to individual uniqueness. The interiorisation of socially shared scripts is called intrapsychic scripting. Since one is required to competently position self vis-a-vis cultural scenarios, rehearsals are a conditio sine qua non. This interiorisation results of meanings and symbols results in individual values and beliefs upon which behaviour is built.

[xlii]TEDLOCK, B. (1991) From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography. *Journal of Anthropological Research, 47,* 69-94., discusses developments in cultural anthropology research. Four major archetypes resonate within the history of anthropology namely; "the amateur observer, the armchair anthropologist, the professional ethnographer, and the "gone native" fieldworker (p.69). Amateur accounts taken by explorers, medical doctors, missionaries provided materials for the armchair anthropologist in the ivory towers of academic musings (this being in the middle and late 18-19th century. Post WWI academically trained ethnographers started taking extensive fieldwork and constructing ethnographic information (p.69). The French ethos to anthropological fieldwork was in team work generally using a documentary approach, whilst the American and British school emphasised individual research taking an experimental approach named 'participant observation' (having a scientific involved analysis- a diabolical mix of dual traditionally tension-filled phraseology (participant observation).

Benjamin Paul (1953: 441) illuminates on the tension, "Participation implies emotional involvement; observation requires detachment. It is a strain to try to sympathize with others and at the same time strive for scientific objectivity." True to the philosophy of anthropological phenomenology (Robert Pool 2008), one can only appreciate others through inter-subjective communication. It is in this inter-subjective mutuation that otherness is shared. Empathic understanding is developed. Keyan Tomaselli's (1996) cultural anthropology gives cognisance to three operating voices in academic research especially when encountering research subjects in the field; the voice of the researcher, the voice of the subjects of research, and the voice of the discipline. The voice of the researcher is the reflexive appreciation of the bias, assumptions, fears, anxieties, prejudices enshrined in any encounter, the voice of the subject implies that only the other i.e. the subject of research understands his or her condition better than anyone else (hence the taking up of their view in mutually negotiated understanding), and thirdly the voice of the discipline is the guiding ethos of one's subject area (in this case cultural studies). The tension that emerges from participation is one of objectivity and subjectivity as unbridgeable rivals (Tedlock, p.71). They

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are deemed mutually exclusive hence their 'mixture' is a compromise of the purity of academic and uncontaminated research. Jules-Rosette 1975:21 has called the mixture of subjectivity and objectivity as the 'we-talk' and is seen as the mark setting apart human sciences from natural sciences.

[xliii] What constitutes Cultural studies? Culture is understood in Raymond Williams famous appropriation from anthropology as 'a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group' John Storey, ed. 1996. Cultural studies: an introduction. Anold: London, N.Y.,Sydney, Auckland. Even if cultural studies can never be reduced to the study of popular culture alone, popular culture is certainly central to its project (ibid). Richard Johnson reiterates this focus when he evaluates text as a means in the study of historical forms of consciousness and subjectivity (p.2). What must cultural studies do?

"decentre 'the text' as an object of study. 'the text' is no longer studied for its own sake, nor even for the social effects it may be thought to produce, but rather for the subjective or cultural forms which it realises and makes available. The text is only a means in cultural studies; strictly, perhaps, it is a raw material from which certain forms (e.g., of narrative, ideological problematic, mode of address, subject position, etc.) may be abstracted...but the ultimate object of cultural studies is not the text, but the social life of subjective forms at each moment of their circulation, including their textual embodiments (storey, p.2).

The core assumption is that the world has to be made to mean (p.4). that is why our culture, and society is interpreted by daily lenses...from birth right through to death. This cultural interaction builds lenses through daily discourses, reflecting and reproducing taken for granted assumptions. This context of cultural studies where meaning is contested, is constantly being reformulated and renegotiated holds language as the locus of its expression meanings.

Cultural studies has been deemed a critical stance of resistance mainly using critical theory to unveil and challenge oppressive structures (Tomaselli, Masilela).

The choice of images in language reflects a cultural pattern. Analysis of which is said and how it is said gives us insight into the inner world of expressions. Language as a system has representational value. This is why the use of derogatory racial remarks or names is not taken kindly in most societies because it reveals an attitude, or a belief or a prejudice. This system of language is constantly changing. This changing nature must be incorporated, and is usually incorporated in research tools in order to listen to the prevailing language, attitudes, and

beliefs. "Words are always filled with content and meaning drawn from ideology" VOLOSINOV, V. N. (1973) *Marxism and the Philosophy of language,* London, New York, Seminar Press. language, in the process of its practical implementation, is inseparable from ideological or behavioural impletion" (Ibid).

[xliv] This is *listserve* is public fora for expressing and highlighting concerns for areas that need attention at the university of KwaZulu Natal. Some of the prominent subjects include advocacy for the rights of female members of the university community, deterioration of academic standards, crime, and racism, among others.

[xlvxlv] This is an expression which refers to having sex.

[xlvi] Ugliness is not necessarily a physical attribute. It has taken on the metaphorical representation of the not-so-hot public 'chicks'. It also ties in to the *umzalwanes* or the virgin Marys (see below).

[xlvii] Love is synonymously being used to mean attraction to the opposite sex as well.

[xlviii] FRITH, H. & KITZINGER, C. (2001) Reformulating Sexual Scripts: Developing a Discursive Psychology of Sexual Negotiation. *Theory & Psychology,* 11, 209-232.

[xlix] "AJ Smit" smitaj@ukzn.ac.za 05/13/08 (Re: (Change@UKZN) Top Ten at Howard College)

[l] The observation of student everydayness and their various forms of interactions gives insight into a state of the mind which is equally representative of a rebellion against social norms or sanctions in their homes. Understanding this dynamic will help the targeting not only of students at campus but families as integral partners in health sexuality education. The family structures have an influence on students behaviour in the university structures. The change in subject positioning in itself does not annihilate the continuum of inner tensions, aspirations and aesthetic expressions. When students leave home, the norms operative at home do not necessary take force on campus. The constant is the inner being. When they are at home, the constant is restrained but expressed differently when at campus. At the heart of this struggle, is a deeper questions of ownership of being. The self harmonising aspirations in its given context and the family becoming the locus of that harmonisation through healthy sexual education.

[ii] This was in response to a statement I had made to a young female student (20 years old) about sex on campus. I said, "Students have sex in public places." And in response she gave me the above cited answer. I could not prod further as she could not give me the precise details. But it was common knowledge of student sex in university gardens, toilets, parks, classrooms, residence, and in some cases cars.

[iii] This happens to all students of all races. University space as new ground for experimentation, experience of love, and the discovery of possible future spouses. Take for example, the observation of students of Indian origin kissing ('pandemic of kissing or exaggerated affection') can be revelatory of either an affirmative pattern growing out of the university community or maybe symptomatic of a breakdown of communicative action or social norms for the control of the environment. In this case, some elderly members of the university of KwaZulu- Natal would reason is a breakdown of parental communication and social structures in the family set-up within the community of Indian students.

[liii] This is female student is saying that when she is ready for sex, it is not a problem to get a man within the university. This is does not necessarily mean that women are always in need of sex

[liv] Isidingo is a soap opera televised in South Africa and neighbouring countries.

[lv] This was in reference to a case of reported rape of a man by women in the Sowetan (South African Daily Newspaper) in March 2007, "In South Africa, Women now rape men".

[lvi] *(there is a belief that in the mornings men cannot handle their erections)*

[lvii] Chawing in some circles is another way to refer to chewing. The eating metaphor refers to making love.

[lviii] The direction of this discourse is difficult to hermeneutically draw out. For instance, there is research indicating that a connection exists between vagina size discussions are related to the moralisation of women. Those who are seen to have big vaginas are termed, inter alia, sluts.

[lix] Pomping is the equivalent of fucking. It is used as an expression of relieving oneself of pressure.
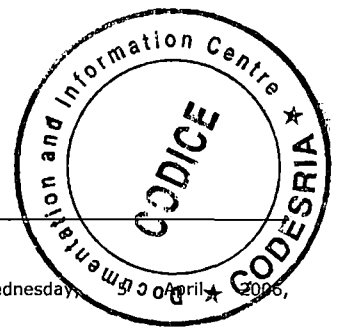
[lx] BBC, SA's Zuma 'showered to avoid HIV' Wednesday, 5 April 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4879822.stm

[lxi]The case started on December 5th, 2005 and concluded on 6th May, 2006. But media coverage continued for some time.

[lxii] Tea bagging is a form of oral sex in which a male student's scrotum is leaked by either a female or male partner.

[lxiii] The idea of innocence has roots in biblical mythology as it explains the aetiology of sin. In the protology of the sin of Adam and Eve, the primordial state of innocence is before the unveiling of their nakedness, whereas the state of nudity resulting from disobedience i.e. carnal concupiscence is described as the state of guiltiness.

[lxiv] Mxit is a South African mobile phone based social networking site.

[lxv]http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ClSjXRIbxAMC&pg=PA74&lpg=PA74&dq=Phaneroscop y+is+the+description+of+the+phaneron%3B+and+by+the+phaneron+I+mean+the+collective+t otal+of+all+that+is+in+any+way+or+in+any+sense+present+to+the+mind,+quite+regardless& source=web&ots=a9nGhs7AHL&sig=zShGjEhM70CRrvF1_wnXiZupHhQ&hl=en&sa=X&oi=book _result&resnum=5&ct=result#PPR1,M1. Date accessed, October, 27 2008.

[lxvi] Amy Musgrave and Jenni Evans | Johannesburg, South Africa, *03 April 2006; Zuma describes sex session to court:http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:FKEtyU_S6twJ:www.mg.co.za/articlepage.aspx %3Farticleid%3D268444%26area%3D/breaking_news/breaking_news__national/+zuma+kan ga+zulu+culture&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=9&gl=uk*

[lxvi] Louise Vincent, Miniskirt-wearing women: A magnet for violence? *22 May 2008* http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:Nd2z12xUMVEJ:www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx%3Fa rticleid%3D339823%26area%3D/insight/insight__comment_and_analysis/+south+africa+mini skirts+stripped&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=7&gl=uk

[lxvii] Louise Vincent, Miniskirt-wearing women: A magnet for violence? *22 May 2008* http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:Nd2z12xUMVEJ:www.mg.co.za/articlePage.aspx%3Fa rticleid%3D339823%26area%3D/insight/insight__comment_and_analysis/+south+africa+mini skirts+stripped&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=7&gl=uk