

Africa: Young Voices Series N° 3

THE VOICES OF YOUNG ZIMBABWEANS

GENDERED & SEXUAL IDENTITIES
AND HIV/AIDS IN EDUCATION
IN LIFE SKILLS EDUCATION IN ZIMBABWE



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For every child
Health, Education, Equality, Protection
ADVANCE HUMANITY



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Iwani Tapela and Leonard Maveneke



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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARH	Adolescent Reproductive Health
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MESC	Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture
MHCW	Ministry of Health and Child Welfare
NAC	National AIDS Council
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PLWAs	People Living With HIV/AIDS
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
ZDHS	Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey

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Foreword

This is a powerful book which centres on the lives and identities of young people in their late teens. It is based on a study which aims to present an account of young people and their relations with others from the perspective of the young people themselves. Boys and girls aged 16 and over, in school and out of school, rural and urban, are interviewed in depth about their fears, pleasures and aspirations, and their relations with others.

The long and lively extracts reproduced and analysed in the document provide important insights into the complex ways gender identities are negotiated by and between young people. We see, in the extracts from some of the mixed group interviews, how many boys identify as powerful males against girls, for example by monopolising talk or talking about girls in sexually derogatory ways in mixed discussions, or presenting themselves as free and omnipotent in relation to girls.

As this document so admirably shows, gender power relations, are much more complex than boys oppressing girls. We see, for example, how some girls resist boys in the interviews, and how girls are divided, in highly pejorative ways by the girls themselves, according to social class, dress, and how 'modern' and sexual they are presumed to be. We see, too, how some boys idealise girls.

Sexuality features a great deal in the accounts of the boys and girls, and the book focuses on the subtle ways in which the young people forge their identities in relation to sexuality. On the basis of these findings, the book argues persuasively for HIV/AIDS prevention and life skills education to be much more accessible to young children. A human rights based approach to programming is critical in order to address not just sexuality, but, more generally, the ways young people identify as boys and girls, and how this affects the relations they develop with people of the opposite and the same sex.

Dr. Festo P. Kavishe
UNICEF Representative
Zimbabwe Country Office
September 2004

Introduction

A profile of Zimbabwe's youth¹ indicates that as much as 60% of Zimbabwe's present population is under 20 years of age, with youth under 15 constituting some 45% of the population. According to UNAIDS, within the sexually active 15-19 age group, women constitute a massive 85% of all HIV/AIDS cases. A 1998 UNICEF study of antenatal HIV screening in Harare showed that 22.7% of pregnant 15-year-old girls, 25.1% of pregnant 18-year-old girls, and 29.7% of pregnant 21-year-old women were HIV positive.

The Government of Zimbabwe has prioritised the need for better adolescent reproductive health (ARH) to combat HIV/AIDS transmission, reduce teenage pregnancies and the proportion of school dropouts, and ensure equality of health provision to the country's youth. Yet, despite its stated commitment, it has not succeeded in effectively addressing the needs and concerns of adolescents in either education or health because of a number of constraints, including limited funds.

In view of the paucity of information on the identities of adolescents as they construct and experience them themselves, UNICEF ESARO in 2001 commissioned this study on young people in Zimbabwe. The subject centred, gender sensitive study covers six other countries in Southern and Eastern Africa, namely Botswana, Kenya, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Zambia.

The focus of the research is upon the subjects' own accounts of themselves, their feelings, experiences and relationships with others – their peers, parents, teachers, church and community leaders – in different contexts. Our approach drew upon concerns articulated most forcefully by feminist researchers such as Stanley and Wise (1993) to 'give a voice' to people who belong to groups that are often marginalised and whose views and experiences are not accorded the same legitimacy as those belonging to other groups. Our concern was to treat the young people we interviewed in ways in which they were often unaccustomed to being treated, especially by adults – as experts about themselves and others. Although we wanted our young subjects to address certain general themes in the interviews we conducted, we also encouraged them to take the interviews in the directions that *they* wanted to and to discuss the issues that most concerned them.

Based upon our research, we hope to furnish Zimbabwean and African educationalists, policymakers and parents with rich and important information about the cultures and identities of our young people. The need for such information was powerfully articulated by a number of delegates at a UNICEF workshop on gender, sexuality and HIV/AIDS in education held in Malawi in July 2001, where it was unanimously agreed that if life skills education is to be effective in mitigating the impact of HIV/AIDS it must be relevant to the children it is addressing. In other words, such education must be based upon an accurate, well-informed understanding of the concerns, fears, desires and pleasures of

young people, and the sorts of identities and relationships they forge as particular boys and girls.

We see the kind of young person centred, gender sensitive research that generates this kind of knowledge as a prerequisite for developing appropriate and effective life skills education. We also anticipate that the particular qualitative methods used in this study, including loosely structured interviews and diary keeping, will serve as models of good practice that can successfully be incorporated into pupil centred life skills education.

Our way of conceptualising gendered identities is informed by the discourse theory of Foucault (1979), which holds that identities such as men and women or black and white only exist in relation to each other and because we have words to describe them. Interviewing men and women or boys and girls about themselves, researchers influenced by this theory (eg. Wetherell and Edley, 1998; Frosh et al, 2002; Hollway, 1989) have adopted a *social constructionist* rather than a social realist epistemology, which focuses on the interviewees' own accounts as *producing* the social identities, relationships and emotions they appear merely to describe. Their accounts of themselves and the opposite sex are thus taken not simply as descriptions of gender characteristics that they and others already have, but as ways in which they forge their identities as particular boys and girls in relation to each other.

In this report, we will describe the kinds of masculine and feminine identities that were commonly articulated by boys and girls in the interviews we conducted. We will examine gender not as something that shapes their thoughts and behaviour in passive and preordained ways, but as something that they *construct* in interviews themselves, by inventing categories of masculinity and femininity and orienting themselves in relation to them. This attempt to link attitudes to processes of gender identity construction can help us to understand not only why young people hold particular views about sex and gender – views that may precipitate the spread of HIV/AIDS – but also why they are so emotionally invested in them. Focusing on how the interviewees construct their identities, we will pay attention not only to what they say, but also to how they say it – the sorts of emotions they express when talking about various kinds of boys and girls and men and women.

In researching the ways that our subjects construct their identities, we thus focus on them not so much as authors of what they say, but as people who are actively adopting and negotiating certain positions made available to them by longstanding cultural discourses on gender. This is not to suggest that these young people are cultural dupes, who can be manipulated like ventriloquist's puppets. Rather, a great deal of work goes into eliciting their construction of their identities, as you will see in the interviews on the following pages.

Study Objectives

The study had four main objectives:

- ◆ To determine how HIV/AIDS has impacted on the ways that young people think and talk about themselves, their desires and concerns and their relations with others, and to investigate their experiences and identities as they understand and articulate them;
- ◆ To establish how gender relations influence the spread of HIV/AIDS;
- ◆ To determine ways in which boys and girls construct their identities and develop relationships at school, at home and in the community, and whether and how these might mitigate against or exacerbate the spread of HIV/AIDS;
- ◆ To establish how 'culture', 'tradition' and 'modernity' are understood by girls and boys, how this connects with the ways they construct themselves as sexual beings, and how these constructions make them more or less susceptible to HIV/AIDS.

Constraints

Several constraints were encountered during our study research, including:

- ◆ Negotiation for permission to conduct the interviews and other studies;
- ◆ An unfavourable political environment owing to the national elections;
- ◆ Difficulty of gaining access and holding interviews with 14-16-year-old out-of-school youth;
- ◆ Employing community mobilisers who expected payment for the task.

Several of our female interviewees also dropped out of the project, in one case owing to the death of a parent and in another to the need to nurse a sick father. Others fell out due to chores they had to carry out at home.

Financial constraints also adversely affected the study. We were unable to give the interviewees anything more than a drink, biscuits and bread. In addition, no funds were forthcoming for the production of this report, which should have been a normal budgetary expenditure.

Methodology

Research Design

The selection criteria for the research areas were also influenced by financial constraints. Some eligible areas were not selected because their inclusion would have resulted in transport problems; hence the project had to settle for areas nearer to Harare. In addition, the elections made travel to some areas hazardous and one research assistant refused to go to Murehwa for fear of violence. Murehwa, Glen View and Porta Farm were also selected as areas where several NGOs are working with the local youth.

Both the in-school and out-of-school youth interviewed volunteered to take part after being informed of the nature of the research. The demographic characteristics of the interviewees are outlined in the table below:

Interviewees in the Zimbabwe Study

Area	Sexes	Ages	How leisure time is spent	Living situations	Occupations of parents/ guardians
H a t - cliffe	10 boys 10 girls	16 - 18	Boys: playing cricket and soccer, watching TV, listening to radio. Girls: reading, watching TV, going to church.	11 live with both parents, 5 have lost one parent (dead), 2 have lost both parents 2 live with relatives but parents are alive.	Except for one guardian (brother) who is unemployed, the rest of the fathers / male guardians are employed in the formal sector, but at the lower end of the income spectrum. 35% of mothers are housewives, 10% are involved in cross border trading, while the rest work in various capacities, e.g. waitresses, tailors, receptionists.
Porta Farm	7 boys 6 girls	13 - 18	Boys: walking in the streets, playing soccer, seeing girls,	3 stay with both parents, 6 stay with relatives (uncle,	30% of parents/ guardians, male or female, are employed in the

			making toys, reading church books, going to church. Girls: going to church, reading, visiting and playing with other girls.	grandfather, sister), 2 stay with their mothers, 2 did not indicate who they stay with.	formal sector. The rest did not indicate the nature of their guardians' employment.
Mur-ehwa	10 boys 10 girls	16 - 17	Boys: playing with friends, rock climbing, fishing, discussing girls and politics, watching videos, playing soccer & cricket. Girls: window shopping, watching movies and TV and listening to radio, reading magazines, playing with friends.	16 live with both parents, 2 have lost one parent, 1 has lost both parents, 1 lives with a guardian.	13 or 65% of fathers are in formal employment (teachers, carpenters, builders, drivers), 3 or 15% are peasant farmers, 4 or 20% N/A as fathers died.
Glen View	7 boys 5 girls	13 - 17	Boys: playing 'money game' (soccer), cricket, snooker, watching TV and movies. Girls: going to church, reading the Bible, visiting friends, listening to the radio, and watching TV.	5 stayed with both parents, 2 had lost both parents, 2 had lost one parent, 3 stayed with their brothers.	3 of the male parents/guardians are unemployed (1 is sick), 1 is self-employed, 2 are employed in the formal sector, 2 mothers are employed in the formal sector.

Study Areas

Zimbabwe is divided into 10 provinces, each of which is administered by a Governor who is a resident minister. The study sites selected were in three provinces: Harare, Mashonaland East and Mashonaland West.

Harare Province

Hatcliffe High School a co-education secondary school in a low-income urban area, with four Form 4 classes of 188 pupils (103 boys and 85 girls) aged 16-18, from which our sample of 10 girls and 10 boys was drawn. The school has no life skills education programme, but has a teacher responsible for Guidance and Counselling who supervises peer educators drawn from the pupils. The peer educators hold one period per class per week to discuss various issues.

Glen View is also a low-income area, where a young Faith Ministries pastor, J. N. Nyemba, runs an NGO called 'Faith in Community Leaders' for out-of-school girls and boys at the Municipal Social Centre. The seven boys and five girls who took part in the study were part of a group of 28 adolescents who meet to discuss HIV/AIDS and various other issues at this centre. Most of the girls in this group also go to church and have Bible lessons, although only 10% of the boys go to church or belong to a Bible group.

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Mashonaland West Province

Porta Farm is a peri-urban, low-income area in a commercial farming area where people have settled illegally. The community shares communal toilets and water sources, and entire families often live in a single room. While the Government has now provided both a primary and a secondary school, most social services are provided by NGOs such as World Vision. The interviews were conducted in open shed structures used for meetings and as churches. Among the out-of-school boys and girls in Porta Farm and Glen View, 95% were also unemployed. In Porta Farm, most earn a little income selling sweets or popcorn on street corners or in the market.

Mashonaland East

Murehwa High School is a co-educational school belonging to the United Methodist Church in Murehwa, a rural growth point 80 kilometres northeast of Harare. There are several NGOs in the area working to sensitise the community on HIV/AIDS. Our 20 volunteers, all aged 16 or 17, were randomly selected from Forms 3 and 4.

Data Collection Methods

Our study was based on a participatory qualitative research methodology, using *focus group discussions* as the primary research tool. These discussions aimed to obtain reliable, in-depth information on the perceptions, ideas and attitudes of the students and out-of-school interviewees. Discussions were held with large mixed groups, as well as with 10

boys alone and 10 girls alone. As well as these discussions, *daily journals* were filled in by five girls and five boys. *Interviews* were also conducted with teachers, parents and members of the religious community, and a *literature review* was undertaken of similar studies previously conducted in Zimbabwe.

The research team comprised of team leader Iwani Mothobi-Tapela, together with research assistants Leornard Maveneke, Emmanuel Chirebvu and Suko Mdlawuzo-Gondwe. The team recorded most of their interviews, after first obtaining the interviewees' permission. These tapes were then transcribed verbatim and translated into English in cases where Shona had been used. The transcribed interviews were analysed according to recurring themes and issues raised by the subjects.

The team spent two days in each area, except in Murehwa, where due to the political uncertainty the interviews lasted only one day. The main themes of the discussions are outlined in Annex 1. The questions were not changed, except the one asking subjects how they would feel if they changed to the opposite sex. This was changed after the MESC took exception to the question, which they said suggested an 'unnatural change.'

The focus group discussions were conducted in the language the participants were most comfortable with. While the out-of-school boys and girls chose Shona with only a little English, most of the school pupils used English and switched occasionally to Shona for clarity – with the facilitators adapting accordingly.

The out-of-school interviewees ranged in age from 13 to 17 and included boys and girls who had dropped out of primary school, who could not continue their schooling due to lack of funds, who had completed their 'O' levels and were looking for jobs, who worked as street vendors, or girls who were removed from school to take care of the sick.



Part One: Study Findings

The research findings were collated and presented from a gender-sensitive perspective, which is designed to inform future interventions.

Below is a summary of the main ways that boys described girls and that girls described boys:

Girls about boys

Naughty
 Irresponsible
 Drinking beer/alcohol
 Beating/are rough with other boys
 Some boys (ie. potential boyfriends) are smartly dressed and religious and work hard.

Boys about girls

A little dull
 Give good advice
 Scream for no good reason
 Easily deceived
 Fickle
 Sympathetic
 Better behaved than boys
 Prone to gossiping
 'Consumable' sex objects
 Some girls are bad, loose, 'prostitutes', wear minis, are corrupted by 'modernity,' violate 'traditional values'
 Some girls (ie. potential girlfriends) are good, religious, and don't wear short skirts or tight trousers.

Boys Subordinating Girls

Girls were commonly described by boys as fickle, dull, gullible, unimportant, and without a mind of their own. "They do not evaluate a situation, they only follow what they are told,

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even if that is not what they wanted to do," said a boy at Murehwa. "I actually hate them because they are so silly." If, for example, a chair falls over in class, it can cause the girls to scream – which one boy said makes him very angry. Many boys focused on girls' gullibility, vain traits such as 'posing' and 'gossiping', and their inability to keep a secret – a habit also attributed to female teachers. Several boys said they could not trust girls as close friends. What was significant here was how the boys were implicitly defining themselves as active, strong, sensible, independent and important – in opposition to these versions of femininity.

Many boys spoke about girls being less free than them, but far from sympathising with girls and 'taking their side' they took this as evidence of their inferiority. In the following extract from an interview with boys from Murehwa High School, one boy identifies himself as a fun lover in opposition to girls, whom he denigrates as being constrained by their parents from going out at night. For such boys, whatever girls do seems to invite their contempt. Either they are criticised for only 'following what they are told' or condemned for not doing so and going to clubs and enjoying themselves like the boys:



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Emmanuel: Actually I hate girls because some of them... I have been to clubs where I have seen some girls doing stuff like... eh, I am a boy, a fun lover so I do whatever I want. Being a girl, especially with your parents around, they won't let you go to some of these places, especially at night. But if I say 'Dad, I need some money,' my dad will give me and I will go out. My dad would say 'OK you can go but don't smoke and I say bye and go.' If my sister wanted to go out, only if my mum is around can she be allowed to go out but it's very rare.

Henry: I think being a girl is a disadvantage because mainly girls usually do not evaluate on a given situation, they only follow what they are told even if that is not what she wanted to do. She does what she is told.

Girls' movements were not only watched and restricted by parents but also by boys and girls themselves. For girls, even eating in public was subject to scrutiny, as we can see in the following extract from an interview with girls at Murehwa High School:



Caroline: At times we are so shy to eat.

Interviewer: Why are you shy, you don't have to be?

Caroline: You see, when in the dining room, some girls eat very fast and boys think it's strange. When they see you doing strange things they go and tell the whole school.

Interviewer: What's wrong with that?

Alison : It's embarrassing. Maybe there is a nice guy that you like and you would not want him to hear that that's what you do. The boy may never like you.



While girls were generally highly critical of boys for being 'naughty', for 'drinking', for fighting and messing about in class, some also expressed envy about the freedoms boys enjoyed which were off limits to them. For example, when asked if they had ever wanted to be a boy, some said they had because they envied boys being able to play sports like football, as well as being free to visit friends. Significantly when boys were asked if they had ever wanted to be girls, this question was dismissed out of hand, and with considerable mirth.

Boys Constructing Themselves as Free and Girls as Tied – and Girls' Resistance

In constructing girls as weaker and boys as stronger, girls were sometimes seen as being in need of protection from their parents – or from boys. As we see in the following extract, this had the effect of restricting girls' movements and contributing to the common view that they were timid and un-free – in contrast to boys. When the girls resisted being positioned in this way, the boys tried to assert themselves by sexualising girls and constructing them as objects of their free sexual desires and as prone to pregnancy. In this interview, boys attempted to justify why girls should be beaten and even starved for demanding equal rights as boys. One boy who tries to assert himself over his sister even identifies with his father in expecting his meals to be ready when he comes in and the females in the household to serve him.



- Interviewer:** How do your parents treat boys and girls? Is it in any way different?
- Rufaro (G):** Girls are expected to be home by 7pm, otherwise they are chased away from home or beaten. Boys are left to do as they wish.
- Farai (B):** Ah... that's not true!
- Maiba (G):** It's true. Boys can even spend the night out and no one will ask, but girls will be told to go back to where they spend the night.
- Rudo (B):** It's true, girls are chased away from home but boys can come home anytime, even after 10pm – it's understood. But a girl has to explain where she was.
- Interviewer:** What if she was with her friends?
- Clever (B):** What happens is, us guys don't get pregnant, so we have an advantage. Girls, however, can get pregnant and they bring their pregnancy home and then they get chased away.
- Interviewer:** What if she doesn't get pregnant?
- Rufaro:** A girl can get beaten or they don't leave any food for her.
- Zuka (B):** Ah... you... you want to eat? Who do you think should prepare the food when you are not there?
- Maiba:** Now if you say I should do everything for myself, I will end up going out with sugar daddies so that I come home after being bought some food.
- Interviewer:** So you are saying parents treat boys and girls differently?
- Rufaro:** Yes, parents are easy on boys but make life tough for girls.

Interviewer:	So who is at an advantage?
All Girls:	Boys! Boys! [repeatedly]
Interviewer:	But don't you think when parents say girls should be indoors by six, it's to protect them?
Jackie (G):	Yes, but sometimes it's just too much.
Interviewer:	So boys don't matter?
Farai:	When a girl elopes with a boy, the boy can go and look for a job and he will fend for his new wife. But girls hang on around the home. Boys can do something for survival.
Sibongile (G):	Ah... even myself as a girl I can do something.
Hondo (B):	Yes, of course, but the way you look for money, you don't do it properly since you end up going to pubs to solicit for paid sex.
Interviewer:	So you boys are saying girls should be over-protected?
Mudada (B):	No, we are saying life will be tough for her since she is <i>just a girl</i> .
Maiba:	But we want equal rights, especially on treatment by our parents.
Zuka:	This issue of equal rights, we don't want to hear about it...
Jackie:	Yes, we want equal rights [almost shouting].
Rudo:	Would you want to work in the garden as I do?
Jackie:	You guys... but you guys don't cook.
Interviewer:	You mean boys don't cook?
Garai (B):	That's not true, don't you see me cooking at home?
Jackie:	But there is no girl at your house... but this one (<i>referring to her brother in the group</i>) when he comes

- home late he actually demands for food to be served.
- Interviewer:** OK... so this is your brother?
- Jackie:** Yes.
- Interviewer:** Good, so how does he treat you?
- Jackie:** If it's 6pm and I'm not yet at home he shouts at me and at times almost beats me.
- Hondo:** If she is late, then we have to see to it that *we discipline her*. We want to see her at home before 6, she can't be anywhere else after 6pm unless she is at the market. If she is not found there... ah... but I can get home, even at 10pm or even sleep out. My dad won't even ask me... he thinks I am also *a father, a man in the house too*. At times, I would have been looking for money just like he does. Anytime he comes home, no one asks about his whereabouts.

It is clear that many males do not accept that girls or women are capable of managing their lives without male assistance. Female sexual independence is perceived by such men as threatening and as a metaphor for women's independence generally. Consequently, boys adopt a 'protective' attitude towards girls – an attitude that can also become repressive. As the above extract vividly illustrates, far from being protected from sexual exploitation, pregnancy and HIV/AIDS by the construction of boys and men as girls' protectors, girls become vulnerable precisely because boys and men position themselves as free hedonistic males in relation to them. Not only is their behaviour controlled and regulated by their protectors, but this also makes them sexually vulnerable.

Although the boys say their sisters are vulnerable outside the home, they are nonetheless quite happy – as we will see later – to abuse girls and deceive them if they are not their own sisters. Furthermore, some boys see it as their right to physically discipline their sisters if they are seen as foregoing their familial duties and going out (like their brothers) or being seen with a member of the opposite sex. The emphasis on protecting their sisters, as we see in the following extract from an interview with Porta Farm boys, can easily slip into menacing threats against them, should they ever find them with their boyfriends:



- Interviewer:** What do you think of the treatment given to girls as compared to boys in your home? Would you mind if your sisters do the same with their boyfriends as you do with your girlfriends?
- Arthur:** It's not fair, but we could have problems if she got pregnant. We will end up having to look after her and her baby.
- Interviewer:** So you don't want your sister to have an affair?
- Arthur:** She should not have boyfriends. If I were to see her even standing with a boy, I would beat her up.
- Interviewer:** Is that not oppressive?
- Arthur:** It seems like oppression, but if she were impregnated we will all see fire, so it's better to oppress her.

Boys Talking About Girls as Consumable Objects – and Girls' Resistance

Sexualising girls and constructing them as objects of boys' desires sometimes took the form of demeaning girls, as we can see in the following extract from a mixed gender interview at Porta Farm. Here (cf. Willis, 1977), a boy spoke about how girls can become easily consumed and lose their appeal:

When you are a girl, you get finished quickly. You quickly get old. You will quickly get pregnant and have a child. Most boys will then despise you. But if you are a boy, you can go elsewhere and people won't know that you have a child.

Other boys who appeared to revel in being naughty and 'oppressive' took up this theme. Whether they engaged in the sort of behaviour they described or not, what was clear was that in the interviews they were eliciting much humour from other boys by talking in self-consciously outrageous ways about girls as objects, as things that they 'opened' and then threw away. They were forging a common identity as powerful, funny, hedonistic males by talking outrageously about girls. Because the girls were present in the interview made them appear, in the eyes of each other, particularly outrageous and funny:



- Canaan (B):** These days, kids have big bodies... by the time she gets to Form One she will be having affairs.
- Interviewer:** Even those in Grades 4 and 5 (aged 10-11 years)?
- Kokayi (B):** Eh... yes... those in Grade 4, yes; those are the ones we are jumping these days [laughter].
- Interviewer:** Why do you go for such young girls?
- Kokayi:** You know what, yes, us boys have an oppressive nature... once I sleep with a girl I lose interest in her, so usually I want to go for those who still have 'closed presents' [laughter and grumbles].
- Interviewer:** What presents?
- Kokayi:** Official opening – when you sleep with a virgin!
- Interviewer:** So how do you feel about it?
- Kokayi:** I feel good. It's nice. After the official opening, you can just ditch her...

Significantly, the interviewer had to put questions specifically to the girls to draw them into this conversation. The girls appeared to treat boys' talk about girls simply as a show that was meant to ridicule them:



- Interviewer:** Girls, do you also feel bad if a boy dumps you?
- Claire:** Ah... never, boys have a tendency of saying that this one or so and so I finished with her a long time ago, now she is crying for me... I used her and now she is old.
- Helen:** She was a *kangeke* (chicken)... that way he says painful statements.

The girls at Porta Farm said they felt strongly about the insensitivity of boys who used them as sex objects and then dumped them. They were clearly hurt by the dismissive attitude of boys, particularly after they had sex with them (or imagined doing so). They were also angry about the possessive and selfish attitude of boys who threatened to beat them up if they were seen with another boy. The heated exchange below illustrates not only the girls' frustration but also their vulnerability to male violence:



- Interviewer:** So if a boy dumps you what do you do?
- Duya (G):** It depends on how much you loved him. If you really loved him, you will be pained.
- Kambo (G):** Ah... I won't feel that way. I will actually look around for a replacement boyfriend and I will show off to the boy who dumped me.
- Moyo (B):** That's when I will beat you.
- Chipiwa (G):** Why should you beat me? Isn't it you who would have dumped me?
- Canaan:** Yes, I will beat her because what she will be doing to me is painful, showing off to me.
- Chipiwa :** But it's you who would have ditched me. So let's say I have two boyfriends and one of them dumps me, I won't...

This discussion generated a great deal of emotion, with Chipiwa resisting the boys' potential construction of her as a used good, and Canaan reasserting himself by indicating that he would 'beat her' should this happen in real life. What was so apparent here was how quickly the boys' tone changed from humour to hostility when the girls started challenging them. It was clear that being constructed as an object of boys' heterosexual desires was a subordinate position for girls and one which made them vulnerable not only to harassment, but also to rejection and violence. By distinguishing between females as used and unused objects, it seems that some of the boys were identifying with older men – and perhaps with their own fathers. As one boy pointed out, much to the amusement of the other boys, when explaining why husbands were unfaithful to their wives,

They say having vegetables every day is not good for one's health, so you will be looking for some meat somewhere else.

When the boy talks of vegetables and meat, the imagery is one of delectable and dull food in reference to women – thus constructing girls as objects for satisfying a man’s tastes. Here, however, the girls do not challenge this perception of themselves – nor do they challenge why it should only be men who want variety in their marriages. Ostensibly, it is quite possible that they were afraid to challenge the boys, as such a challenge might show them to be ‘bad girls’ with strong sex drives. As good girls, the issue of wanting a different partner would therefore not arise. At the same time, they are supposed to understand that for men this is perfectly acceptable.

Sexual Double Standards

A radical distinction was made between the stereotypically good and bad, which applied much more to girls than to boys. In many of the interviews, girls were constructed by boys and also by girls themselves either as ‘good’ – associated with being conscientious, churchgoing, wearing long dresses, not having boyfriends and not ‘going out’ – and ‘bad’, which was associated with going out, watching movies, having boyfriends, wearing short skirts, and having sex. As we can see in the following extract from a mixed interview at Glen View, girls who sleep with boys are problematised even by the boys they sleep with, while the boys actually enhance their reputations by sleeping with the girls:



- Interviewer:** Are there any people of your age who sleep with boys or girls?
- Frances (G):** Yes, I know someone – when we were in Form Two she had an affair and sex with someone in the next class. The boy told everyone. So everyone considered her as ‘cheap stuff’, a loose person. When some adults talked to her, she changed. Most of the time she appeared to have truly changed, but there are times when one wonders whether she has truly changed... The moment you have sex, you won’t be able to stop. Being counselled only works when you understand why people say don’t do this and that.
- Interviewer:** Is sleeping with a girl something that boys show off about?
- Anesu (B):** It’s cause to show off. [Laughter and chatter]
- Interviewer:** And also, girls, do you show off about it?
- Skutai (G):** There are boys I know who show off about it – I’m

not talking of ones who are here. They show off about it. But it's something shameful for a girl and girls would not talk about it... to the boys it is no cause for one to be ashamed.

As we have already seen, girls' behaviour is 'policed' and regulated in ways in which boys' is not – and this is manifested in the tendency for most girls to identify as 'good' by distancing themselves from girls with boyfriends or girls who wear short skirts. While some boys also identify as people who go to church and who are temporarily disinterested in girlfriends, boys generally seemed much less invested in presenting themselves as good than girls – and several even delighted in speaking about their multiple sexual relations in mixed company. Significantly, those girls who spoke talk positively about 'going out' and wearing 'modern' forms of dress, did so only when being interviewed in single-sex groups.

Culture, Tradition and Modernity

Of particular concern in our interviews were the emotions of anger that girls aroused in boys. This anger was directed at girls who appeared to show independence, and especially at those labelled 'Salad girls' ('*MaSaladi*' or '*MaSalala*'). This label was used to describe relatively affluent urban girls who were blamed for being too 'modern' and for attracting men by their indecent dress and extrovert behaviour. Some boys spoke angrily about these girls and seemed to express (as well as quell) anxieties about being rejected by them, by criticising them for effecting superior airs and for being artificial:



James:

I don't like girls who want to think of themselves as the top class.

Interviewer:

What do you mean by 'top class'?

James:

Eh... *maSalala*... somebody who wants to use funny languages and dresses funny. These people don't speak the English we speak. They speak like they are reading a dictionary or something.

Interviewer:

What else don't you like that you associate with the *maSalala*?

James:

The way they walk. She walks like she is modelling, like she is on a stage, but she will be walking on the road.



Maideyi: As for me, I don't like seeing *maSalala*, because when she walks, what she puts on, it embarrasses me. I will be shy for her and I can't even greet her.

Interviewer: What type of clothes do they wear?

James: They put on very short skirts, minis that come up to her... the hips. If my sisters dress like that, they won't even stay in the house... I will chase them out.

Charles: I like *maSalala* but not their clothing. They lie a lot, especially about their backgrounds. They can tell you that they are only three in their family and I'm the lastborn. My sister is in London and my brother in America and he has a business that's doing well – selling E-class Benzes. My dad when I'm home does not allow me to speak in Shona... but if you hit her, she will speak the greatest Shona you have ever heard. [Laughter]

Maideyi: I want to talk to such people so that when we meet in future I will be like OK... this is really you.

James: Some of these girls wear spaghetti tops when walking with their dads – it's just not good. She can't even bend down to pick up something if her dad is around, because she will be wearing a very short mini-skirt.

Interviewer: What do the others think about this issue?

Goredenna: I say these Salads are weird. Some of them put on funny clothes even at a funeral and it's not good at all, since some people will be mourning their dead. Those clothes are for parties and weddings.

Thabo: As for me, I'm not affected by their clothing, I actually enjoy it... especially their short minis. But I just don't like those who think big about themselves... thinking they are like angels.

Interviewer: Why do you like their miniskirts?

Thabo: I just feel comfortable when I see them.

- Interviewer:** Why do you feel comfortable?
- Thabo:** It's just good food for my eyes. [Group laughter]
- Thomas:** As for me, I hate *maSalala* because our Zimbabwean or even African culture is changed. People end up saying Africans cannot do their own thing. They are only good at imitating whites. I would prefer a Zimbabwean dress like Nigerians do. Zimbabweans are copying Americans.

In all the study sites, boys spoke out strongly against 'Salad girls' who went against the cultural grain, wearing 'minis' and refusing to speak Shona. Many of them said that such traits were a violation of 'African norms and expectations', thus constructing for themselves a powerful position as the upholders of such values. Paradoxically, as we saw in the above extract, they were still able to joke about miniskirts being 'food for their eyes', thus also constructing themselves as fun-loving, red-blooded young males. What was striking was that the terms *maSaladi* or *maSalala* were applied only to girls; only girls were blamed for violating what were regarded as 'traditional' African or Zimbabwean cultural values. Research has shown how older black male students in Zimbabwe also position themselves as arbiters and spokespeople for an authentic 'black' or 'African culture' in relation to black women students who are constructed as its potential betrayers, and admonished when adopting styles and ideas that are regarded as 'Western' (Pattman, 2001; Gaidzwana, 1993). So powerful was this discourse that many of the girls we interviewed were also critical of girls they described as '*maSaladi*' – and tried to distance themselves from them.

Notably, it was not the girls from the main urban areas (some of whom identified as or aspired to being 'Salads') but girls from the peri-urban Porta Farm who spoke most critically and with a great deal of emotion about the 'Salads.' The following is an extract from an interview with Porta Farm girls:



- Florence:** Salads wear a skirt without a petticoat.
- Interviewer:** Why?
- Florence:** Because they want to advertise themselves!
- Interviewer:** How do they advertise themselves?
- Florence:** By showing their bodies... it will be a see-through.



They want to show men that they have great bodies – just to attract men.

Interviewer: So what do you think of them, those who are advertising themselves, is it good?

Florence: I think it's bad. I know if they advertise their bodies, they will attract men and I know they will have sex and at last they will regret their lives.

Happy: I just want to say dressing depends on the area and situation. Like in the low densities, there you can wear hipsters and pedal pushers, but people from high-density areas wear long dresses and some flared trousers. But I don't think dressing... if you wear long skirts no one will look at you, but if you wear hipsters in high-density areas, people sometimes laugh at you.

As one of the girls implied, being a 'Salad' was not just associated with being urban but also with being relatively affluent and living in a low density as opposed to a high density suburb. The Porta Farm girls appeared to resent the 'Salads' partly perhaps because they wanted to assert themselves as 'good' in opposition to them, but also because, as young women from a low-income, peri-urban area, they felt or were made to feel inferior to the 'Salads'. (They were, however, noticeably much less concerned and angry about the superiority complex they attributed to the 'Salads' than the Porta Farm boys.)

Women's dress, and in particular dress which was seen to accentuate female sexuality, was constructed by both boys and girls as a key symbol or marker of 'modernity.' While many of the interviewees identified themselves as 'modern', however, most were critical of girls who wore miniskirts or tight-fitting trousers for being corrupted by 'modernity.' Some even went as far as stating that such girls should be blamed for being raped because they were wearing a miniskirt:



Interviewer: Is there another group (that you would associate with spreading HIV)?

Tendai (G): Yes, girls who dress in sexy clothes.

[Intervening discussion]

- Shuvai (G):** I wanted to say something about miniskirts, ehh... you know when I put on a miniskirt that leaves all this out [referring to her lower body], you will see this division, the other part is dark and the other light...
- Augustine (B):** You get there and bend down and Africa is exposed [group laughter].
- Shuvai:** Eh... when I put on a miniskirt, I will attract all boys, maybe the boy won't approach me formally but will just rape me. If he had AIDS, in that way, the virus is spread.
- Interviewer:** But isn't that rape?
- Shuvai:** Yes, but the way I dressed would have caused the man to rape me.
- Augustine:** Even without that. When I see 'Africa exposed', I will feel stimulated... I will come and talk to you.
- Interviewer:** What is this 'Africa'?
- Augustine:** Eh... 'Africa' is a... *masemutings* (somethings).
- Precious (G):** Eh... say what you want to say.
- Augustine:** Well what I am saying is, when you bend down, because you're putting on a mini, your private parts will be exposed and myself on seeing that I will be stimulated. My engine will then boil, I will approach you and talk to you nicely. We will then go into a corner, then we hit it, we have sex, without protection.
- Anne (G):** You would have planned it.
- Chipo (G):** No, let's say you just met.
- Interviewer:** Can I ask, he is saying miniskirts cause men to rape women. How then do you explain men who rape old women and toddlers?
- Chipo:** Maybe such men would have spent a long time

without having sex.

Daniel: There are men who just have that weakness. They just feel like raping women.

A few girls who were interviewed in single-sex groups partially identified with the 'Salads', for example by referring to themselves as 'half-Salads', while some of the Murewha girls spoke positively about 'modern' dress for girls, including miniskirts. However, they qualified this – perhaps in an effort to appear less 'bad' – by asserting that it was only acceptable to wear such clothes in an appropriate context. Here, they were constructing themselves as modern girls (partly in opposition to their mothers), but also as girls who were respectful of 'traditional' rural and religious values:



Janet: Yes, when going to church you can't wear hipsters, but when you are going to a party you can. If you are going to the rural areas, you can't wear hipsters for they can say many things about you. [Group laughter]

Kambo: In my opinion, you have to wear things that fit the occasion... when you are going for dinner, you wear nightwear, and if you are going to church then you wear long decent dresses.

Jennifer: When going to a party, you can wear anything from jeans, hipsters or dress funky.

Interviewer: What is funky? You know today I am learning new words!

Jennifer: Something like torn or patched jeans or a hairstyle with short funny dreads.

Interviewer: Are your parents modern or traditional? Do your mums wear hipsters, for example?

All: Ah, no! [Group laughter]

Alice: My mum wears fashionable things, but not hipsters or miniskirts. She dresses like her mother.

Interviewer:	How does her mother dress?
Alice:	She wears long dresses.
Dorothy:	I think miniskirts are not bad, it's only that you have to know where you are going. If you are going by bus, then you should know that your miniskirt would be in the neck [group laughter], so why would you want to make yourself uncomfortable? But if you feel comfortable, then wear a miniskirt.
Sarudzai:	I think there is nothing wrong about clothing because any girl can wear what she thinks is nice for her.
Jennifer:	There is nothing wrong with any type of clothes, but it depends on the place and time.
Rachel:	And also, it depends on the family where you come from, like my mum would not want to see me in a miniskirt because she hates them.
Interviewer:	How do traditional girls dress?
Rachel:	Long dresses and 'matommy'.
Jennifer:	But nowadays I think everyone is fashionable.

Boyfriends and Girlfriends

A larger number of schoolboys at the school sites did not have girlfriends. At Murehwa High School, for instance, seven of the 10 boys said they did not have girlfriends. However, the situation was significantly different with out-of-school boys, especially at Porta Farm, where only four of the boys did not have girlfriends. Reasons for not having a girlfriend varied, with the most common among the schoolboys was that they did not want to be disturbed from their schoolwork, as the following responses from Hatcliffe demonstrate:

If you have a girlfriend, the problem is time. When you have a girlfriend, you need to create time to see her and you will fail to do some work... it's a problem. And being a schoolchild, this will interfere with other programmes.

I don't see that it helps having a girlfriend, because you may be tempted to do what you should not.

Having a girlfriend could also be an uncomfortable experience, as this Hatcliffe boy narrated:

We went out for about two months... in the two months, she would say I want this and I would run around. In time I realised it's problematic, because what she wants you must do.

Although boys constructed boyfriends as providers, some of them thought that having a girlfriend was 'hard work' and consumed valuable time that could be spent more profitably on other things. The assumption that girls wanted boys as providers was held widely by boys at all the interview sites, as this Hatcliffe boy said when asked what type of boyfriend girls looked for:

I think those who have money... because if you have money, they flock to you.

Asked who he considered the ideal girlfriend, another boy from Hatcliffe said:

A girlfriend who doesn't want to squander... must know I am not working and so where do I get money from. Otherwise, I may end up stealing so as to get money.

While he wanted a girlfriend who would not be a drain on his material resources, he also saw himself as someone who, if he was working, would be the main provider.

The girls at Porta Farm also constructed potential boyfriends as providers. When asked what kind of boyfriends they would want if they were looking for one, they spoke about them as long-term partners who must be 'working' and earning an income:



- Mudiwa:** I would look for one who is working.
- Interviewer:** Why? [Laughter]
- Mudiwa:** Because it does not help, it's no good if he is not working... otherwise there will be problems. It's better if he is working.
- Prisca:** Working, honest and also smart. [Laughter]

- Agnes:** He must be working... if he is not working, I would have problems.
- Martha:** Like the others, yes, one who is working, but he must also be able to plan for a future. So I need one who can plan the future well so that we would have a good future.

It seems that the Hatcliffe boys were quite resentful of girls for wanting, as they believed, boyfriends 'with money'. In the following extract from a mixed interview at Hatcliffe, some of the boys criticise girls for rejecting them for boys with more money:



- Goddard (B):** Some of the girls are just time pushers.
- Interviewer:** What are 'time pushers'?
- Goddard:** They just waste your time. All they want is your money and so they look for a boy who has money. All girls just want money.
- Interviewer:** Do you girls agree that all you want is money?
- Virginia (G):** Some girls are like that. Then they meet a sugar daddy who buys them a pizza or a piece of chicken, then they lose their virginity because of the chicken, which they can also have at their mother's house.
- Interviewer:** But virginity also applies to boys, how come you are just talking of girls losing their virginity?
- Dumisai (B):** It is the girls who lose self-control because they want the money.
- Interviewer:** How about boys?
- Dumisai:** Boys do not go to sugar daddies. And if a girl comes to me and I can see that she wants to sleep with me then I will sleep with her.
- Helen (G):** Self-control should also apply to the boys. If a boy agrees to sleep with any girl just because the girl does not say 'no' then it is bad. If a boy asks and the

girl says 'yes', then he should leave her, otherwise he will also get AIDS.

Interviewer: Boys, do you think you can also exercise self-control or if a girl says 'come along', then you cannot control yourself?

Helen: It is more difficult for boys to control themselves. If a girl agrees to sleep with a boy, he will go and tell his friends who will all come to her and ask to sleep with her. The girl will think she is popular because of the queue of boys coming to her, so she will sleep with the boy's friends. All the boys will know that she is easy.

Interviewer: So what do you think is the solution?

Helen: Girls and boys should both exercise self-control and not have sex before marriage.

Interviewer: But what would you do when you are with your boyfriends and girlfriends if you don't sleep together?

Sundai (B): Just talk with her. You can be very good friends with your girlfriend but not sleep with her.

Nyredzi (G): But the boys, they think if they have not slept with the girl then she is not their girl... but what happens when she gets pregnant? Then the boy will refuse to take responsibility for the pregnancy.

In this interview, girls were being constructed as immoral because they were assumed to want a sexual relationship with a boyfriend only for his money (ie. a kind of 'sugar daddy' relationship), whereas boys, in contrast, were presented as simply wanting to have sex. While the girls argued that boys should 'control themselves', they constructed girls who 'said yes' as particularly bad, as 'easy objects' and spreaders of HIV/AIDS. Yet the possibility of a non-sexual boyfriend-girlfriend relationship was ruled out by the girls, because sex was constructed as a way through which boys made girls their own.

Furthermore, as we have already seen, some boys associated sex with conquering and 'consuming' girls, whom they could then quite easily discard. This view, as we can see in the following extract from a mixed interview at Porta Farm, helped to ease one boy's pain of being dumped by a girlfriend. This contrasts significantly with how the girl who

immediately precedes him describes being dumped by a boyfriend with whom she has had sex: she talks about this as painful because she characterises a heterosexual relationship as mutual and sharing:



Winnie (G): What happens is this: let's say you have a boyfriend you love. You would have slept with him and then he dumps you. Ah... it's painful, especially when you think of all the things you did together!

Mashama (B): Even to boys. Boys feel the same, especially after having slept with this girl and then she dumps you. But as a man I will always console myself by saying that, as long as I slept with her, I finished with her.

Interviewer: What if you had not yet slept together?

Runako (B): Ah... now that's even more painful, especially when you lost all chances to sleep with her.

Interviewer: So do you always make sure... what do you do?

Runako: I always make sure that I sleep with any girl I happen to go out with at any point in time.

William (B): Girls, how do you feel to be dumped by a boy before you sleep together?

Mabel (G): Ah... it's not painful at all.

Winnie: I'll actually celebrate.

Archie (B): If a girl dumps you before you lay her, she thinks of you as a dolt.

Jendaya (G): That's not true: girls don't do that!

Mabel: But if you, the boy, provoke me, I will say anything to make him feel equally bad. The problem is with boys, if he knows that he is dating another girl, he should not approach and propose to me in the first place.

The assumption here is that sex is not just a natural act, but an important way through which the young men believe they are asserting themselves in relation to girls. This is probably one of the reasons why most of the girls we interviewed at Hatcliffe said that they resisted boyfriend relations. Like the boys, when interviewed in a single sex group, the Hatcliffe girls said they were opposed to having such relationships at their age on the grounds that this detracted from their schoolwork. Unlike the boys, they also mentioned that they were afraid of being persuaded – or forced – into having sex, as well as drinking and going to the movies:



Interviewer:	But do you have special boyfriends?
All girls:	No!
Interviewer:	You don't?
Chemwapuwa:	We are still underage.
Gamuchirai:	Because we fear that they can spoil our future.
Celia:	I think we are not ready to get into relationships, because right now I want to concentrate on my schoolwork.
Interviewer:	You others, what is it that you don't like about having a boyfriend?
Mary:	Nowadays life is too expensive so if I have a special boyfriend, I think I will spend my life.
Christine:	I don't think this time I need a boyfriend because I will be going to concentrate on my schoolwork, then I will get a special boyfriend when I finish school.
Kamali:	Some of the boys, if you get one, they will kill you if you refuse their moves, so I will be in danger.
Interviewer:	What kind of danger?
Kamali:	They will want you to do things you are not expected to do, like having sex and sometimes you can catch AIDS.
Gamuchirai:	You can end up taking alcohol and going to the movies.

- Interviewer:** Is there anything bad about going to the movies?
- [Some girls say 'yes!', others say 'no!']
- Interviewer:** What's bad about going to the movies?
- Kamali:** If you are underage, you will not be concentrating on your schoolwork and you will be leading a bad life... and you will not respect your parents.
- Interviewer:** Some of the movies may lead you to have sex with your boyfriend... but can't you imagine going to the movies without a boyfriend?
- Kamali:** I don't like boys or girls who misbehave, cheat or lie, who bully other children, those who take drugs and go around having sex with anybody, doing all sorts of bad things. And those children who do not honour their parents.
- Diniwe:** Ah, I dislike those girls involved in club patronising.

Going to the cinema, drinking, having sex and boyfriends, and going to nightclubs were all lumped together here, and taken to characterise the lifestyles of 'bad girls', from whom these girls clearly wanted to distance themselves. As we saw earlier, boys were commonly constructed as fun lovers and initiators in relationships, and girls could be labelled as 'bad' or 'loose' if they were seen as engaging in the same kind of fun. Certainly being seen to take the heterosexual initiative by 'asking a boy out' or 'proposing' was extremely problematic for girls, as the Porta Farm girls made very clear:



- Interviewer:** What about you girls, can't you do the same, to like a guy and ask him out?
- Elsbeth:** When you are a girl it's not easy, you could like a boy so much but you cannot propose. So if I were a boy, I could be able to tell the girl that I love her.
- Interviewer:** So are you saying that there are no women who can propose to men?
- Elsbeth:** Ah... there is none.
- Interviewer:** Why?



Agnes:	It's embarrassing to ask a man out.
Interviewer:	What's embarrassing about it?
Elsbeth:	When I grew up I was made to believe that a woman couldn't propose to a man – it's the man who is supposed to ask you out.
Interviewer:	So what do you do when there is a boy you like? How can you let him know that you want him?
Agnes:	You simply do a lot, make some moves, actions, or even dress attractively and let him notice you, and greet him so often, especially when wearing a miniskirt to attract him.
Interviewer:	When he proposes to you, how long then should he wait for the answer?
Sharon:	There and there. [Group laughter].

What is significant about this extract is the recognition by these girls that they are as sexually interested in boys as boys are in them, and that their failure to 'propose' to boys does not reflect the fact that they have (as some boys and girls implied) a lower sex drive than boys. There was, as we have seen, pressure on girls to identify as 'good' by constructing themselves as not overly sexual, but the problem with this was that it reinforced the popular construction of boys as having insatiable and uncontrollable sex drives. The effect of this was to place girls in a vulnerable position in relation to boys in heterosexual relations, and, as boys sought to express their 'insatiable' desires, to put both boys and girls at great risk of contracting HIV.

A number of girls said they wanted good, responsible, smart boyfriends who did not have other girlfriends and would not exploit them – and were not too 'fun-loving' or fond of 'clubbing' or drinking. The subtext here, perhaps, was that this was what they expected boys to be like: a caricature from which they differentiated their potential boyfriends, as we can see in the following extract from an interview with girls in Murewha:



Interviewer:	What do you look for in a boyfriend?
Jane:	A boy who goes to church, who is cool, fashionable in good trousers and decent shirts, and not wearing ' <i>zvinhu zvinomakisa</i> ' and not wearing chains all over the body.

Sangeya:	A guy who is not cruel to others, is sociable and does not have other girlfriends.
Joyce:	A smart guy in dressing and behaviour, with washed clothes.
Molly:	Simple, who is not pompous about riches but smart.
Blessing:	But you cannot go to a guy without anything, because you will remain poor.

Interestingly, the construction of the ideal boyfriend as someone who departed from the caricature of the male who derives and asserts his power over women through money conflicted – as we see in Blessing’s response to Molly – with the construction of the ideal boyfriend as the economic provider. The discussions with the Murehwa and Glen View girls show them constructing their identities as ‘good girls’ around two areas: avoiding boyfriends (and friends who may influence you to have one) and, if you do have a boyfriend, having one who helps you be a better person by encouraging you to go to church. The image of the church as representing what is good was pervasive in all our interviews. Most boys said they wanted good, God-fearing and ‘traditional’ girls or ‘cabbages’ as their girlfriends – as distinct from the ‘Salads.’ However, some boys, in contrast to the girls, also mentioned physical beauty as an important attribute in the selection of a girlfriend.

Boys Enjoying Being ‘Free’ and Having Multiple Sexual Relations

While boys derived power as boyfriends and providers, this, as we have seen, carried obligations and was often experienced by boys as hard work. An alternative and popular way of being a boy or young man involved refuting obligations, which tied them to particular girls, and deriving a sense of power through being hedonistic and free and having multiple sexual relations (see Pattman, 2001 and 2002, on the significance of this in universities in Zimbabwe and Botswana). The late teenage boys from Porta Farm seemed to derive much pleasure from talking explicitly about their multiple relations and about how they frequently deceived girls. Far from talking about obligations to girlfriends, they spoke about how they enjoyed themselves precisely by deceiving and taking advantage of them. Several of them boasted of having more than one girlfriend – and were egged on in their boasting by the other boys. The girls present did not challenge the boys, presumably because the boys were so loud and assertive – although they did not laugh like the boys either:



- Interviewer:** Boys, is this a fact – that you have several girlfriends each?
- Edgar (B):** Yes, it's happening. If I go out with three girlfriends, when I am with one, if the others see me, I simply tell her she is my sister or aunt. That way I would have lied to her.
- Interviewer:** Can you tell us about your girlfriend?
- Dakarai (B):** I have none that I can really call special.
- Interviewer:** Are you suggesting that you have several?
- Dakarai:** Yes, several. My girlfriends are those I spend time with and they... are... eh... the ones I sometimes fondle and take to bed. [Group laughter].

Only 'Others' Have Boyfriends or Sex

Boasting about multiple sexual relations was certainly not possible for the girls we interviewed. Indeed, it seemed that many of the girls were strongly invested in presenting themselves as 'good' as opposed to sexual, by criticising girls with boyfriends, girls who had sex, girls who went out and girls who wore miniskirts. The first extract below is taken from a single-sex group interview with Murewha schoolgirls, while the second is from a single-sex interview with Hatcliffe girls:

Extract 1:



- Elizabeth:** I go around with good girls, because when I do something wrong they tell me that it is bad.
- Interviewer:** Can we hear from somebody else?
- Nyredzi:** I get along only with good girls because they tell me about life, because they know that my parents are both dead, so they tell me how to survive.
- Sarudzai:** I like going out with friends who have good behaviour and whom I tell my secrets to and share ideas.

- Forgette:** I go around with my friends who have good ideas and can give me good advice.
- Interviewer:** What is it that you don't like about other kinds of friends?
- Elisabeth:** Some friends will cause you to do something that is wrong, like going to bars or something that makes me uncomfortable.
- Sarudzai:** Some of the girls... if you join them they start talking about their boyfriends.
- Interviewer:** About their boyfriends? What is it that you don't like about that?
- Sarudzai:** They will influence me.

Extract 2:

- Zoe:** My former friend has a boyfriend, that's why I broke up with her.
- Interviewer:** Why did you break up as friends?
- Zoe:** Because she wanted to influence me to be involved in those things, like having a boyfriend, going out, going to movies and clubbing.
- Interviewer:** You didn't like that?
- Zoe:** No, I didn't.
- Interviewer:** What about you, do you have friends who have boyfriends?
- Grace:** Yes, I've got a friend who is now married, she still comes to school but now I refuse to play with her.

The absence of positive stories from teenage girls about girls with boyfriends was striking.

These clearly need to be addressed, not just as reflecting the common view that these are inevitably oppressive relationships, which interfere with schoolwork, end up in pregnancies and abuse, and conflict with biblical teachings, but as being tied up with how they are constructing themselves in relation to girls whom they identify as 'bad'. The following are illuminating extracts from a single-sex interview with schoolgirls at Hatcliffe:



Betty: I had a friend who had a boyfriend. I broke up with her because when she used to come to school with her boyfriend she would be beaten for refusing to have sex with him. They would all be drunk and she would come home after 8pm. She was sent away from school.

Rudo: If a girl falls pregnant, she could be asked by her mother who she was with when it all happened, and she can say she was with me and then I will be give the *mhosva* (the blame). [Laughter among the girls].

Constance: When I was in Form Three, I used to play with my friend, and this friend used to play with boys and she would concentrate more on boys and then she got pregnant and she went away – she ran a leg. [Group laughter].

Margaret: I have a friend who told me that her boyfriend wanted her to have sex with him and when she refused, the boyfriend told her that he can't marry her if they did not sex... Her boyfriend was 20 years old and she was 17 and still at school. She wanted that boyfriend so she would come to me and say, "What should I do? I want to be married by that man but I don't want to have sex with him now," but in the end they had sex. The boyfriend then said he could not marry her because she was not a virgin when they had sex for the first time. She got pregnant and the boy who then went out of the country abandoned her.

Japera: I once had a friend who got pregnant, when she told me that she was pregnant, I asked her who the father of the child was and she said she did not know. I asked her whether it was just like manna from heaven and she said no. She told me that she wanted to abort, but her parents got to know when she was admitted to hospital after aborting.

The descriptions of some girls of their ideal boyfriends as 'nice', understanding and 'church-going', and the embarrassed laughter when one girl said she would like a 'good-looking boy', implied that for many girls desire was not something they should talk about – at least not with an adult present. In the following interview with Murewha schoolgirls, the girls are asked if they are having sex and, like all the girls in the other study sites, they replied 'no' and went on to pathologise sex:



- Interviewer:** And you guys, are you having sex?
- All:** No... No...
- Interviewer:** OK, is there anything wrong with it?
- Mwaurayeni:** Yes, it is wrong.
- Angela:** But I want to ask, what is wrong when you are 17 years old?
- Interviewer:** Ask your friend...
- Mwaurayeni:** It is wrong because maybe your guy will give you a sexually transmitted disease or get you pregnant and if he was interested in you, he will not marry you.
- Interviewer:** And you, what do you think?
- Everjoice:** I think it's bad because if you have sex with someone, that someone will not love you and then you go out with someone else and have sex with him, at the end you will get AIDS and other STDs.
- Mabel:** I think it's wrong because you are still too young to know anything about life, you won't have your 'O' level certificate, what's more 'A' levels, so if you just get pregnant, you won't have any ambition in the future.
- Everjoice:** All you should know is that the boy is just using you and after you have sex, he will dump you.
- Noreen:** I think if you sleep with one boy then he dumps you, the other boys would also want to use you because they think you are a bitch.

It would seem that this very negative portrayal of sex is based, at least partly, on resistance to the sorts of gender power relations that these girls recognise as being associated with sex. But they are also, we would suggest, constructing themselves as ‘good’ – and not ‘bitches’ – precisely by talking about sex in this way.

What was interesting about the journals – in contrast to the interviews – was how many girls wrote about their boyfriends and in some cases their very positive relationships with them. For the girls, the journals appeared to provide an opportunity for articulating sexual desire. For example, one girl from Glen View wrote profusely about a relationship she was having with a boy, giving details of what they did when they met and of how she had been able to fight off his advances as he tried to make her sleep with him:

‘I asked him to accompany me home. But he lied to me that there was a road to Porta Farm but led me to where there was no road. He then said he wanted to have sex with me. But I said to him, ‘My friend, you want to play games with me. You thought I didn’t know what was on your mind. I studied you a long time and I know that you want to make me your prostitute. But let me tell you, it is you who is the prostitute because all you can think of is sleeping with me’.’

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Two girls started their journals by talking about their boyfriends, and appeared to enjoy the fact that they were attractive to boys. Several girls also mentioned being proposed to by a number of boys over a short period. One girl said she was proposed to by three boys in the space of two days, while another girl said she was proposed to by two boys in two days.

‘Sugar Daddies’: Girls’ Accounts

The construction of boys as powerful, as initiators and economic providers in sexual relationships, also generated the ‘sugar daddy’ phenomenon, which led to many girls being blamed for being ‘materialistic’ and ‘loose’ and spreading HIV/AIDS. (Indeed, ‘sugar daddy’ relationships were, along with prostitution, blamed as the most common cause of the spread of AIDS by our interviewees.) Sometimes, as we see in the following extract from an interview with Hatcliffe schoolgirls, sugar daddy relationships were attributed to the relative poverty of schoolgirls – although these girls also criticised more affluent ‘Salad girls’ for going out with sugar daddies. Whether they were already Salad girls or became Salad girls as a result of going out with sugar daddies was not clear from this account. But all the girls were critical of ‘Salads’ who had relationships with sugar daddies, who were said to be more common at schools in more affluent areas.



- Dewa:** I think sugar daddies are the ones who spread AIDS to the young girls. So I think if adults can stop the girls from playing around with sugar daddies then we can stop the spread of AIDS.
- Interviewer:** Who are these sugar daddies and where do they come from?
- Felicia:** Those fathers with families but who love school children.
- Interviewer:** Do we have many of them here?
- Felicia:** Yes, some of the girls here have sugar daddies.
- Interviewer:** Here at school?
- All:** Yes!
- Interviewer:** Really, how do you know? Are they your friends?
- Lilian:** We see them but those girls are not our friends.
- Interviewer:** If I went out now, would I see them?
- Felicia:** No, not now but around 4-5pm, they will be moving around by the bus stop.
- Lilian:** And the conductors, too!
- Interviewer:** Really, and what do the girls get?
- Dewa:** They will be given free rides every day and they will end up having sex with them.
- Interviewer:** How do you know about that?
- Felicia:** We see them at the bus stop.
- Interviewer:** Are some particular people to blame for the spread of HIV/AIDS?
- All:** Yes!

Victoria: I think poverty is the main cause of AIDS, because we see schoolgirls... when they see others buying lunch, because they are poor and cannot afford lunch, they will certainly go to sugar daddies so that they get the money to buy all they want, because their parents cannot afford to give them everything that they want.

Interviewer: Anyone else?

Grace: I think girls like money, that's why they will go for sugar daddies, because they know that sugar daddies have money to give them.

[Further discussion]

Interviewer: So we go back now, tell me about these 'Salads', where do we find them?

Dewa: Salads... [laughter] some of them are found here in Hatcliffe and some of them in suburbs like Borrowdale and Greystone Park. Some of the Salads you can identify because they dress smartly, beautiful and wearing hipsters, miniskirts and having money and driving cars and enjoying themselves.

Interviewer: Money from where?

Dewa: From sugar daddies!

All: Yes!

Grace: I think they are given money when they go to the clubs.

Lilian: But I have got a question: when they are given money, it means they would have done something for the sugar daddies?

All: Yes!

Felicia: They have sex with them, then they are paid.

Interviewer: But they are in school?

All:	Yes!
Interviewer:	So you mean sugar daddies have employed them?
All:	Yes! [Group laughter] [Further discussion]
Felicia:	I think sugar daddies want to have sex with these girls without using condoms because they know that some of them have the virus and want to spread the disease. So if you allow them to have sex with you, they will pay you money to buy food. They will come and pick you up after school and take you to movies, and at weekends. They also buy you cell phones.
Interviewer:	Cell phones? Are there any girls with cell phones here at this school?
All:	Yes... but not in this school...
Dewa:	In schools like Vainona, Mount Pleasant and Oriel.
Lilian:	Sugar daddies have their wives but they want to have other girls... why is that so?
Felicia:	Because they want to spread AIDS.
Dewa:	But not all of them... men get attracted. So if you wear tight things... hipsters, they get attracted.

While the Porta Farm girls also accused sugar daddies of being responsible for the spread of AIDS, unlike the Hatcliffe girls, they did not blame girls for having such relationships. Indeed, one girl implied that girls generally were impressed by those who had relationships with sugar daddies 'who have something to offer' – and therefore, presumably, put pressure on them to do so:



Nyasha:

If you tell her that you now have a boyfriend, she will ask you what you get from that boyfriend and thus we end up going for sugar daddies, who have something to offer.



Gillian:

That's how you get AIDS! [Group laughter].

The Porta Farm girls, while not admitting to having relationships with sugar daddies, spoke much more directly and inclusively about being ‘tempted’ by such men than the Hatcliffe schoolgirls. For example, Oalenna in the following interview talks about her ‘friends’ being given car rides to and from school by sugar daddies, and, rather than distancing herself from them, implies that she wanted the same for herself. She also, however, admitted that such relationships could cause unwanted pregnancies and serve to spread HIV/AIDS:



Interviewer: Why is it that they have these sugar daddies?

Sheila: Sugar daddies with cars usually have money, so the girls will be after the money.

Onalenna: Yes, I agree with her. When I used to go to school, I used to see my friends being dropped and picked up from school by what they used to call their relatives, so I would wish to have a relative with a car to do the same to me. For some of us girls, some ended up dating sugar daddies so that they could come to school and leave school in style... in a car, and that’s how some got either AIDS or got pregnant from sugar daddies.

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Similarly, *kombi* touts were presented as sugar daddy figures who ‘tempted’ girls, but who were ultimately bad for them:



Interviewer: Is there another group of people you think are responsible for spreading HIV/AIDS?

Joy: Yes, the *kombi* touts [murmurs of agreement]. These guys, if you see them holding lots of cash, you would think it’s theirs, not knowing that the money belongs to the owners of the *kombis*.

Sally: Yes, that’s true, I agree with her, because when you go somewhere you would want a free ride on the *kombi*. But you won’t continue to get a free ride for nothing – you will also pay with your body.

Boys Talking Positively About Girls

While boys generally spoke in derogatory ways about girls – accusing them of being fickle, of ‘not having a mind of their own’ – some boys admitted that they would like to have girls as friends. Some said this would help them to better understand women, which would help them in future relations with their wives:

Getting along with girls may actually help you in the future when you want to date a girl. These girlfriends would have told you about what girls like and dislike.

As many as six of the 12 boys at Hatcliffe also said they wanted girlfriends for the sound advice they offered them and for their ‘sympathetic’ nature. These boys found it easier to confide in girls or to befriend them, as one of the boys said:

If I am naughty, the girl will say what you are doing is wrong, but not boys. Girls advise you, so it’s good to play with girls.

These boys idealised girls and imposed higher expectations on them than boys. It would seem that this idealisation of girls reflected dissatisfaction with popular ways of being boys (cf. Frosh et al, 2002). The boys also extended these feelings to female teachers who were said (by both boys and girls, although mainly by boys) to be better listeners than male teachers, to be more sympathetic and to offer better advice.

In all the groups, there were a few boys who regarded girls as equal to boys. While these tended to be exceptions, they are representing another side to the boys. For example, when one boy said that in some cultures girls are taken as ‘people of low value,’ another boy came to girls’ defence, saying: ‘We are all equal and there are no reasons why girls should be looked down upon. They are just like men, but it’s just customs that are like that.’

At Hatcliffe, one boy stood out for his progressive views on girls and women in general. Asked what he would do if he suddenly found himself a girl, he said: ‘There is no problem in being a boy or a girl, the only important thing is to achieve your goals.’ This was a very strong statement, considering that he said this in the boys-only interview. In the mixed group, he said the same thing, and when pushed further on whether he would want to be a girl, he said: ‘It does not matter if you are a boy or a girl. Boys and girls are just the same.’ It was interesting to note that none of the other boys laughed or seemed to look down upon this boy because of his views. If anything, the other boys seemed to envy him his courage.

Boy-Girl Friendships

While some boys spoke about enjoying girls’ company more than boys’, when boys and girls spoke about their friends they were almost always with people of the same sex.

Either it seemed that relationships between boys and girls were distant and marked by the sorts of derogatory stereotypes we have witnessed, or else, if they were close, they were assumed, as we can see in the following two extracts from single-sex interviews with Murewha schoolgirls and boys, to be sexual. 'Playing' with boys was regarded by all the girls as out of the question because it would be construed as sexual. In contrast, in the interview with boys, one of them speaks about his friendships with girls partly by 'desexualising' them and pointing out that he feels 'easier talking to a girl (who) I know has a boyfriend.'

Extract 1- Murewha boys:



- Interviewer:** Is there anything different in the way you interact with boys and girls?
- Peyisai:** I see no difference but the only problem is the belief that if people see you with a girl, then they think that's your girlfriend. So I don't feel comfortable, but there is no difference.
- Moshama:** I see a big difference with girls. There are some issues that you can't discuss with her, but (only) with your boyfriends.
- Chenzira:** I see no difference between boys and girls... It's like I myself, I discuss private things with girls, for example, what I do during the holidays, watching movies like horrors and love movies. I find it easier talking to a girl (who) I know has a boyfriend.
- Interviewer:** Is there anyone else with something different?
- Petiri:** I think getting along with girls is good, but you can have problems in future when you get married. Your wife may be jealous because of your habit of getting along with many girls. So I think the point is not to get along with women too much. Women cannot keep secrets and this can have a bad effect on your marriage.

Extract 2 – Murewha girls:

- Interviewer:** So would you play with boys the same way you play with girls?
- All:** No!
- Shoorai:** We can't play the same way because the boys have feelings and they may end up doing what they are not supposed to do [laughter].
- Interviewer:** What kind of feelings? [Laughter]
- Jendayi:** I think the kind of feelings are touching each other, caressing and kissing.
- Interviewer:** Don't girls have feelings?
- Shoorai:** They do, but boys and girls should not be too close, touching...
- Interviewer:** But we are talking about boys who are just friends!
- Sitembile:** Ah, but they are the same... [group laughter].

Even though the interviewer asks these girls about playing with boys whom she stresses are 'just friends', the girls seem to contest the possibility of this construction of boys. What is striking in this piece is how the girls attribute the impossibility of friendships with boys to boys' sexual feelings, as if any close relationship they might have with a boy will inevitably be sexualised by the boy. The assumption is that boys are possessors of an enormous sex drive and girls are its objects – an assumption that, as we saw earlier, has extremely problematic consequences. The interviewer had to ask the girls if they did not also have sexual feelings, and when asked, they admitted that they did.

Relationships with Parents

Discussing sexuality

The respondents said they discussed reproductive health issues more with their teachers than with their parents, although five of the girls said they discussed such issues with their mothers. Although eight of the respondents said they got on well with their parents or guardians, it was obvious from the discussions that they were not particularly close. Only two subjects in Hatcliffe and three in Murehwa gave examples of how close they

were with parents – in all cases their mothers. One boy who had a close relationship with his parents said:

I am close to my parents but it is true that there are some things you cannot say to your mum or dad... If you hide, you may not get the advice, and people do need someone to give advice. If you do not get advice from home then you will end up seeking advice from outsiders... and you ignore people who know you better and could give you better advice. When you seek advice from outsiders you end up getting peer pressure... long back I was not close to my parents but these days I am and they understand me more.

According to Zimbabwean culture, children are close to those adults designated to advise them on life – usually their aunts and uncles. However, due to the disruption and fragmentation of the family institution, such relatives are becoming less accessible and available, as captured in the following exchange in Porta Farm:



Tichawonna: Even for us boys, it is not easy to approach our aunties.

Mathew: Anyway, how many aunties are playing their role these days? They are not there.



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The breakdown of the traditional extended family and the roles of its different members has left a vacuum, especially in the sex education of girls and boys. There may be a need to sensitise communities on how to address such problems, with a view to developing alternative structures to replace those traditional ones that no longer work.

Parents' favouritism towards sisters

Rather surprisingly, given the ways that boys prided themselves in being 'free' and subordinated girls as people who were tied to the home, some boys from Murehwa complained of their parents favouring girls:



Banga: (My mother) also does not give me pocket money, but when it's my sister she favours her... she always gives her money. She expects to see me wearing a pair of trousers always... ah, no ways, I don't like that!



- Charles:** I want to support what he is saying. If you have a sister, when she asks for money from our parents, they just give her without asking any questions. All she does is state how much she wants and she gets it. But for me, a boy, I have to explain and usually they don't give me the cash. They would rather buy me what I want than give me the money.
- Owen:** My parents expect high from me. When I get what I call my best results, they still expect me to have done better, so we have problems. If I try to explain they won't listen, they simply accuse me of being playful in school... Even though my sisters are as mischievous as the boys, it's never discovered...

It would seem that the stereotypical caricature of the hedonistic and intelligent male to which many boys are apparently encouraged to aspire has its costs (see Connell, 1985), such as overly high parental expectations regarding academic performances combined with a feeling that boys are more irresponsible and more likely to waste their money and engage in 'mischievous' acts.

Relations with Teachers and Classroom Interaction

There was general agreement between girls and boys across all the sites that male teachers usually 'favoured' girls, while female teachers 'favoured' boys. Male teachers were generally understood as preferring girls because they were sexually attracted to them, while female teachers' preference for boys was attributed to their dislike of the (sexualised) appearances and behaviour of girls.

Glen View mixed interview:



- Maude (G):** Some of the female teachers may not like some of the girls, for example those who wear makeup and disrupt classes when they come late... the teacher would not like the disturbance. So they then dislike the girls... male teachers often do not like boys... sometimes because boys often show off in front of girls.
- Interviewer:** Boys, what is your experience?
- Jabulani (B):** Some male teachers favour girls and even if you do

very good work, the girls will be given higher marks.

- Interviewer:** Those teachers who favour girls, do you think the girls will be their girlfriends?
- Jabulani:** Some of them will be.
- Interviewer:** Male teachers who prefer girls or who favour girls, do you think it's just a preference, or they will have affairs with the girls?
- Melanie (G):** Sometimes they will be wanting something from the girls...
- Interviewer:** What about you? What do you think?
- Maude:** Treatment of boys and girls is different... because male teachers prefer girls and take advantage of their position... because they have interest in the girl they therefore extend favours to all the girls in the class, as they cannot single out the one girl. Whereas boys are treated normally and can be beaten... that's what I think.

In an interview with Porta Farm girls, however, the sexual attraction that male teachers were said to feel for some female pupils was not seen as resulting in favouritism if the pupils were to reject their advances. As one girl said: 'If you refuse to go out with them, even if you do good he will ignore it.' However, the boys complained that male teachers not only gave girls higher marks, but were more likely to beat boys – and to beat them more thoroughly – than girls:

Murehwa boys' interview:



Chuma: Usually male teachers support girls, especially when a girl gives a wrong answer, the teacher does nothing. But when it's a boy, you could be beaten.



Gamba: Male teachers favour girls... for example, girls are made to read out to the class say during history lessons. When you write tests, a girl could be awarded a full mark where she deserved half a mark, but with lady teachers it is different – they are usually fair.

- Richard:** We have a major problem with male teachers, especially when it comes to favouring girls. The treatment we get is different. For example, when we get corporal punishment, boys are told to lie on a small table and the beating is thorough – *'tinosvuurwa zvakaipa'* [group laughter]. But with girls, they are beaten on the hands. When it is a female teacher, the beating is different.
- Moruti:** Boys are at a disadvantage, when a teacher is bored by something, he says provoking statements just to get at the boys. If a boy says something, trying to reason with the teacher, he is told to shut up, but a girl is usually given a good ear.
- [Further discussion]
- David:** Male teachers usually show bright faces, he is happy assisting a girl than when he is assisting a boy. He smiles when helping a girl... when it's a boy even his mood is unpleasant [laughter].

It may be that male teachers favoured girls, as the boys asserted, because they were attracted to them sexually. But perhaps boys' unfavourable treatment could also be explained as another cost associated with, on the one hand, the high academic expectations of boys and, on the other, assumptions that boys are fun loving and mischievous. They are perhaps seen, especially by male teachers who may feel they pose a threat to their authority, as pupils who need to be disciplined and punished, and also as 'tough boys' who can withstand much harsher punishments than girls. Significantly, the boys spoke much more positively about women teachers, constructing them as concerned and caring:

Hatcliffe boys' interview:



Kabo:

I like lady teachers because they can also be counsellors and help you with your problem. If it is a male teacher, he will just say you are a boy and you should deal with the problem, but the lady teacher will counsel you.



Interviewer:

What is the feeling of other boys and girls? Do you also like teachers who can counsel you?

Neo: The lady teachers are good. They treat you like their blood children. It is because they have their own children and look at you as their children...

Some interviewees suggested that boys and girls were treated differently by teachers, partly because teachers viewed them differently, but also because they were responding to the different classroom behaviour of boys and girls. Of course, the two are also mutually reinforcing.

Hatcliffe girls' interview:



Daya: I think they are treated differently because most of the times girls are told to sweep the classrooms and boys are told to clean the windows, and at times they even go home without having cleaned them. Girls do most of the cleaning in the classrooms.

Mwazwenyi: But I don't think they are treated differently... it is only that boys are mischievous most of the times. But they are treated the same...

Beauty: I think boys and girls are treated differently because they... the teachers... think boys are more intelligent than girls.

[Murmurs and comments of agreement]

Interviewer: What else?

Mariette: I think they are differently treated according to the teacher and according to the boys and girls, about their behaviour.

Interviewer: Yes?

Beauty: I think they are treated differently because of how they participate. Some girls do not participate in class and the teacher will become bored and she only talks to boys... then we think they love boys only.

Interviewer: What about you, how do teachers treat you?

- Beauty:** I think sometimes I am not treated the same as boys because most teachers think girls are lazy.
- Interviewer:** What about you?
- Mariette:** Some of them think that I am not that much intelligent.
- Interviewer:** And you?
- Mwazenyi:** They treat me like boys because sometimes I participate in the class and argue with the boys.
- [Further discussion]
- Interviewer:** And you?
- Marion:** They treat me equally, but boys are mischievous in my class so they treat girls better than boys.
- Daya:** Sometimes I participate in class, so they treat me equally with boys.

Here, boys were distinguished as being more mischievous than girls and as participating more in class discussions, and those girls who claimed they were treated more equally believed this was because they were active and participated like boys. While the greater participation of boys in class may have reinforced the teachers' assumptions that boys were more intelligent than girls, one of the reasons girls were less likely to participate was because they feared being ridiculed by the boys. For one of the ways boys asserted themselves in relation to girls was by demonstrating their confidence in public and mocking girls' attempts to do so. In the following extract, from a mixed interview with Hatcliffe pupils, boys criticise girls for their lack of 'self-confidence' – as if this is a natural feminine weakness that prevents them from participating in class. However, the girls protest that it is the boys who intimidate them by laughing at them if they get the answers wrong:



- Sekayi (B):** Girls, you don't have self-confidence, so you think you are treated differently.
- Interviewer:** Do you girls agree? Do you not have self-confidence?
- Nehanda (G):** Yes, it's true. Sometimes when a girl knows the answer she does not raise her hand, so the teacher thinks she does not know.

- Florence:** Yes it is, because the boys laugh at us if we get the answer wrong.
- Sundai (B):** Of course, if the answer is way out we laugh...
- Florence:** But that will be the answer I think is right.
- Sekayi:** As I said, girls, you don't have self-confidence. You come to school to learn, so why should you worry if a boy laughs at you? You should not bother because you are there to learn.
- Interviewer:** But do you boys laugh when other boys get the answer wrong?
- [Inaudible murmurs from boys]
- Nehanda:** They only laugh at girls...
- Banga (B):** That is not true...
- [More murmurs from boys]
- Nehanda:** All the boys laugh when we get the answer wrong, even those who don't know the answer also laugh.
- Suko (G):** Girls should just ignore the boys and get on with their work.

Impact of HIV/AIDS on the Subjects' Lives

HIV/AIDS was generally constructed as a moral problem, with many respondents blaming its spread on 'prostitutes' – or girls and women who were constructed as prostitutes for wearing short skirts, 'going out', and having several boyfriends. One boy described AIDS as 'an embarrassment', for which he blamed members of the older generation 'who started with it... as the young generation, we have something to control the disease.'

Discussions at all the sites, particularly in Murehwa, showed that most adolescents know about the nature and mode of transmission of HIV/AIDS, and how it can be prevented. In one mixed group interview with Hatcliffe pupils, the boys reflected on how the fear of HIV/AIDS had made them particularly careful about scrutinising the girl they were going out with – but also how difficult this was for boys to do, given their strong sexual desires. Three of the boys pointed to the importance of getting to know the girl one was going to marry – as if unprotected sex was only something engaged in in marriage. It may be that the impact of AIDS is reinforcing popular and radical distinctions between 'good' and

'bad' girls and women, with 'prostitutes' being blamed for its spread and higher expectations being placed upon girls and women as potential girlfriends and marriage partners, to be 'good' and not to wear short dresses, go out drinking and dancing, or be seen mixing with boys.



- Sifiye (B):** It is very important to know the girl you are going out with. You should take your time, about three years before you ask a girl to marry you. But the problem is that many boys are so keen to get a girl that they will meet a girl and within two weeks they are already in love. This is not love and in most cases you don't know the history of the girl.
- Chuma (B):** What you are talking about is that people should only marry those from their areas, whom they have known since they were young.
- Sifiye:** No, but you should take time to know the background of your girlfriend so that you don't get AIDS.
- Chenzirai (B):** I think when people want to marry it is much better to go for an AIDS test.
- Julius (B):** But what happens if one of you tests positive, then you want to destroy a relationship of six years, just for a test that is positive?
- Sifiye:** That is why it is important to know the girl you are going out with. If she has been sleeping around, then you know that she might have AIDS.
- Interviewer:** Do you think some people are to blame for the spread of AIDS?
- Mercy (G):** Prostitutes, they should be banned.
- Robert (B):** Prostitutes. It should be a criminal offence for someone to be a prostitute.

Some young men spoke graphically about the tension they felt as powerful heterosexual males who could not resist having many sexual relations with various partners, although they knew this was highly risky behaviour:

- Dumisai:** There are times when you could succumb... the temptation is too much and you get carried away... [laughter] but it's not good... AIDS is frightening, you cannot tell if the girl has the AIDS virus, as it will not be showing... sex is frightening.
- Runako:** As for me and my friends, we discuss about AIDS and *understand what needs to be done*, but when I love a certain girl I wouldn't want to spend days or weeks before sleeping with her [embarrassed laughter].
- Interviewer:** But what about AIDS, are you not afraid?
- Runako:** You could be scared but, when that time comes, you forget about it all. Everything escapes your mind and all you want is to sleep with that girl.

Some young men and women cited HIV tests as mitigating their fears – although they also mentioned the limitations of these tests. For example, one boy, as we saw earlier, raised the question about the impact on a relationship if one partner tested positive. In another interview, a girl said she would only have sex after marriage, or failing that would an HIV test with her boyfriend before sleeping together 'in case he would not have been faithful'. A boy retorted that the girl's faith in HIV tests was misplaced, given the assumption of the insatiable male sex drive:

It's OK to talk about going for tests. But what happens if both of you will be found HIV-negative, then you get married, fine... but AIDS will still come because your husband will look for sex outside the marriage.



Part One: Summary of Findings



UNICEF/ESA/Prozzi

Many of our subjects appeared strongly invested in constructing themselves in opposition to their particular versions of the gendered 'other'. Versions of masculinity and femininity were often constructed in relation to each other and were played off against each other. Thus, males were constructed as strong physically, emotionally, intellectually and sexually precisely *because* females were constructed as weak in these areas. Some girls in the mixed interviews resisted being positioned in this way by boys, and this generated considerable conflict as the boys sought to reassert themselves. In constructing girls as weaker and boys as stronger, girls were often seen as being in need of protection by their parents or by other boys. This, as we observed in the selected extracts, had the effect of restricting their movements and contributing to the view that girls were timid, un-free and incapable of making decisions for themselves.

One of the study's key findings concerned the application of sexual 'double standards' to girls and boys. A distinction was often drawn between 'good' and 'bad' girls, which centred on their sexuality. Such a distinction, however, was rarely applied to boys. 'Bad' girls were described as wearing miniskirts (which 'invited' rape), as drinking, staying out late, having boyfriends, and being too 'modern'. This policing of girls not only restricted what they could do or say, but also, consequently, made them more vulnerable in relationships with boys. Both the boys and girls constructed girls as less sexually active than boys (unless they were 'bad' girls), and as the potential objects of boys' sexual desires.

Some urban girls were blamed for being too 'modern' and for attracting men, namely the 'Salad girls'. Some boys spoke angrily about these girls and seemed to express, as well as to quell, anxieties about being rejected by them. Only girls were ever blamed for violating cultural values. A few, mainly urban girls questioned the labelling of girls in such derogatory ways, but most girls reproduced this discourse, positioning themselves as good in relation to girls who were too modern and sexual.

Most of the girls interviewed indicated that they did not have boyfriends, and accused boys of being exploitative and disrupting their interest in their schoolwork. Their opposition to boyfriends no doubt reflected these fears, but it also seems to have been motivated by a desire to present themselves as 'good' (ie. not too sexual), especially in the mixed groups. Interestingly, it was always their friends or others and not themselves whom the young women spoke about as having sex and boyfriends, and they invariably discussed these relationships in negative ways.

Significantly, girls did write about their boyfriends in the journals they kept – perhaps a safer place than the mixed group for them to present themselves as sexual beings. The 'Salads' were relatively affluent or aspired to being so, and the girls who were most critical of them – the Porta Farm girls – were from a low-income peri-urban area. The fact that some of their friends who had sex fell pregnant obviously shows that they were not using condoms.

Many boys were extremely misogynistic, constructing girls as emotionally and physically weak and denigrating them for being tied to the home, yet also for being too sexual and 'going out'. But there was also evidence of some boys idealising girls as people who offered sympathy and sound advice. Boys also spoke positively about female teachers as counsellors and carers, comparing them favourably with male teachers whom they often felt discriminated against them.

Boys and most girls of all ages constructed boys as powerful, fun loving, possessors of girlfriends, providers of money, and helpers with academic work. Yet there is evidence that living up to these stereotypes of masculinity incurs major costs for some boys. For example, some boys complained of their parents having higher academic expectations of them than their sisters, and some resented parents and teachers for picking on them rather than girls because they assumed boys were mischievous and in need of greater discipline.

The construction of boys as powerful, as initiators and economic providers in heterosexual relationships, seemed to exacerbate the 'sugar daddy' phenomenon, for which girls themselves were often blamed for being 'materialistic' and 'loose'. Some male teachers were said to favour girls because they were sexually attracted to them, whereas female teachers were said to favour boys because they resented girls behaving in sexualised ways. Some girls reported being discriminated against by male teachers whose advances they had rejected.

One of the major findings of this study is how difficult it seems to be for many boys and girls to develop friendships, partly because of the assumption that if boys and girls mix much they are assumed to be having sexual relationships.

Most of the young people we interviewed maintained that parents and adults in general do not discuss sex and other reproductive issues with them, or provide them with information to empower them to make informed decisions and protect themselves from pregnancies, STDs or HIV infection.

According to some of our male respondents, older boys were having sex with girls as young as 10 or 11.

Most of the young people we interviewed know about HIV, its modes of transmission, and how it can be prevented. While many expressed anxieties about contracting HIV/AIDS, however, some appeared resigned to the risks of contracting it. It appears that boys are often encouraged to identify as hypersexual and to have multiple sexual partners, while girls are expected not to be explicitly sexual. Such expectations clearly make both boys and girls more vulnerable to contracting HIV/AIDS.

Interestingly, most of the messages and posters on the school walls regarding HIV/AIDS show adult figures – and therefore do not explicitly target an adolescent audience.



Part One: Recommendations

The findings of this study should be disseminated in accessible ways to adults such as teachers and parents, using illustrative examples from the interviews. They should be informed, in particular about the sexual cultures, identities and experiences of children. Workshops organised by NGOs such as UNICEF could be held at school to which parents and teachers are invited to reflect upon and to discuss the findings. For young people at school, the very rich accounts in the interviews we conducted could provide powerful stimuli for generating discussion in appropriate and relevant life skills and sexual health education (which we discuss below).

Life Skills and Sexual Health Education for all school going children

It is extremely worrying that the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe assumes that young people under 16 are either not having sex or not thinking or talking about sexuality. (This was the reason given for our researchers being refused permission to interview school children under 16.) In fact, our findings strongly suggest that girls and boys under 16 *are* having sex. For example, 16 year old boys from Porta Farm, as we saw, bragged and joked about having sexual relations with Grade 4 and 5 (aged 10-11) girls. And many girls spoke of other girls who had dropped out of school in earlier years because of getting pregnant. It was also clear that boyfriends, girlfriends and sexuality featured prominently in the lives of the young people we interviewed – even if only as negative reference points against which they defined themselves as ‘good’ or as ‘abstainers’. In



order to make sexual health education more relevant and effective, there is a clear need to broaden the reach of the life skills programme to a younger audience – if only as a preventive measure. Sexuality is clearly an important topic for young girls and boys and is central to the ways that they think about themselves and construct their identities, even if they are not yet sexually active.

Life skills and sexual health education should not make sex and sexuality the central issue (as is often the case in sex education), but rather focus on young people’s identities and cultures *in general*, while recognising sexuality as a key aspect of these. It is noteworthy that the questions our researchers put to young people were rarely specifically about sex and sexual relations, unless the young people themselves talked about this, but more about their identities and relations in general.

Life Skills for the Future

UNICEF, working with existing partners as well as the Ministries of Education, Sport & Culture and Health & Child Welfare, can assist in the process of helping to develop an appropriate life skills education programme to educate girls and boys about their sexuality and about practices that may facilitate the transmission of STDs and HIV/AIDS. In order to plan and implement such a programme, several vital areas must simultaneously be addressed:

- ◆ Life skills curricula materials should be developed that relate to and are informed by young people’s concerns, experiences, identities and desires relating to gender and sexuality. The researchers of this study can help to develop these, taking extracts from their interviews and developing exercises and activities around them that promote classroom discussion and critical self-reflection on gender and sexuality.
- ◆ Teachers should be trained not only in using these materials, but in relating to young people in ways that encourage them to be open about their concerns, feelings, desires and relationships. This study demonstrated how positively young people respond when friendly, non-judgmental adults address them as experts about themselves and their relationships.
- ◆ Teachers also need to be trained not to discriminate between girls and boys, whether this takes the form of ignoring or ridiculing girls as non-academic, treating them as objects of their desires, or picking on boys and beating them more frequently and forcefully than girls. Such forms of gender discrimination tend to impact negatively upon the identities of and relations between girls and boys. This would mean putting flesh on the bones of Principle 35 of the National AIDS Policy which states that “men and women should be accorded equal status with equal opportunity for education advancement in all spheres of life.”

- ◆ Indeed gender inequalities and power relations of the kind which were exemplified in many of the interviews we conducted, could be topics for reflection and discussion in life skills and sexual health education. In our interviews we found not only that boys tended to subordinate girls by talking about them as unfree, weak and inactive, but some of them also ‘performed’ in domineering ways in relation to girls – speaking loudly, bragging about their sexual prowess and sexualising girls and joking about their bodies. These gender relations, and the double sexual standards which underpin them, must be addressed in life skills and sexual health programmes.

UNICEF and other NGOs focusing on HIV/AIDS can also assist in other practical areas of life skills and HIV/AIDS education, such as:

- ◆ Facilitating the creation of partnerships with local authorities and communities for the purpose of training teachers and peer monitors to disseminate information on HIV/AIDS prevention, to encourage greater communication on HIV/AIDS, and to promote distance learning on HIV/AIDS for local schools.
- ◆ Engaging adolescents through peer education to develop strategies to promote their participation and decision-making in HIV/AIDS interventions, through eg. theatre productions, church group programmes, AIDS education through sport, youth friendly services at clinics, and peer counselling at youth centres.

Zimbabwe’s present life skills education programme makes very little effort to target boys or to encourage girls to discuss their sexual interests beyond seeing themselves as objects of sexual acts and targets of male desire. For boys, there is a greater need to emphasise care, respect, self-esteem, and a more democratic and gender balanced school culture. To begin this process, local government and school authorities should:

- ◆ Conduct an impact assessment of the current life skills education programme with particular reference to methods, content and materials;
- ◆ Define, revise and develop materials for use with different cohorts, including topics covering care, respect and self-esteem.

As stated earlier, life skills education should not focus exclusively on sexuality, but should address it as one issue for girls and boys as they forge their identities in relation to others, as well as instilling early behavioural responsibility in order to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS.

A More Inclusive Approach

Our study has taught us the importance of promoting single-sex discussions and learning opportunities in order to encourage girls to build the confidence to play a greater role in mixed group discussions on issues of gender and sexuality. Girls who prove to be confident in mixed discussions should also be encouraged to become peer educators for their female

classmates in discussion forums organised by schools and youth centres. Life skills and HIV/AIDS education programmes should also place greater emphasis on encouraging girls to talk openly and honestly about sexuality – without feeling that such openness reflects poorly on their character. Teachers should be encouraged to promote a combination of single-sex and mixed groups in order to provide an environment in which girls can discuss their desires and concerns openly with boys – and, in doing so, break down the gender polarised identities that we have so frequently encountered.

Teachers should also be trained to recognise – and avoid – the kinds of constructions and ‘positioning’ that boys commonly use to intimidate girls in the classroom and in group discussions. To promote genuinely gender sensitive life skills education, teachers must develop a deep understanding of how boys and girls identify and construct themselves in relation to each other, and in relation to them as adults. This includes how certain girls construct themselves as ‘good’ in relation to ‘bad’ girls and ‘modern’ in relation to ‘traditional’ girls, and how some boys construct themselves as ‘good’ in relation to ‘naughty’ boys. Although life skills education must not simply focus on these divisions between girls and boys – and risk reinforcing stereotypical constructions of femininity and masculinity – it is important that girls and boys recognise to what extent they embody or resist certain stereotypes.

It is important that life skills and AIDS education does not address boys as the common homogeneous enemy oppressing girls, because the effect of this is to alienate boys and reproduce misogynistic attitudes (see Redman, 1996). Rather, it should aim to ‘tease out’ differences between boys and encourage boys to reflect on the problems they experience in trying to inhabit popular masculine, gender polarised identities, eg. being expected to be mischievous and fun loving, being disciplined more by adults, or being expected to do better academically than girls. It should address boys not as naturally or essentially hard and aggressive compared to girls, but encourage them to reflect upon their anxieties and fears about girls asserting themselves in relation to them. (It seems likely that these were at the basis of the anger boys expressed against the ‘Salad’ girls, and their apparent desire to use violence to control and discipline girls.) The idealisation of girls by boys suggests that boys can be encouraged to take on less oppressive, gender polarised identities and positions by appealing to their self-interest – their sense of frustration with popular ways of being boys.

It is important that boys and girls are not addressed as unitary, static, essential selves, but as people who are negotiating their identities and constructing themselves in different ways in different social contexts and in relation to different types of people. HIV/AIDS education needs to encourage young people to reflect upon these multiple identities, their investments in them and possible contradictions between them. For example, how and why girls can write a great deal about their boyfriends in diaries, while presenting boyfriends so negatively in group interviews.

Questions about the possibilities of boy-girl friendships, what forms these can take, how similar they can be to same-sex friendships, need to be given much greater prominence in life skills and HIV/AIDS education. Such relationships are only possible if boys and girls become less invested in constructing their identities in opposition to each other, and placing this on the agenda of life skills education may help to facilitate this. In focusing upon the possibilities of friendships between girls and boys, we are not advocating that HIV/AIDS and life skills education should adopt a moralistic line and discourage boyfriend-girlfriend relations, or relations between boys and girls mediated by sexual desire. Rather it should aim to encourage young people to consider as possibilities: 1) relating closely to people of the opposite sex as friends and not *just as* girlfriends; and 2) constructing more equal, less gender polarised relations with girlfriends/boyfriends.

One of the aims of life skills and HIV/AIDS education must be to encourage empathy, with people of the opposite sex, rather thinking about and relating to them as stereotypical opposites. For example, boys need to know about girls' desires and their concerns about expressing these for fear of being labelled in derogatory ways. And girls need to know about the kind of pressures many boys experience as a result of being expected to be tough, clever, hedonistic and sexually precocious.

Our findings indicate that boys and girls are constantly situating themselves in relation to others by drawing on versions of tradition and modernity. It is important that HIV/AIDS and life skills education addresses the traditional-modern axis, but in a young person centred rather than a didactic way. By this we mean focusing upon how young people themselves define tradition and modernity, and the significance they attach to these polarities when constructing their own or others' identities – rather than the teachers deciding in advance what counts as traditional and modern, as if these terms simply describe existing practices and lifestyles. We saw how modernity and tradition were invoked by young men to assert their superiority over girls. While being young person centred and therefore addressing how young people are constructing versions of modernity and tradition, one of the challenges of HIV/AIDS education must be to encourage young people themselves not to reify modernity and tradition, but to reflect upon the ways they construct these and their identities in relation to them. One way of facilitating this might be to point to contradictions in the ways that boys in particular construct and evaluate modernity and tradition when they position themselves in relation to their parents and in relation to urban girls, 'Salad' girls and other assertive girls.

Many of the girls and some of the boys we interviewed insisted upon abstinence as an ideal rather than a practical reality. There is a need, however, to be cognisant of Shapiro's caution that, although abstinence can be presented 'as a desirable alternative in any sex education programme,' such a programme should also prepare adolescents to make informed decisions to protect themselves against pregnancy and STDs and become aware of potential consequences of sexual activity.¹

Involvement of NGOs with out of school children

Although there was limited participation by NGOs focusing on HIV/AIDS in the research sites, it is clear that they have a vital role to play in reaching areas in which the Government is constrained. More NGOs should be active in the area of HIV/AIDS information dissemination, especially with out-of-school children and young people.

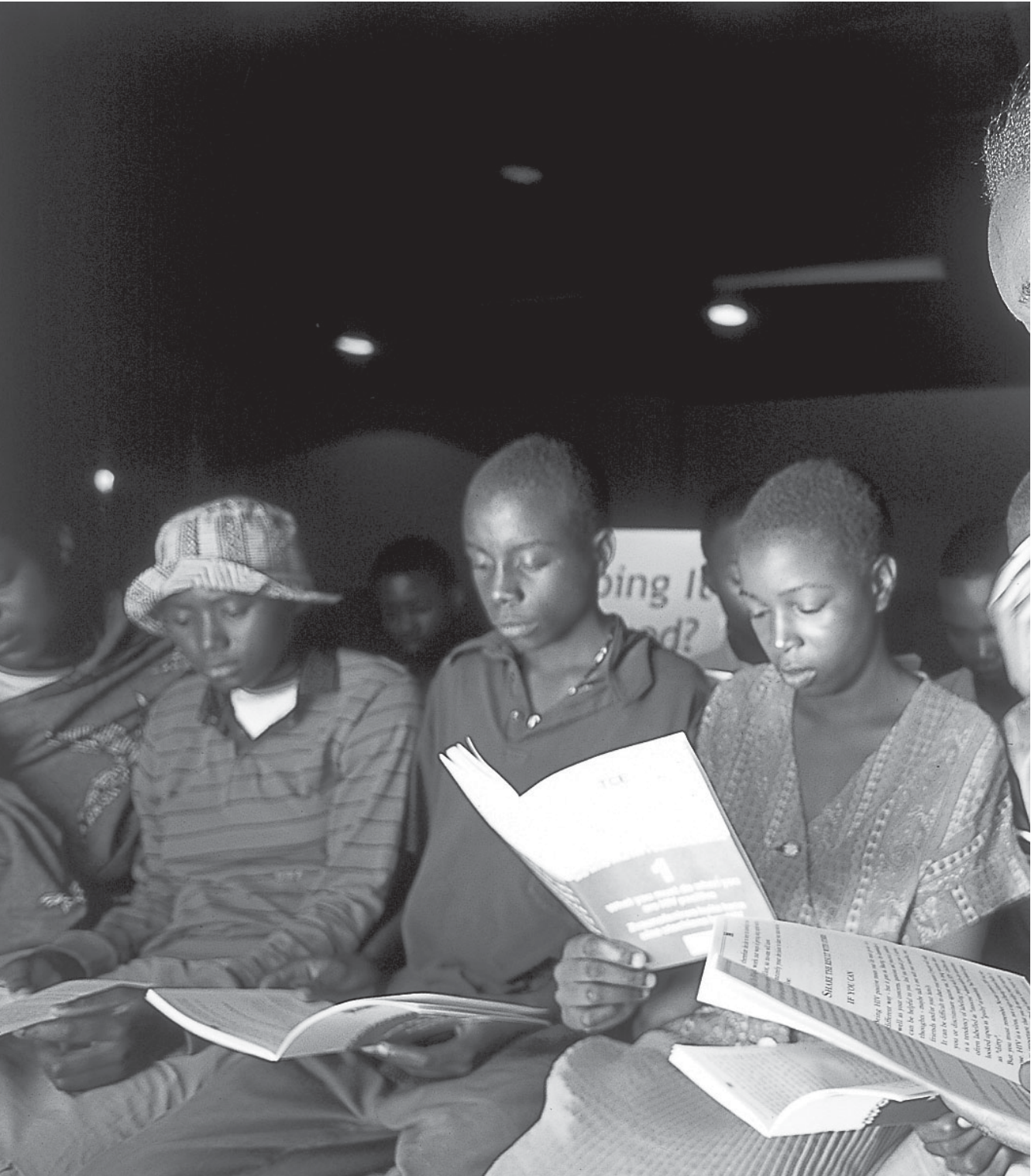
Some out-of-school interviewees mentioned that NGOs had visited them, conducted workshops and then disappeared. The need to build the capacity of local NGOs to carry out more practical, long-term AIDS awareness initiatives is essential, together with a more conducive policy process grounded in the local community.

Networking and Further Research

The authors of this study also recommend that UNICEF play a greater role, in collaboration with the National AIDS Council, in building networks with youth and other organisations (see Appendix II) to tackle AIDS issues and break the silence that surrounds the disease in Zimbabwe. In particular, interventions should be launched to work with the guardians and families of AIDS orphans to provide them with food security, clothes and education (including school fees).

Following this study, it is also recommended that UNICEF and its researchers could initiate or assist research into other vital areas in which reliable information is lacking, including norms and expectations of adolescent behaviour and their influence on the spread of HIV/AIDS, and unwanted pregnancies among Zimbabwean teenagers.

¹ Shapiro, C.H. (1981): Adolescent Pregnancy Prevention: School Community Cooperation.



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R EDUCATO

Be Responsible

Informed Decision

and avoid
pregnancy

Annex 1: Interview Themes and Questions

Interview Themes

Although all the themes outlined in the following section are important, they do not necessarily exist as disparate subjects, and will often be addressed simultaneously. For example, discussing sex is likely to involve discussing relations with the opposite sex, but may also involve discussing emotions, relations with adults, or relations with people of the same sex. While there are certain key themes that researchers should aim to cover in all interviews on sexuality and HIV/AIDS, so that comparisons can be made between them, every effort should be made to keep the interviews informal and interviewee-centred – with the interviewee/s themselves setting the agenda, and the interviewer picking up on pertinent issues that are raised. It may be that in one interview a lot of time will be devoted to relationships with adults, as this is a key theme for the interviewee, while in a second, the interviewee will want to talk about relationships with other boys and bullying. In both cases, however, the interviewer should try to make sure that all the themes are touched upon.

Interview Questions

We would like to cover all of the following areas, although the questions listed are only examples:

Introduction

Name, age, parents' or guardians' occupations.



Self-definition

Could you tell me three things about yourself which would help me get to know you?
 Could you define a boy/girl? If you could change sex for a day, would you be happy or sad? Why? What do you think it would be like?

Relations with and attitudes to contemporaries of the same sex

(x = people of the same sex)

What kind of x do you go around with? Why? What do you like about them? What do you do with them? Are there different kinds of x? If so, how would you describe them? How do you get on with them? What do you think of them? Are some x particularly popular? How do they become popular? What do you think of them? What about you? How popular are you? Why?

Relations with and attitudes to contemporaries of the opposite sex

(y = people of the opposite sex)

Do you mix much with y? Why/why not? What is it like? Is it different being with y than being with x? If so how – give examples. Do you have y as friends? What is it like? If not, why not? Is it different having y friends than x friends? Do you do different things/talk about different things? If so, what? Are there different kinds of y? What kinds of y do you like and why? What kinds of y are popular or unpopular with x? Do you have a boyfriend/girlfriend? If not, do you imagine having one in the future? Why/why not? What do you like or dislike about having one? Could you imagine going without one? Is it different having a girlfriend /boyfriend than a girl or boy who is a friend? If so, how? Are boys and girls similar or different? If different, in what ways?

Relations with and attitudes to adults: parents, guardians, teachers, etc.

How do you get on with your parents or guardians? Do you do different or similar things with your mum and dad? Do you talk about different or similar things? Give some examples and illustrations. Do you ever get into arguments with them? If so, about what? Can you talk to your mother or father about things you can't talk to your friends about, and if so what? How about vice versa? What kind of teachers do you most like? What kind of teachers do you least like? Why? Can you give examples of what teachers do who you like and who you dislike? Are there differences between men and women teachers or are they similar? Do you think boys and girls are treated differently or the same in class? If differently, how? What do you think about this? Do you think boys or girls are picked upon by teachers? Are boys and girls expected to do different things in class? If so, what? What do you feel about this? How do you personally get on with your teachers?

Brothers and sisters

Do you have any brothers and sisters? Are they older or younger than you? How do you get on with them? Do they do similar things in the home as you? Are you treated differently or the same by your parents? If differently, why do you think this is and what do you feel about it?

Leisure time

What do you do in your spare time? What do you like about these activities? Do you do them with other people? If so, who – girls or boys?

Popular media

What TV programmes, radio programmes, comics, books, movies, if any, do you like? What do you particularly like about them?

Role models

Is there anyone in particular who you look up to or would like to be like? (This could be anyone – a movie star, a sports star, a member of the interviewee's family.) Why do you look up to this person? What do you admire about them?

Emotions

Could you tell me about a time when you felt really happy about something? Could you tell me about a time when you felt sad? Did people know how you felt – your friends, parents, girls and boys?

Sex and sexuality

Do some people of your age have boyfriends or girlfriends? Do you? What is it like having a boyfriend/girlfriend? What do you like/dislike about having one? Is it different to having boys or girls as friends? If so, how? What do you do with your boyfriend/girlfriend? Would you like to have a boyfriend/girlfriend? Why/why not? Do you imagine having a boyfriend/girlfriend in the future? Why/why not? What kinds of boyfriends do you think girls look for? What kind of girlfriends do you think boys look for? What would your ideal boyfriend/girlfriend be like? Do some people of your age have sex? What do you think about this? Have you ever had sex? If so, with whom – older, younger, boyfriend, girlfriend, neither?

HIV/AIDS

Tell me about what you and your friends think about AIDS? How do you feel about it? Are you worried that you might get it now or one day in the future? Do you know anyone who has it? Do different people think about it differently? Do you think some people are to blame for the spread of AIDS? Can anything be done to stop it from spreading?

Modernity and tradition

Do you think some people are traditional and others are modern? If so, how would you describe them? How would you describe yourself? Why? Are some girls more modern and others more traditional? What do you think of them? Which ones do you go around with? What about your parents and grandparents? What kinds of clothes do you and your friends wear? Why? Do you wear different kinds of clothes at different times?

Future projections

Tell me about what you imagine yourself to be like and to be doing when you grow up or when you leave school? What would you like to be and to be doing? Why?

Race, ethnicity and religion

What race would you describe yourself as and what ethnic group do you come from? Do you mix with girls and boys from different races or ethnic groups? If so, which ones? Is it different or similar mixing with them than with boys and girls from the same race/ethnic group? Have you had or would you think of having a boyfriend/girlfriend from a different ethnic group or race?

Annex 2: HIV/AIDS Organisations Serving Young People in Zimbabwe

Source: UNAIDS, 1999

ORGANISATION	LOCATION	TARGET	INTERVENTION METHODS
CHURCH BASED			
Seventh Day Adventists	Harare, Bulawayo, Masvingo, Gweru and Mutare	Male and female in and out-of-school	Peer education, drama, posters, lectures
United Methodist	As above	As above	As above
Scripture Union	"	"	"
Bettiseda Apostolic	"	"	"
Salvation Army	"	"	"
Jesuit Aids Program	"	"	"
COUNTRY BASED			
Zimbabwe Arts Council Trust (ZACT)	All major cities	Male and female in and out-of-school	
Zimbabwe Red Cross Society	As above	As above	
Youth in Touch	Harare	As above	
Midlands Aids Support Org.	Gweru	Male/female in school	
Matabeleland Aids Council	Bulawayo	Male /female out-of-school	
Fact Mutare	Mutare	Male/female in/out-of-school	
AIDS Counselling Trust	Harare	Male/female out-of-school	
Together as one	Harare	Male/female Male/female	

Batsirai	Chinhoyi	As above	As above
GOVERNMENT BASED			
Zimbabwe National Family Planning Council	Harare, Gweru, Mutare	Male/Female in and out-of-school	Drama, posters, condoms, lectures, workshops
Provincial Medical Director	Marondera, Kwekwe, Bulawayo	Male/female in and out-of-school	As above
City Municipality	All municipalities	As above	As above
National Aids Council	In Harare, with structures in all districts	Male/female in/out-of-school (Overall responsibility to manage the govt. response to the AIDS pandemic.)	As above