

**GENDER BIASES IN THE LANGUAGE AND
CAPTIONS OF ANTI-AIDS POSTERS: THE CASE
OF ZAMBIA'S ANTI-AIDS CAMPAIGN**

BY

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LUSAKA**

2005



DEDICATION

To my father, my late mother, my sons Gomezgani and Mordicaih , my daughters Wezi and Chairty.


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DECLARATION

I, Collins Y. Kamanga, declare that this dissertation:

- (a) Represents my work;
- (b) Has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any University; and
- (c) Does not incorporate any published work or material from another dissertation.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Collins Y. Kamanga', with a small flourish at the end.

APPROVAL

This dissertation of COLLINS Y. KAMANGA is approved as fulfilling the requirement for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science by the University Zambia.

Signed:

M. N. Chakrabarti

Date:

June 7, 2005

ABSTRACT

This study examined whether or not gender biases existed in the anti-AIDS posters and their accompanying captions in Lusaka, Zambia. The exercise was undertaken to test the proposition that there were gender biases ___ whether against men or against women, or in favour of men or in favour of women ___ in the design of messages these posters and captions were intended to convey and that these biases either distorted the intended messages or facilitated the understanding of these messages.

The corpus was obtained by administering a questionnaire which had questions based on a core of sampled posters and their accompanying captions. Raw figures, percentages, tables and bar graphs have been used to show the presence and proportion of these biases.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. A.A. | Anti-AIDS |
| 2. A.A.C. | Anti-AIDS Campaign |
| 3. A.A.L. | Anti-AIDS Languages |
| 4. A.A.L.C. | Anti-AIDS Language Campaign |
| 5. A.G. | Age Group |
| 6. A.I.D.S | Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome |
| 7. A.R.C. | AIDS-Related Cases |
| 8. B.A.M. | Biased Against Men |
| 9. B.A.W. | Biased Against Women |
| 10. D.K. | Don't Know |
| 11. E.L. | Educational Level |
| 12. E.M.S. | Extra-Marital Sex |
| 13. G.N. | Gender-Neutral |
| 14. M.O.H.-N.A.P.C.P. | Ministry of Health-National AIDS Prevention and Control Programme |
| 15. N.G.O. | Non-Governmental Organisation(s) |
| 16. P.M.S. | Pre-Marital Sex |
| 17. S.T.D. | Sexually Transmitted Disease(s) |

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0. General

From about 1985 to the late 1990s, anti-AIDS posters were quite a common sight in Zambia's public places such as health centres, transport terminals, libraries and recreation place. What was not clear, however, was whether these posters and their accompanying captions effectively communicated the right message to the intended audience, what the "right message" was supposed to be and whether people took this message seriously. This was in view of the fact that the anti-AIDS campaign (A.A.C.) seemed not to impact on society, specifically not to change sexual behaviour, because evidence seemed to suggest H.I.V. continued to infect large numbers of people.

The problem raised by the foregoing were only part of a protracted, multidimensional, evershifting and inevitable controversy about A.I.D.S.: its origins, how it is transmitted and most importantly which gender was perceived to be more responsible for its spread. This controversy was inevitable and understandable in the sense that in any community the prevalence of predominantly sexually transmitted diseases, or phenomenon like A.I.D.S, has serious moral implications in that it does not only suggest but also points to moral decadence. Naturally, no society or part thereof would like to be openly associated with immorality. That, perhaps, was the reason why various social groups at various levels made concerted efforts to shift blame or responsibility on to others. This scapegoating or "denial syndrome" took many forms.

One such form was racism. For example, when the H.I.V. was first identified in 1981, whites advanced theories that traced A.I.D.S. origins to Black Africa. For instance, Dr. Myron Essex of Harvard University claimed that the virus originated in African green monkey species in the D.R Congo – Rwanda – Burundi region.

According to him, the virus later spread to humans because “these monkeys hang around settlements, scavenging for food, biting and fighting people”. (Newsweek Magazine, April 29, 1985:24). Earlier, Dr Jane Teas, also of Harvard University, is reported to have claimed in a medical journal that “in 1979, shortly after the first A.I.D.S. cases appeared in Hawaii, scientists also confirmed the appearance on this island of African swine fever virus-infected in pigs” (Newsweek May 16, 1993:32). Her theory was that a Hawaiian who ate virus-infected pork transmitted the virus to visiting American homosexuals. While Drs Essex’s and Teas’ theories both have racial undertones, the latter has some additional connotation: accusing foreigners and a particular social group (homosexuals) for a sexually transmitted diseases. We shall say more about this later.

In 1987, it was claimed that “the real A.I.D.S. crisis was in Africa where there were astounding levels of promiscuity and where there were more than five million seropositives against America’s one and a half million. (Newsweek, July 13, 1987:28). Amsterdam on the other hand, “a city of exceptional sexual permissiveness, where prostitutes sway naked in windows at lunch time, had only 218 cases (Newsweek, August 10, 1987:36). Africans, including Heads of State, replied with a barrage of denials and counter-accusations (Sunday Times of Zambia December 2, 1986; The African, April, 1987; National Mirror, December 8-22, 1989).

Sometimes the controversy assumed socio-economic dimensions. In the West, heterosexuals blamed bisexual-homosexuals for serving as H.I.V. “conduits” to heterosexual partners (Time Magazine September 2, 1995:34; Newsweek July 3, 1987:14). This was probably why whites raised eyebrows when Rock Hudson’s ailment was diagnosed as A.I.D.S. in 1985. They could not believe that such a revered screen star had lived a homosexual life which, in their eyes, was dirtier, riskier and less permissible than heterosexual promiscuity (Newsweek August 5, 1985:16). In December, 1992, “Magic”Johnson, a basketball idol, elicited a

similar reaction from Americans when he publicly declared his seropositivity. The reasons why America was shocked were the same as those that applied to Hudson.

At the local level, the socio-economic dimension of the controversy involved married and unmarried women with the former labeling the latter as “prostitutes” or “husband snatchers”. Then there were the “sex workers” who were blamed by the whole society for spreading A.I.D.S. while the “sex workers” contended that illicit sex was not a monopoly of unmarried women alone. Those who could not afford a trip abroad apportioned blame on those who traveled overseas for “importing the virus into Zambia”. This attitude, of course, assumed that H.I.V. origins were somewhere else, except Zambia.

This brings us to the phenomenon of “foreign bashing” i.e. accusing foreigners for sexually transmitted diseases (S.T.Ds). For example, in the 15th and 16th centuries, the English called syphilis “French pox” while the French called it the “diseases from Naples”. In Italy, the ailment was called the “French disease”. In Poland the Poles termed it the “German disease” while in Tahiti it was nicknamed the “English disases”, (New Scientist, December 21-28, 1991:55). Nearer home, Malawians and Zimbabweans believe A.I.D.S. is more prevalent in Zambia than in their own countries, though, as this study’s findings will seek to show, the realities confirm the exact opposite.

Finally and most importantly to this study, the A.I.D.S. controversy also assumed gender dimensions where wives blamed husbands for “inviting the virus home”. Men, as a gender, believed otherwise. They blamed females for spreading A.I.D.S. because, according to them, women are the moral guardians of Zambian traditional society, contending that male polygamy and promiscuity are traditionally socially permissible. In fact, in Zambia and in Lusaka in particular, where this study took place, this controversy boiled down to a seemingly simple question: between males and females, who are more responsible for spreading H.I.V.-A.I.D.S.?

Given this background, it was perhaps not surprising that even the Anti-AIDS language campaign was fraught with a great deal of controversy. Some sections of the Zambian community felt and complained that the posters and their captions were not merely warning the gender, thereby depicting it as being more responsible for spreading A.I.D.S. In a nutshell the complaint was that there was gender bias in the design of these poster-messages.

Regarding posters 2 and 24, for example, the complaint was that sexism was all too evident. In poster 2 sexism is shown by depicting the woman as promiscuous while poster 24 does so by its caption. In both cases the message seemed to be "Men, beware" Women have A.I.D.S". This is as if H.I.V. infection is only from women to men and not vice versa as well. The speaker on the poster failed to educate society regarding how to identify a male seropositive most probably because he himself was a man.

The point here is that the two posters illustrated what was interpreted during the study as anti-female gender biases. There were reasons why members of one gender were depicted as sexual villains, all out to seduce members of the opposite gender in this Anti-AIDS Language Campaign message design. One category of reasons could be placed, in modern jargon, under the term "gender bias". There was more to this, however, than the term covers. Other reasons included entrenched traditional beliefs, not just about sex but about men, "standard" traditional society, and attitudes about male female promiscuity, all of which are dealt with in detail in the findings of the main survey.

Finally, a word about language and communication. In this study, language does not just refer to the written word but also to its symbolic function. Ogden and Richmon (1993:23) define symbols as those signs people use to communicate with each other. In this case, therefore, language and communication are

inseparable (Lyons, 1977:3). Our symbols of communication in this study were posters and their accompanying captions.

1.1. Literature Review

This study examined the anti-AIDS posters used in Zambia from 1985, when the first ones were printed, to 1994 when interview or fieldwork was concluded. Because it explored the practical application of language in society, its approach falls within the framework of Sociolinguistics. The focus on cartoons should, therefore, not be interpreted as an attempt to deviate into semiotics, which is the general study of sign systems and study of meaning (Halliday and Hassan, 1989:3).

The difference between semiotics and this study is that while the former deals with meaning and, therefore, falls under semantics, which is classified under formal linguistics whose concern is analysis of language as a structure, that is, examining meanings, units and so on, the latter is concerned with actual practical application of language to solving human problems in society. For this reason, the literature review was restricted to matters related to how people have used language to label others in the past (e.g. "prostitute"). This was important because it helped to trace the history of gender bias in language. It also served as a link between past and current forms of gender biases in language. In this study gender biases referred to biases against either male or female. At this stage we should, perhaps, consider the relationship between language and attitudes of people because this will clarify why we believe that human beings use language to manipulate attitudes.

People living together in social group share a number of experiences. These are then passed on to the young in the same way language is learned. One of the experiences such members of a community share is a range of attitudes towards things (Fishman 1968). In the context of this study, such a thing is A.I.D.S. Language is a vehicle of a people's culture is also the vehicle by which human

experiences, of which attitude is one, are learnt (Siachitema, 1986:193). As a human experience, attitudes are learnt and expressed through language. The two are therefore directly related.

If we were to succeed in changing people's attitudes, manipulating and programming their thinking, we would have to do this through "language which is the carrier of a people's culture and on which all social institutions depend in order to function" (Hertzer, 1965).

For a long time, language has been used to label people. For example, "Language and gender" is one area that has looked at such uses. As a field of study, it came about out of a quest by sociologists to solve pertinent problems, such as the role language plays in the social categorization of its users and the extent to which language use is reflective of the social structure and cultural values of inequality and oppression.

For example, some people may argue that the Anti-AIDS posters in Zambia reflect what Zambian society thinks about women, men and sex: that is, what others see or term as bias against women or men is what society views as reality or as norm. "Language and gender" has been approached from many angles by different researchers. One such method is associated with gender-related norms of who should and who should not utter which expressions and in what context. Another method lays emphasis on how gender influences the actual choice of diction. It has also been claimed that one gender uses more of certain language features than the other.

For example, Lackoff (1975) claims that American women use more question-tags and question intonation on declaratives than their male counterparts, signifying that they are less assertive than men. Stanley (1973) and Spender (1980) have taken issue with the whole corpus of the English language. Spender questions the existence of so many words in this language expressing negativity

about women without equivalents for men. "Prostitute" is a good example. Even words which designate the same conditions and state for men and women but which when used in reference to men serve as compliments have additional derogatory meaning for women.

For example, "king" denotes respect or virtue with regard to men. "Queen," however, has retained original meaning, "Mistress" has sexual and immoral connotations. "Professional" will not mean exactly the same if the referent is a woman as against a man.

Finally, language and gender have been treated from a discourse analysis point of view. Fishman (1968), Hrishman (1973) Omit Martz (1988) and Was and Zimmerman (1983) have tackled it from a male-female relationship in terms of who dominates the conversation and who has a greater tendency to interrupt the one than the other.

1.2. Statement of the Problem: The Study

A.I.D.S. as a socio-economic problem has affected a vast number of people. As a medical phenomenon, on the other hand, the H.I.V. virus has infected more than one million Zambians (Ministry of Health National Prevention and Control Programme 1983:16). This is despite concerted efforts by Government and Non-governmental Organisations to stem the spread of the deadly epidemic by various and numerous types of anti-A.I.D.S. awareness campaign programmes. Despite all these anti-A.I.D.S. and A.I.D.S. awareness efforts and undertakings, statistics so far suggested that attempts to stem the spread of the pandemic have had very minimal effect because available evidence from the source quoted above confirms that the virus continues to infect large numbers of people.

The foregoing state of affairs has been attributed to people's unwillingness or outright refusal to change their sexual behaviour (M.O.H.-N.A.C.P. 1993:18). To such people sex appears to be a much stronger drive than the desire to live. This

study was conceived to investigate a different probable explanation – namely, that the various media employed to transmit anti-A.I.D.S. messages could be inappropriate or faulty in the sense that they might not be transmitting the right or intended messages to people, or alternatively that the media distort the information they seek to convey. This study intends to explore or investigate the role of one particular aspect of the media: poster and their accompanying captions. It seeks to find out whether the message as encoded by the designers of the posters is received by the target groups as assumed or expected by the transmitter of the messages.

1.3. Rationale

On 1st December every year Zambia joins the rest of the world in commemorating the World A.I.D.S. Day. Yearly around this time galling H.I.V./A.I.D.S. figures are tabulated and the ever-increasing numbers of A.I.D.S.-orphaned children are indicated. Eerie A.I.D.S. documentaries are screened worldwide. Tactics to fight the deadly virus and attitudes towards it are reviewed and sensitivity to human suffering is relentlessly rekindled.

This concern is justified because, according to Michael Merson, who was then Director of the World Health Organization's A.I.D.S. programme, by A.D 2000 A.I.D.S. cases will increase from 1.5. million to 18 million while seropositives will have more than quadrupled from 11 to 40 million. Sub-Saharan Africa will have more than ten million A.I.D.S. orphaned children half of whom will be born H.I.V. positive. According to Merson, by 1999, 80 percent of urban bed space in countries like Zambia was occupied by A.I.D.S. related cases (A.R.C.s). Zambia cannot therefore wait for a cure before taking drastic corrective measures to curb the spread of the epidemic whose consequences are actually already quite dire. As a nation, Zambia is compelled to mobilize the necessary available resources to educate the public about A.I.D.S. regarding its latent dangers and how the epidemic can be contained. One such readily available, least expensive but indispensable resource is language – especially its symbolic aspect.

This study is meant to contribute to the anti-A.I.D.S. campaign by enhancing poster-caption design and interpretation efficiency in order to augment national development. Das Gupta and Gumperz (1968:15) and Bamgbose (1973:1) say that Fishman, A.J.; Fegurson, C.A.; and Jyotirinda Das Gupta (1968), Gumperez, J.J. (1988) and Bamgbose (1973) say that language has a role to play in national development although it is unfortunate that this development is almost always measured in narrow economic growth terms only. Development must be measured in terms of the overall well-being of a people. For instance, in this particular case, if language can be successfully used to change people's sexual attitudes to avoid A.I.D.S. and untimely, avoidable death, development can be said to have taken place. Failure to properly design, communicate or interpret crucial anti-A.I.D.S. messages can make a difference between life and death. The rationale for this survey was, therefore, to promote communication efficiency using language which Fasold (1984), believes "is a medium through which society is manipulated, conditioned and above all influenced".

1.4. Statement of Objectives

The general objective of this study was to investigate how society uses language to influence, condition and manipulate people's thinking and attitudes concerning practical issues, in this case, the issue of A.I.D.S. and sexual behaviour. The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To find out if there were any gender biases against either sex in the language of the anti-A.I.D.S. campaign (i.e., posters and their captions).
2. To determine whether the anti-A.I.D.S. language communicates the right message to the targeted groups.

Statement of Hypotheses

The Study postulated the following hypotheses:

- 1. That there was gender bias in the posters and captions of the anti-AIDS campaign in Zambia.*

2. That because of gender biases in the design of most of the anti-A.I.D.S. posters and their captions the right message was not being communicated to the people.

1.5. Methodology

1.6.1. Introductory Remarks

The discussion on Methodology in the present study's paradigm encompasses the following aspects:

- Methodology for data collection
- Methodology for data analysis
- Theoretical Framework used in the Study
- Questionnaire Design
- Location of the Study
- Subjects or respondents and their biodata

1.6.2. Methodology For Data Collection

This study employed the random sampling technique using written questionnaires to collect data. The present researcher administered the questionnaires personally or all the subjects involved in the survey. The questionnaires are described below under Questionnaire Design (1.8) while actual interview procedural details are explained under "Fieldwork" in the next chapter. However, before we describe these details, let us consider the processes and materials that built up the methodology and facilitated fieldwork which is described in detail at 2.0.

In this study data collection involved four processes. The first stage involved sampling of the posters to be examined in the survey in order to reduce them to a required core sample. Thirty subjects, ten from each of the townships where the

study was conducted, constituted the sampling. Opinions of these subjects were used to determine which posters were deemed biased against men or women or were gender neutral. The rationale for choosing subjects from these neighbourhoods was that the study sought to investigate attitudes of people living in these areas.

The second phase dealt with determining what constituted the "right message" in each poster and caption. This was done because it was important to measure or determine whether the "right message" had been communicated in the first place. Determining the "right message" proved problematic for two reasons. First, it required the researcher to interview all the artists involved in the designing of the posters. This was impossible because it presupposed the availability of backup resources to enable the researcher to travel to Lundazi, Mansa, Kasama, Livingstone and Kitwe where some of the posters had been painted. Second, co-producers of certain posters, when interviewed separately, gave different interpretations from those given by the group or other co-producers. The "right message," therefore, became difficult to decipher or pinpoint.

Both dilemmas were resolved at Kara Counselling Trust where the researcher attended an anti-A.I.D.S. counseling workshop. Ten subjects, five from each gender with college education, were given the posters and asked what message they thought they conveyed. The answers were unanimous. The few differences between them were due mainly to etymology and the fact that some respondents gave more than one "right message" to some posters. There were no differences with regard to interpretation and substance.

The third phase involved the administration of questionnaire I in order to locate prospective subjects and to elicit data for the final questionnaire, II, for the actual survey. Administration of questionnaire II was the final stage. Because the study had so many phases and the final instrument had three sections, it has been considered necessary to explain some of the exact procedures followed under

2. That because of gender biases in the design of most of the anti-A.I.D.S. posters and their captions the right message was not being communicated *to the people.*

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each stage. This will be done after we have dealt with “Methodology for Data Analysis” and “Theoretical Framework”.

1.6.3. Methodology for Data Analysis

In order to show the presence or absence of gender biases that this piece of work was set out to prove or disprove, the current study used raw figures, percentages, tables and bar graphs. The justification for this choice was twofold.

Firstly, the way the data mentioned above are presented did not warrant a rigorous scientific and statistical treatment at all. It is easy to see what the data are meant to show even without the statistical aspect.

Secondly, the orientation of the study i.e. concerned with issues that traditionally come under the umbrella of Humanities allows for the analysis of data to be done the way it has been dealt with.

1.6.4. Theoretical Framework

As a field study, Sociolinguistics developed as a bridge between Sociology and Linguistics. This is where the concerns of sociologists, who are interested in the use of language in the social context, meet those of linguists interested in human behaviour exhibited through language.

Being an inter-disciplinary field, Sociolinguistics employs three major approaches. These are anthropological (what Dell Hymes calls Ethnography of Speaking), sociological (also called sociology of language) and socio-psychological. The first approach as propounded by Dell Hymes (1962) concerns itself with the use of language in the conduct of social life. Studies here emphasise small group interaction, also called micro-Sociolinguistics. Language and local systems of knowledge of grammar of the language occupy a central

place in this approach. "Language and Culture" is the umbrella title under which language is investigated in this paradigm.

The sociological approach as developed by Fishman deals with large-scale social systems or macro Sociolinguistics. Relation between language and whole societies replace small-group verbal interactions used in macro-Sociolinguistics. Bernsterin's (1965 and 1966) linguistic performance of middle and working class children represent the best example that has employed this approach. The main sub-areas here include who speaks what to whom and on what occasion, bilingualism, diglossia, language shift and maintenance, language planning and standardization, language and gender etc. The last approach, namely, the socio-psychological approach deals with areas of value, language and identity, attitude etc.

The three methodological approaches employed to collect data, namely, the survey method, the participant observer method and the integrated approach are related to the three approaches outlined above. The survey method is related to the sociological approach while the participant observer method is associated with the ethnographic studies of language. This integrated approach is based on the advantages of the survey and participant observer methods.

The first method relied on questionnaires (with either open-ended or closed questions), structured interviews and self-reporting diaries kept by informers. The advantage of this method is that it allows researchers to cover large samples so that the results are fairly representative of the community under investigation. However, it also has weaknesses. First, the large samples it requires may result in superficial research. Secondly, the presence of a strange interviewer might inhibit and even impede spontaneous linguistic behaviour by removing the natural atmosphere. Subjects will, as a result, act in the way they think the researcher expects them to. The study may therefore end up with unauthentic findings which

will obviously lead to wrong conclusions. The next method is different in many ways.

Under the participant observer approach, the researcher is required to become a member of the community he or she is studying in order to make on-the-spot observation. Because it concentrates on small samples as demanded by anthropology, it best suits micro Sociolinguistics. It has two advantages. First, because it relied on small samples, it allows for greater depth of research than the first method. Second, it set the research in a natural environment. However, it has its own share of shortcomings. For example, the very fact that it relies on small groups casts some doubt on how representative this time-consuming method is of the whole community. Finally, the precondition that the researcher becomes a member of the community he or she is studying exposes him or her to influences that may affect objectivity.

The present study employed the Integrated Approach. The researcher not only used the survey method but was also a field participant observer. We will now consider the construction of the actual instruments that were used in the study.

1.6.5. Material for Questionnaire Construction

According to the Ministry of Health Specialist Headquarters sources at Springbock House, there were at least 25 locally printed posters in circulation in Lusaka by December 1991. The present researcher managed to obtain 24 of these as well as one printed in South Africa. After sampling, which is discussed at 2.1., there were reduced to fifteen.

1.6.6. Questionnaire Design

The study employed two sets of questionnaires: one for the preliminary survey – which also served as the pilot to questionnaire – and the final one for the actual survey. Both questionnaires had three sections, i.e. A, B and C.

1.6.6.1. The Preliminary Survey Questionnaire

This was also called Questionnaire I. Its section 'A' sought to elicit respondents' biodata such as gender, age, educational level (E.L.) and residential area. This information enabled the researcher to locate and select prospective respondents and to categorise them and their responses. Because the actual survey was restricted to three age groups (1.8), this section was administered to a large number of respondents and the process continued until each township achieved the required numbers according to age and gender. In other words, at this stage this section was administered separately for the sole purpose of locating respondents. This is why discussion of data begins with section "B" because there was no data worth any discussion here.

Section 'B' was designed to elicit responses that served as material for framing multiple choice questions in the final questionnaire, also called Questionnaire II. The final section 'C' was meant to test the respondents' understanding of questions asked. It was included here because the preliminary survey also served to test the appropriateness of the questionnaires. Since this stage was a pilot stage, sections 'B' and 'C' were administered only a quarter of the total core sample of each township. Therefore, Old Kalingalinga, Libala and Roma provide thirty, twenty-two and ten respondents respectively.

1.6.6.2. Final Questionnaire

This was a product of the Preliminary Survey whose questionnaire has been described above. It also consisted of sections "A", "B" and "C". Section A is as describe above except that at this stage one was dealing with sampled subjects already categorized. Section 'B' was designed to achieve the first objective, i.e. to find out if the anti-A.I.D.S. campaign language was loaded with male or female biases. This part had multiple choice questions with "Bias Against Men" (B.A.M.), "Bias Against Women" (B.A.W.), "Gender Neutral" (G.N.) and "Don't Know" (D.K.). How these were arrived at is discussed at 2.1.3. The final section (C) which had open-ended questions was meant to achieve the second objective,

namely, to find out whether the posters and their captions communicated the “right message” to the intended audience. The Preliminary Survey also served as a pilot survey to test the questionnaires. Before we consider administration of the questionnaires of fieldwork, it will suffice to look at where and to whom these questionnaires were administered.

1.7. Location of the Study

The study was conducted in three neighbourhoods of Lusaka. These were Old Kalingalinga, a high density, low-income shanty; Libala, a medium-cost area, and Roman, a low-density high-cost area of the Lusaka eco-social strata. This neighbourhood choice gave the researcher study results that were representative of typical Lusaka township communities.

1.8. Subjects

The study targeted males and females aged between sixteen and forty-five years because these were considered to be the most affected and infected age groups (**Times of Zambia** August 6, 1991). They were drawn from the townships described above.

In order to determine whether there was any significant difference between the age groups in terms of what they thought about the posters, subjects were put in categories of ten year difference (16-25, 26-35 and 36-45) and different educational levels (1,2,3,4,5, and 6).

The survey involved 260 respondents, of whom 125 came from Old Kalingalinga, 90 and 45 from Libala and Roma respectively. Old Kalingalinga and Libala figures represent a population ration of 0.6. percent. However, a higher percentage of 2.79 was used for Roma because of the small size of its population.

CHAPTER TWO: FIELDWORK ACTIVITIES

2.0. General

In this study fieldwork comprised five phases, the first of which was sampling of the posters to be used in the study. The second stage sought to locate the prospective subjects to be interviewed. This, therefore, also involved sampling of households that supplied these subjects. The third phase was a preliminary survey which involved administering Questionnaire I. The fourth stage was the administration of Questionnaire II for the actual or main survey's data collection. Finally, there was the researcher's participant observation, which, in terms of time frame and phase, overlapped with as well as pervaded all the other stages up to the writing up of the dissertation. For the sake of clarity, the present researcher found it prudent to unbundled all the first four phases and deal with them in isolation in order to highlight procedural similarities and variations. We will start with the first phase which is poster sampling.

2.1. Poster Sampling

Poster sampling involved 48 subjects i.e. 16 from each township investigated.

2.1.1. Reasons for Sampling

Posters were sampling for two reason: first, to reduce their number from twenty-five to fifteen in order to facilitate production of an appropriate questionnaire volume. It was felt that if all the unsampled posters were to be accommodated, the product instrument would be so voluminous that it would scare away potential respondents. It was also feared that such a questionnaire would most likely elicit, and thus generate, an unmanageable amount of data which could present a lot of analytical nightmares. These problems came to pass though the source was quite different, namely, the number of variables in terms of age, gender, educational level and locality of respondents. It would also be unrealistic for the researcher to claim that he had seen all the posters in Lusaka because the sources and levels of production varied greatly and spread almost everywhere from classroom to school, to Government Printers

and to NGO-aided programmes. Finally, it was practically impossible to use all the posters displayed in Lusaka because they continued to be produced as the study progressed and some externally printed ones started arriving. For both these reasons, only a representative core was required for the purposes of the study. Even this core had to be tied down to a specific time period, that is, up to December, 1992.

The second reason for sampling was procedural. This process elicited responses which were used to classify the categories described at 1.8.2. Without this process, especially its products, section 'B's scoring system design in the actual survey would have been almost impossible. Because of the importance attached to this classification of posters, numbers involved in each township were increased from the original ten to sixteen ____ eight from each gender ____ in order to cater for all the three age groups and educational levels the study covered.

2.1.2 Choosing Subjects To Sample Posters

Although the procedure used for choosing subjects to sample posters was random sampling as described at 2.1.3 below, volunteers were allowed to participate as long as they lived in the township the researcher was visiting at the time. This was because locating and categorizing subjects were not target objectives at this stage and the researcher had no deliberate intention to revisit this category of subjects.

2.1.3 Poster Sampling Procedures

Sampling of posters was done orally throughout not only because of the inadequacy of posters but also because of the simplicity of the process and the small number of questions asked. This stage sought to examine subjects' understanding of the posters and to classify these posters into the four categories named at 1.8.2. In order to achieve this, each of the 48 subjects mentioned at 2.1.1 were shown all the posters one at a time and asked questions based on each poster. Once a poster was displayed, the procedure went as follows:

What do you think the poster is about?

What message do you get from it?

Would you say the poster favours or is against any particular group of people?

Why do you say so?

The researcher recorded in writing only answers to question three. The first two were meant merely to set the stage and to put respondents at ease. The last question was designed to test the subjects' understanding of the previous key question in order to eliminate guesswork products. (The guesswork phenomenon is explained in detail in Chapter Three).

At this stage, as mentioned earlier, all the questions were administered orally. The language used was determined by the subjects' language choice in answering the researcher's greetings. In Old Kalingalinga and Libala the interviews were conducted in all three of Lusaka's lingua francas: English, which is Zambia's official language, Bemba and Nyanja. However, there was a noticeable tendency, especially among the youths, to code-switch between English and either Bemba or Nyanja. The fact that all the posters' captions were written in English seemed to have given impetus to this language choice. In Roma the language used was almost always exclusively English.

2.2 The Preliminary Survey

The Preliminary Survey involved administering questionnaire I which had three sections, "A", "B" and "C" as described at 1.8.1. Administration of section 'A' differed from that of sections "B" and "C" in that 'A' did not involve displaying of posters because they were unnecessary for eliciting data required at this stage. As a result, after formal introductions and greetings, the researcher went straight into asking questions designed to extract the needed information. More often than not, the language the respondent used to answer the researcher's greetings determined what language was to be used in the interview.

The questions asked were various versions of:

- a. What is your name? (optional)
- b. How old are you? Or when were you born?
- c. Do you live here, or, where do you live?
- d. What was your last grade at school?

and so forth.

Rarely was it necessary or prudent to ask about the gender of the respondent. This was because the first few respondents who were asked the question: "Are you male or female?" reacted in such a way as to suggest the question was either unnecessary or that it irritated them or that the answer was obvious. For example, some women retorted, "Do I look like a man?". Implicit in this reaction was the question, "Am I that ugly that you cannot tell whether I am a girl or woman?". Some men took the question as a joke regarding their manhood or as suggesting that they were impotent. Sex workers, on the other hand, found the question quite humorous. "That you can prove for yourself! It won't be difficult!" they teased. After these experiences, the question was dropped. When data for this section was compiled, which showed the researcher where to find which respondents, he proceeded to sections `B' and `C'.

Both sections `B' and `C' at this stage had open-ended questions though their functions were different (see 1.8.1). As a result, they were administered in exactly the same way. First, the researcher displayed the poster. Then he asked all the questions based on that poster. Once he had recorded answers, it was replaced with another poster. This procedure was repeated until all the posters and questions were covered.

2.2.1 Household Sampling

The study used the random sampling method to choose households and locate respondents for the survey. The researcher visited, or was supposed to visit, every fifth house in a row. Households were sampled, as already pointed out, in order to locate potential subjects for the study. Therefore, household sampling and subject sampling overlapped. As a result, the two processes were affected by the same factors which we will discuss below.

2.2.2 Locating And Sampling of Subjects

Although the Preliminary Survey required only a quarter of the total core sample, the whole core sample was actually located after administering section "A" of this stage. The technique adopted for doing this was random sampling as earlier mentioned. The researcher was supposed to interview a subject in every fifth house in a row. In practice, however, the interviews did not work out this way. This was mainly because of four reasons. First, for reasons that will be discussed in the main survey, many respondents did not want or were

reluctant to discuss AIDS. In fact some respondents reacted with open hostility and demanded to know the criterion used for choosing them for the interviews. Sometimes the researcher's explanations allayed the respondent's apprehensions and suspicions, in which case the interview proceeded. However, oftentimes, the researcher was simply dismissed and told to go away. The solution to this behaviour is discussed below under specific neighbourhoods.

In Old Kalingalinga, where there were fewer fenced houses, the majority of those who accepted to be interviewed seemed to have been ill at ease to discuss AIDS or AIDS posters in full view of or within earshot of their inquisitive neighbours. Unfortunately, very little could be done about this as very few subjects indicated willingness to be interviewed indoors in the first place. This was not the case in Libala where the majority of the subjects opted to invite the researcher into their houses. This experience taught the researcher to give alternatives to potential subjects as to whether to conduct discussions outside or indoors.

In Roma, the fifth-house sampling method was disrupted by the same hostility factor. Wherever the researcher felt unwelcome, he left the subjects without arguing. He would skip a house or two before "knocking" at the next household. This was done in order to prevent the previous host's behaviour from influencing the next subject. This problem was particularly acute in Kalingalinga where boundaries of households were so open and thin that at times their members literally heard every discussion of the other families.

Some respondents preferred written questionnaires which they could complete in their own time.

The third factor that disrupted random sampling, especially in Old Kalingalinga, was what could be termed as the "interest" factor. Once the researcher started an interview at a particular household, word was sent to another "friendly" household inviting these family friends to attend the session. Attempts to arrange separate interviews were resisted because, interviewees said, they wanted to discuss the subject later on. Sometimes it so happened that the invited interviewees lived in the third, fourth or fifth household from the last fifth house. When this was the case, a few were picked from each household and granted interviews. The

rest joined in after individual answers had been recorded. Sometimes a lot of passers-by joined in a “forced” general discussion about AIDS. At the end of such interviews with keen and enthusiastic subjects, one question almost always summed up the respondents’ anxieties and perhaps the cause of their interest. The question was: “Have they found the cure for AIDS now?”

Finally, unlike Libala and Roma which have well planned, laid-out and named streets and orderly arranged or constructed houses, Old Kalingalinga has only two named streets _____ Kalingalinga itself (now Kamloops) and Alick Nkhata. The rest are paths which follow no particular arrangement or pattern. To add to this confusion, houses there are not properly numbered. In fact, some households consist of as many as four shacks in a cluster. When this was the case, the researcher still picked the fifth “house” as long as the occupant, or whoever lived there, fitted in one of the required age-groups. Although this procedure was mainly for the Preliminary Survey for all the sections, it applied to the final survey as well whenever attrition occurred.

In situations where both spouses were interviewed in the presence of each other, such sessions more often than not turned into moral sermons with one partner giving answers that could be interpreted as being directed at the other spouse. Below are some answers female spouse respondents gave to the question “What message do you get from poster 2”.

- (a) Husbands are never faithful.
- (b) The inclusion of male condoms on the poster proves who is more promiscuous between the two genders.
- (c) Don’t trust any man.

If a female spouse was interviewed first, the male waited for his turn to direct his interpretations at his spouse _____ more or less refuting his spouse’s earlier insinuations. This behaviour was more common in Kalingalinga than in Libala. It was absolutely absent in Roma.

As earlier stated, each poster was displayed once for each respondent and remained displayed until he or she had answered all the questions on that poster. However, an average of 10 percent in Kalingalinga, 29 percent in Libala and 46 percent in Roma of those interviewed orally noticed some relationship between posters 8 and 9 and 10 and 22 and requested that these be matched. When this was done, their classification also changed dramatically: seventy-five percent of those who had previously classified these under Biased Against Men or Biased Against Women now said the pairs were gender neutral. It appeared the pairing neutralized the biases detected earlier. The relationship between the two pairs is a topic for later discussion.

2.3 Actual Interviews for the Main Survey

At this stage of the study, all the 260 respondents required for the survey had been located: 125 in Kalingalinga, 90 and 45 in Libala and Roma respectively. This phase involved the administration of Questionnaire II which, as described at 1.8.2, has three parts or sections, namely, "A" "B" and "C". Since we now already have the subjects' biodata, section "A" was no longer administered but was used as our data bank for cross checking our subjects identities and locations.

Administration of both sections "B" and "C" were mainly oral, because the posters were not enough to go round. However, in special cases, as for example, in Roma with regard to section "B", special arrangements were made, with certain subjects during the actual survey to accept written responses when such subjects opted to answer questions in their own time.

The language choice here was slightly different from the one described at 2.1.3 above in the sense that the majority of subjects opted to read the questions for themselves and at their own pace and then shout answers to the researcher. For example, a respondent would say Section C Poster 4. "*Chinyoni ni kumanda basi*", (Nyanja) "The vulture indeed leads to the grave" or "AIDS is deadly", and so on. Note that while the question was written in English, the interpretations were sometimes given in Nyanja or Bemba while the interview as a whole was being conducted in English. When respondents preferred to be interviewed in English, the situation solved the problem experienced with multiple choice answers described below.

The researcher recorded responses for section 'A' by ticking relevant boxes. Procedures regarding Section 'B' differed during the Preliminary Survey and the actual research because at the former stage questions were multiple choice while at the latter they were open-ended. The difference and difficulty with multiple choice questions according to what the Preliminary Survey revealed were that they are quite difficult to administer orally. This is because by the time the researcher came to the fourth alternative, the subjects had problems remembering the first or second alternatives. This problem was solved by detaching section "B" and allowing respondents to read the questions for themselves, as mentioned above. The fact that almost all the respondents claimed to be literate or semi-literate helped the study to progress quite a lot.

The sequence for section 'C' was the same throughout because the nature of the questions and the answers elicited remained constant. However, for all questions, the researcher first displayed the poster. Then he asked all the questions based on that poster. Once he had recorded the answers, it was replaced with another poster repeating the procedure until all the posters and questions had been covered.

2.4 Scope and Limitations of this Study

The A.A.C in Zambia in general and in Lusaka in particular used five major modes of media to communicate its messages to the people. One such mode was drama: live drama on the streets or in townships, in theatre houses or on television, and pre-recorded plays on the radio. Radio itself was the second mode of media widely used by the A.A.C to disseminate information about AIDS.

M.O.H. and other government officials and departments, N.G.Os and international organizations (such as Children in Distress, Los Angeles and Kara Counselling Trusts) dealing with AIDS-related work used radio extensively to broadcast their discussions, information dissemination programmes and counselling sessions. The third mode was seminars, workshops and conferences by governments, national and international N.G.Os at both national and international levels. Then there were billboards strategically fixed on roads in Lusaka. Finally, and most relevant to this study, were the posters and their accompanying captions.

The survey restricted itself to the last mode of media because of its special strengths and advantages. For example, this was the cheapest mode for both the recipient and transmitter of the intended message(s). Posters cost less to manufacture and can therefore be mass-produced. On the other hand, the recipient of the message rarely, if at all, pays anything to receive the message ____ he or she does not have to buy a radio, television set or pay entrance fees at a theatre house. Another advantage of posters is that, once strategically placed, they cannot be “switched off” like radios and television when the recipient does not like the message. As a result, everyone who passes by is “forced” to see the message. This strength was of particular importance because, as discussed earlier on, many subjects did not like discussing AIDS. Then there is the problem of programming. This medium is not programmed like radios and television where one has to wait for special times or listen to the programmes by sheer chance. Posters are omnipresent. Finally, a majority of Zambians, as already alluded to above, neither have the time (or tolerance) to listen to electronic media on AIDS, nor money to buy receivers or to attend HIV-AIDS conferences.

The study did not cover billboards for two reasons. First, there were no financial resources to photograph and reproduce enough photos for the study. Second, Parkie Mbozi (1995) covered billboards, though he restricted himself mainly to attitudes of school-going age groups. In any case, it is very doubtful that the results of this survey would have been significantly different even if the four other media had been covered. This is because of the four strengths discussed above which made posters the most accessible mode of transmitting anti-AIDS messages.

Apart from failing to cover all other modes of anti-AIDS message transmission, lack of financial resources adversely affected the study in other ways. Ideally, all artists involved in the painting and commissioning of the sampled posters should have been interviewed to get their version of the “right message” of their posters. This was not possible because of the reason stated above as well as the distances involved as explained at 1.6. It would also have been more appropriate to afford all literate respondents an option to answer written questions for all the sections of the survey questionnaire.

This was not possible because not enough photocopies of posters could be made due to

financial constraints. It was gratifying, however, (though for very unfortunate reasons) that there was so much time to participate in the survey. That is why the data gathered through this method accounts for the bulk of the study.

CHAPTER THREE : POSTER SAMPLING

3.0 POSTER SAMPLING DATA

3.1 Introduction

The reasons and procedures for sampling of posters are as given at 2.1.1 and 2.1.3 respectively. The purpose of this section is to present actual raw data, i.e. responses, and to explain how I arrived at the four categories described at 1.8.2. These categories are very important to the survey because they are the tools that were used to analyse data in the main survey.

The instrument for sampling were the four questions given at 2.1.3. For the reasons stated in the same section, the present researcher, as pointed out earlier, recorded responses to question 1 only, namely, "Would you say the poster favours or is against any particular group of people?"

Before actual sampling data are presented, it might suffice, for the moment, to mention that many responses that were understood to mean one and the same thing but only differed in diction and language articulation were compressed into one statement. For example, many respondents gave the following responses to question 3 on poster 2:

- a) The poster is against women because it depicts them as promiscuous.
- b) The poster discriminates against women because it portrays them as loose.
- c) The poster shows women as immoral.

Such statements were taken to mean the same thing. Therefore, in the analysis, all the figures relating to them were added up and the sum total was indicated against the version that was chosen. Where there was enough evidence to suggest that certain responses were products of guesswork, for instance, where respondents failed to answer question 4 satisfactorily, such responses were cancelled or "annulled" on the basis that they were the result of guesswork. Actual responses to the posters are given below. Note that these are responses to question 3, namely: "Would you say that the poster favours or is against any particular group of people?"

2 Responses

Poster 1

The poster is fair to men and women because: Number of subjects who gave the response

- | | |
|---|----|
| (a) It depicts both of them as decently dressed. | 17 |
| (b) It doesn't insinuate as to who is HIV positive. | 11 |

The poster is biased against women because:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (c) No decent woman admires men on streets. | 7 |
| (d) The woman is placed nearer to a bar than the man. | 2 |
| (e) Don't know. | 8 |
| (f) Cancelled. | 3 |

POSTER 2

- | | |
|--|----|
| (a) The poster is against women because it depicts them as promiscuous. | 33 |
| (b) The poster is against men because it portrays them as unfaithful to their spouses. | 7 |
| (c) The poster favours neither sex; it simply reflects reality of life. | 5 |
| (d) Don't know. | 0 |
| (e) Cancelled. | 3 |

POSTER 3

- | | |
|---|----|
| (a) The poster is neutral; both sexes are fairly presented and represented. | 27 |
| (b) Don't know. | 15 |
| (c) Cancelled. | 6 |

POSTER 4

	Number of subjects who gave the response
(a) The poster is balanced because both sexes are represented on it.	13
(b) The poster is biased against women because it depicts men as more prominent victims of AIDS than women.	21
(c) Don't know.	9
(d) Cancelled.	8

POSTER 5

(a) The poster is balanced because it doesn't favour one sex.	23
(b) The poster favours the man because it is he who says he is happily married. The woman is silent implying she might know otherwise.	3
(c) The poster is against women because it implies that some pregnant women engage in casual sex.	7
(d) Don't know.	4
(e) Cancelled.	8

POSTER 6

	Number of subjects who gave the response
(a) The poster is biased against women because it implicitly suggests that there are no upright women. By implication all women engage in illicit sex.	5
(b) The poster is biased against men because it suggests men who are immoral indulge in casual sex.	18
(c) Don't know.	16
(d) Cancelled.	9

POSTER 7

The poster favours women because:

	Number of subjects who gave the response
(a) It portrays them as victims of men's promiscuity.	6
(b) It depicts them as more passionate than men.	11
(c) The poster is definitely against females; it suggests the woman patient had no husband and led a promiscuous life.	7
(d) The poster discriminates against men because it portrays them as being so callous that they even desert AIDS patients.	20
(e) Don't know.	0
(f) Cancelled.	3

POSTER 8

	Number of subjects who gave the response
(a) This poster portrays men as amorous and cruel - all out to destroy girls and their careers by infecting them with HIV.	19
(b) This poster is against females for placing AIDS control responsibility on them alone.	10
(c) Don't know.	12
(d) Cancelled.	0

POSTER 9

(a) The poster suggests women seduce men. Because of this it is biased against women.	22
(b) The poster favours men because it portrays them as passive participants in casual sex.	6
(c) Don't know.	6
(d) Cancelled.	17

POSTER 10

The poster is against women because of the following reasons:

	Number of subjects who gave the response
(a) It is implicitly warning men: "You see what women can do to you?"	8
(b) It implies the man contracted AIDS from women through casual sex.	10
(c) The poster portrays the man as careless, immoral and irresponsible. Therefore, it is against men.	15
(d) The poster is against rich men because the victim's attire suggests he is wealthy.	7
(e) The poster reflects reality. It is against neither women or men.	8
(f) Don't know.	0

POSTER 11

	Number of subjects who gave response
(a) The poster is balanced. It doesn't favour anybody.	15
(b) The poster is biased against women because the AA Campaigner decided to talk to another woman as if to suggest that women are more promiscuous than men.	13
(c) The poster is against men because the campaigner ignored them probably because they ignore advice concerning AIDS.	8
(d) Don't know.	7

POSTER 12

(a) The poster is balanced. Both sexes are fairly presented.	33
(b) Don't know.	9
(c) Cancelled.	6

POSTER 13

	Number of subjects who gave the response
(a) The poster favours women. The woman on this poster is portrayed as an innocent Christian because of the crucifix she is made to wear.	8
(b) The poster is against women. The one suffering from AIDS is a man. He must have contracted it from a woman.	11
(c) The poster is balanced. It is not against anybody.	15
(d) Don't know.	6
(e) Cancelled.	8

POSTER 14

(a) The poster is biased against the man because his wife suspects and is in fact accusing him that he is unfaithful.	11
(b) The poster suggests women are so callous as not to mind AIDS. Therefore, it is against them.	14
(c) The poster is balanced.	4
(d) Don't know.	10
(e) Cancelled.	9

POSTER 15

(a) The poster is balanced. It is not against anyone.	29
(b) The poster is biased against men because there are more men than women on it, implying more men have AIDS than women.	5
(c) Don't know.	6
(d) Cancelled.	8

POSTER 16

	Number of subjects who gave the response
(a) The poster is not biased against nor in favour of anyone.	37
(b) Don't know.	9

POSTER 17

(a) The poster is neutral because it does not segregate against any sex.	39
(b) Don't know.	5
(c) Cancelled.	4

POSTER 18

	Number of subjects who gave response
(a) The poster is balanced. It teaches us how AIDS is spread.	32
(b) Don't know.	10
(c) Cancelled.	6

POSTER 19

(a) The poster does not favour nor malign anybody.	37
(b) Don't know.	5
(c) Cancelled.	6

POSTER 20

(a) The poster is neutral.	40
(b) Do not know.	7
(c) Cancelled.	1

POSTER 21

The poster is biased against men for the following reasons:

(a) It depicts them as callous for deliberately inflicting suffering on women by infecting them with HIV.	6
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	Number of subjects who gave the response
(b) <i>It portrays men as cruel and unwilling to assist female AIDS victims.</i>	4
(c) It suggests men have no love towards women.	6
(d) The poster is against women for portraying them as objects of pity.	10
(e) Don't know.	14
(f) Cancelled.	8

POSTER 22

	Number of subjects who gave response
(a) The poster maligns men for infecting women with HIV.	19
(b) The poster is against women because it implies the woman got AIDS through promiscuity.	27
(c) Don't know.	0
(d) Cancelled.	2

POSTER 23

(a) The poster is neutral because it is fair to both sexes.	28
(b) Don't know.	13
(c) Cancelled.	7

POSTER 24

(a) The poster is biased against women because it portrays them as conduits of HIV.	38
(b) The poster is against men for implying that men who drink indulge in a lot of promiscuity.	4
(c) Do not know.	2
(d) Cancelled.	4

POSTER 25

	Number of subjects who gave the response
(a) The poster favours men by implicitly portraying them as responsible parents. That is why only the mother is warned about AIDS.	3
(b) The poster is against men for portraying them as irresponsible parents by not putting a man on it.	10
(c) This poster suggests that mothers only have the potential to indulge in illicit sex.	15
(d) Don't know.	5
(e) Cancelled.	15

3.3 Categorization of Posters

3.3.1 Introduction

The purpose of classifying posters into Biased Against Men (BAM), Biased Against Women (BAW), Gender Neutral (GN) and Don't Know (DK) categories was to ensure that all the categories were represented in the final core when the decision was taken to reduce these posters in number as explained in 3.4. This was important because if any of the mentioned categories were omitted, gender bias or neutrality would have been difficult to prove or disprove. This would have meant that the first objective was not going to be achieved.

In this categorization process responses to question 3 in 1.8.1.2 were the most valuable because they revealed the gender sensitivity of subjects, that is Biased Against Men (BAM), Biased Against Women (BAW) or Gender Neutral (GN). In some cases subjects did not know what classification to give a poster. Such cases were termed 'Don't Know'. Our focus, therefore, was mainly on question 3. Data elicited by asking the other questions did not serve any purpose here.

3.3.2 Classification

The difficulties posed by the actual categorization process were compounded by the fact that instead of the four envisaged categories, seven categories actually emerged out of the total number of the 25 posters. The first four of these categories were those listed above. The responses of the subjects were used as criteria to arrive at this conclusion. For example, if a subject said the poster was designed against women it was categorised as BAW. Here, subjects usually gave plausible explanations for their choices. For example, regarding Poster 2 and 24, one of the commonest responses was that the posters depicted women as prostitutes.

The fifth category consisted of posters which were given a label without assigning reasons. In order to limit the influence of guess work on the results of the study, all unexplained classifications were cancelled. Table 1 shows where this problem was most acute. Poster 25 belonged to the sixth category where almost the same number of subjects gave the same description as well as giving reasons for their decisions. In such cases one extra vote to a

poster tilted it into a particular category. Posters 3,6 and 15-20 made up the final category where literate subjects read out captions as interpretations because they could not interpret these posters in their own words. This, as already explained and as we shall see later on, disadvantaged the few semi-literate subjects who participated in the study. Let us now return to the special relationship between posters 8 and 9, and 10 and 22 briefly mentioned in 1.8.1.

When shown each of these posters separately, subjects gave them a label, namely, Biased Against Men or Biased Against Women, or Gender Neutral, thus labeling them with minimum difficulty. However, as already stated, when 8 was paired with 9, and 10 with 22, the categories changed from either BAM or BAW to GN. The special relationship between these pairs were twofold. First, the half pairs, 8 and 22, both carry male pictures while the other half pair carry female ones. Second, and most important, the relationship that existed between them had something to do with the nature of their production and associated meanings.

Poster 10 was produced earlier than 22. One of the perceived meanings, especially from the point of view of the majority of the respondents, both men and married women, was: "This is what women can do to you!" Women, especially the "enlightened" ones with educational levels above Grade Twelve, vehemently protested against what they regarded as 'explicit gender bias' in the poster. They claimed the poster depicted men as victims of female promiscuity and women as villains all out to wipe out men with AIDS. To balance off this alleged gender bias, which, as we shall see later, actually interfered with the "correct message", the Ministry of Health's Education Unit commissioned Poster 22. There was a similar outcry. However, the complaints and reasons for them and the need to produce 9 were slightly different.

As will be explained in later chapters, the attitude that women are society's moral custodians or that the onus to maintain a community's morality and to control the spread of AIDS rested more on the shoulders of females than on those of men pervaded the Zambian community to such an extent that even producers of posters reflected this attitude in their work. This was the backdrop to 8. The message was that if girls said "NO" to illicit sex AIDS would be controlled because there would be no promiscuity in society. At the time of this study, this view came

under severe assault. The alternative and challenging view was that men must be in control of society's morality; they are the salt by which a community's chastity is judged because most often they initiate sexual acts. Women, according to this position, only react. "9" was therefore, produced to correct these long-held misconceptions regarding the role played by women in controlling the spread AIDS as well as to emphasize the male role or at least to equate the two roles.

3.4 Choosing the Final Core

As explained already in 1.8.1, posters were reduced from 25 to fifteen in order to remain with a manageable number. As it turned out, even this number proved too big. The researcher used two criteria to do this. First, any poster(s) that gave some group of subjects undue advantage or put others at a disadvantage were eliminated. Posters 3, 6, 13, 16, 17, 18 and 20 were excluded using this criterion*. This was because semi-literate respondents found it very difficult to interpret them while literate ones used captions and statements about them to attempt interpretations. This meant that these posters put the former at a disadvantage while giving the latter an advantage. The second criterion was based on the consideration of how common a poster was or how exposed the respondents will have been before they were interviewed. It was felt that a deliberate effort must be made to use posters that subjects were already familiar with before they answered questions on them. The researcher did this in order to expedite the survey because experience gained during sampling suggested that subjects took less time to interpret (or misinterpret) a poster they had already seen elsewhere before. When subjects were interviewed on posters they were seeing for the first time, they usually wasted a lot of time admiring or revolting against them. Sometimes they repeatedly changed their interpretations. For these reasons, 14 was left out because this South African printed poster was only found at Springbock in Chachacha Street in Lusaka. It had never been displayed in any public place yet. As stated earlier on, this study was about anti AIDS posters displayed in Zambia and in Lusaka in particular.

*This is the reason why after categorization and choosing of the final core of posters, poster numbers 3,6 and 13-20 are excluded from the data and their related discussions.

This left the researcher with fifteen posters, namely, 1, 2, 4, 5, 7 - 12 and 21 - 25. To avoid confusion regarding the numbering and names of the posters, these posters retained these numbers throughout the study. The ratio between "Biased Against Men", "Biased Against Women" and "Gender Neutral" was 4.5.6. Before discussing sampling results, it might be in order to look at a few observations noted during sampling.

3.5 Observations During Sampling

During the study, it was observed that in most cases, respondents were eager to answer questions on posters they considered designed against them or their social group such as men, women sex workers, married women or men, bar patrons and so on. For example, 2 and 24 drew a lot of criticism from sex workers and married men. The latter complained that the poster depicted all men who drink as being promiscuous. On the other hand, the former felt the poster suggested that sex workers or women who drink were all out to infect men with HIV. Only men complained about Poster 7. They felt the poster suggested men were callous for failing to visit patients. Poster 10 also elicited complaints from one gender, that is, women who said the poster portrayed men as innocent victims of female promiscuity. However, Poster 22 did not elicit any adverse complaints from men. Mothers, as a class, criticized Poster 25 for suggesting that it was the responsibility of women alone to ensure babies were born AIDS free. This, they complained, implicitly blamed mothers alone for foetal HIV infections.

In Kalingalinga and Libala married women's views, especially those below Grade 12 level of education, tallied with men's views on posters categorized as BAW. For example, almost the same number of men and women called the women on Posters 2 and 24 "prostitute" thereby betraying the social stereotyping and stigmas prevalent in these neighbourhoods. The term "sex worker" was almost non-existent. Not that all the subjects did not know that the term existed. On the contrary, a lot of subjects were quite aware of it. They simply found it unacceptable. They claimed "sex worker" was a deliberate attempt by educated office prostitutes to adorn aberrant behaviour in saintly garments in order to blackmail society into accepting it. In all the three townships and for both sexes, there was or appeared to be a direct positive correlation between the level of education attained and gender sensitivity. The higher

the subjects' educational level, the more vehement they were in defending their gender or social group interests. However, although this was true for both sexes as stated above, it was more pronounced in women than in men. It was also quite common for subjects, especially those in age-groups II and III to fail to point out when a poster favoured them or their social group. Such subjects rarely described as bias posters that were designed against other groups other than their own. For example, married women, particularly in Kalingalinga and Libala, rarely pointed out that posters 2 and 24 were designed with biases against sex workers. To them these posters depicted "reality of life and tell a true story of what obtains in real life situations" as one woman put it. We will discuss these attitudes in detail when presenting the findings. For now let us turn our attention to data analysis.

3.6 Discussion of Sampling Data

Sampling of posters was not meant to be an end or final objective in itself because it was meant to facilitate categorization and choice of the final core sample of posters to be used in the final survey. For this reason, discussion of sampling data was not considered central to the study. Its relevance here is merely to mention briefly what these data tell us and it will be restricted to aspects that do not preempt parts of the main survey.

Figures in each column from "BAM" to "Annulled" or "Cancelled" suggested the level of simplicity or complexity in interpreting a poster. In "BAM", "BAW" and "GN" high figures illustrated how easy a poster was to interpret and categorize. From this, we can say that respondents found 7, 8 and 22 the easiest to understand and to classify in the "BAM" column while in "BAW" these were 2, 7, 9, 20, 22 and 24, and in "GN" they were 1, 3, 12, 16, 18 and 19. On the other hand, posters with a lot of "DK" votes implied that they were difficult to interpret. Posters 3, 6, 14 and 23 rank highest in this category. Finally, there was the "Annulled" column which represented posters which were classified but respondents either gave no reason for their categorization or gave explanations that made no sense at all. For example, one subject said Poster 1 was designed against men because the man on it is depicted as being impolite because of being painted with his hands in the pockets. Such answers were annulled because they did not reflect any understanding of either the question or indeed the purpose of the poster.

TABLE 1: CATEGORIZATION OF DATA

POSTER	BAM	BAW	GN	DON'T KNOW	ANNULLED (CANCELLED)	FINAL CATEGORY
1	-	9	28	8	3	GN
2	7	33	5	-	3	BAW
3	-	-	27	15	6	GN
4	9	21	4	9	5	BAW
5	3	7	23	4	8	GN
6	18	5	-	16	9	BAM
7	20	7	-	-	3	BAM
8	19	10	-	7	12	BAM
9	-	22	-	6	17	BAM
10	27	18	8	0	0	BAM
11	8	13	15	7	5	GN
12	-	-	33	9	6	GN
13	-	11	15	6	8	BAW
14	11	14	4	10	9	GN
15	6	-	29	5	8	GN
16	-	-	37	9	-	GN
17	-	-	39	5	4	GN
18	-	-	32	10	6	GN
19	-	-	37	5	6	GN
20	-	-	40	7	1	GN
21	16	10	-	14	8	BAM
22	19	27	-	-	2	BAW
23	-	-	28	13	7	GN
24	4	38	-	2	4	BAW
25	10	15	-	5	11	BAW

3.7 Section A: The Preliminary Survey

3.7.1 Introduction

The objectives of the Preliminary Survey have been described at 1.8.1. The purpose of the present introduction is to describe the key used in the presentation of the Preliminary Survey data.

In the distribution tables below symbols are used as follows:

- (a) Roman numerals, namely I, II and III represent subjects' age groups. Thus, I represents age group 16-25 years old, II represents age group 26-35 years old and III represents 36-45 years old.
- (b) Letters A to F represent subjects' educational levels as show below:
 - A=Under Grade Seven
 - B=Grade Seven
 - C=Grades Eight and Nine
 - D=Grades Ten and Twelve
 - E=College Level of Education
 - F=University Education (degree)
- (c) A combination of Roman numerals and letters, for instance, IA, IB to IIIF, forms a category, i.e. educational level plus age group. These categories are represented by Arabic numerals 1-18. Thus IA represents category 1 whose subjects are in age group I, 16-25 years old, and have below Grade Seven level of education. IB represents category 2 whose subjects are in age-group I but with Grade Seven level of education and so on until we reach IIIF which is category 18 whose subjects are in age group III with University degree level of education. This categorization was done in order to facilitate computation should need arise. For the same computation reason, categories such as "BAM", "BAW", "GN" and "DK" were represented by figures namely 01, 02, 03 and 04 respectively.

TABLE 2: FULL KEY

AGE-E.L.	CATEGORY NUMBER	AGE-GROUP	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OR E.L.	ABBREVIATION
IA	1	ONE:16-25YRS	UNDER GRADE 7	UG7
IB	2	ONE:16-25YRS	GRADE 7	G7
IC	3	ONE:16-25YRS	GRADE 8 & 9	GEN
ID	4	ONE:16-25YRS	GRADES 10-12	GTT
IE	5	ONE:16-25YRS	COLLEGE EDUCATION	CE
IF	6	ONE:16-25YRS	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	UNIV.
IIA	7	TWO:26-35YRS	UNDER GRADE 7	UG7
IIB	8	TWO:26-35YRS	GRADE 7	G7
IIC	9	TWO:26-35YRS	GRADE 8 & 9	GEN
IID	10	TWO:26-35YRS	GRADES 10-12	GTT
IIE	11	TWO:26-35YRS	COLLEGE EDUCATION	CE
IIF	12	TWO:26-35YRS	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	UNIV.
IIIA	13	THREE:36-45YRS	UNDER GRADE 7	UG7
IIIB	14	THREE:36-45YRS	GRADE 7	G7
IIIC	15	THREE:36-45YRS	GRADE 8 & 9	GEN
IIID	16	THREE:36-45YRS	GRADES 10-12	GTT
IIIE	17	THREE:36-45YRS	COLLEGE EDUCATION	CE
IIIF	18	THREE:36-45YRS	UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	UNIV.

3.7.2 Distribution Tables

3.7.2.1 Table 7: Kalingalinga Distribution Tables

TABLE 3A

AGE-GENDER DISTRIBUTION TABLE				
AGE GROUP	I	II	III	TOTAL
M	30	24	16	70
F	26	20	9	55
TOTAL	56	44	25	125

TABLE 3B

GENDER-EDUCATION LEVEL DISTRIBUTION TABLE							
E.L.	A	B	C	D	E	F	TOTAL
M	0	13	22	31	4	0	70
F	0	20	17	14	4	0	55
TOTAL	0	33	39	45	8	0	125

TABLE 3C

AGE-GENDER-EDUCATION LEVEL DISTRIBUTION TABLE																			
E.L.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	TOTAL
M	0	2	10	18	0	0	0	4	8	8	4	0	0	7	4	5	0	0	70
F	0	8	8	10	0	0	0	10	3	3	4	0	0	4	5	0	0	0	55
TOTAL	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

Libala supplied 90 subjects; 45 males and an equal number of females. Their categorizations are shown in figures below.

3.7.2.2 TABLE 8: Libala Distribution Tables

4A

AGE-GENDER DISTRIBUTION TABLE				
AGE GROUP	I	II	III	TOTAL
M	1	11	14	45
F	20	13	10	45
TOTAL	42	24	24	90

4B

GENDER-EDUCATIONAL LEVEL DISTRIBUTION TABLE							
E.L.	A	B	C	D	E	F	TOTAL
M	0	5	12	20	8	0	45
F	0	4	17	18	6	0	45
TOTAL	0	9	29	38	14	0	90

4C

AGE-GENDER-EDUCATION LEVEL DISTRIBUTION TABLE																			
E.L.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	TOTAL
M	0	2	8	10	0	0	0	1	2	6	2	0	2	2	2	4	6	0	45
F	0	1	9	11	1	0	0	2	5	5	1	0	1	1	2	3	4	0	45
TOTAL	0	3	17	21	1	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	3	3	4	7	10	0	90

Roma supplied 45 subjects in the final survey. Of these 25 were male while 20 were female.

Table 9 below shows their distribution.

3.7.2.3 TABLE 9: Roma Distribution Tables

5A

AGE-GENDER DISTRIBUTION TABLE				
AGE	I	II	III	TOTAL
M	10	5	10	25
F	10	3	7	20
TOTAL	20	8	17	45

5B

GENDER-EDUCATIONAL LEVEL DISTRIBUTION TABLE							
E.L.	A	B	C	D	E	F	TOTAL
M	0	2	6	4	8	5	25
F	0	0	8	4	6	2	20
TOTAL	0	2	14	8	14	7	45

5C

AGE-GENDER-EDUCATION LEVEL DISTRIBUTION																			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	TOTAL
	0	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	1	4	3	25
	0	0	8	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	6	1	20
TOTAL	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

3.7.2.4 **TABLE 10: Distribution of Subjects in %**

6A MALES

TOWNSHIP	AGE GROUP I	AGE GROUP II	AGE GROUP III
Kalingalinga	42.8	34.3	22.8
Libala	44.4	24.4	31.1
Roma	40.0	20.0	40.0

6B FEMALES

TOWNSHIP	AGE GROUP I	AGE GROUP II	AGE GROUP III
Kalingalinga	47.3	36.4	16.3
Libala	48.9	28.9	22.2
Roma	50.0	15.0	35.0

3.7.3 Discussion of Preliminary Survey Results

As stated in 1.8.1, this section was meant to locate subjects: that is their place of residence, of what gender, age and educational level. Accordingly, the discussion here will be restricted mainly to the distribution of the subjects.

Table 3A shows that the distribution of subjects in Kalingalinga decreases as their age increases. There were more subjects in age group I than in age group II and more in the latter than in age group III. This applied to both males and females. Given that all subjects were randomly sampled, this phenomenon meant that more young people were available for interviews than older residents. This was probably because of two reasons. First, there were more young people in this area in the first age group than in the other two age groups and more in the second than in the third. This was the general population phenomenon in Zambia at the time of the study: population figures increased with the decrease in age. (It would be interesting to compare these statistics after, say, twenty years with the scourge of AIDS which

affects and infects the young more than the old). The second explanation was that the younger the subjects were, the more ready and much freer they were to discuss AIDS. Libala and Roma registered similar trends, probably for the same reasons. Times of interviews could not have influenced the distribution patterns significantly to any appreciable degree because households were visited several times including during non-working hours.

In Libala, females were distributed in a similar pattern as for males and females in Old Kalingalinga. However, the trend as regards males was markedly different here from that pertaining to Kalingalinga. There were more males in Age group III than in Age group II. This was also the case regarding males and females in Roma. This suggests that there were more 36-45 year-olds in the two townships than in Kalingalinga. This should not be surprising at all. Roma is in a high cost residential area. One cannot expect to find a lot of well-to-do or high achievers below the age of 36 years here. The explanation for Libala was different. This neighbourhood was made up of households that bought houses they previously had rented from the Lusaka City Council. Very few Zambians below the age of 35 would have saved enough money to buy a house of the Libala type.

Distribution patterns according to educational levels followed a similar trend in all three townships. Male and female peaks, however, were remarkably distinct. In Kalingalinga and Libala males peaked at Grade 12 (D) while females in the same area peaked at Grades Eight and Nine (C) but those in Libala peaked at Grade Ten and Twelve or 'D' like the males. This suggests that males in Old Kalingalinga utilized their educational opportunities more than their female counterparts. It could also mean that Kalingalinga parents were more inclined to the traditional attitude that it is more important to invest in a son's than in a daughter's education. The economic and social factors must also be put in proper perspective here. In a shanty compound like Old Kalingalinga, socio-economic factors lead to an early exit from school. Parents in this social environment sometimes fail to support their children's education. Boys, as a consequence, resort to crime at an early age and see school as a non-immediate rewarding undertaking. Girls also resort to prostitution in large numbers relatively much earlier in their life. As a result of these factors, we find that there were only four males and females in E.L.E. in Kalingalinga as against eight males and six females in Libala and Roma. There were

no university graduates in both Old Kalingalinga and Libala for one important reason. A university degree is a symbol of achievement and one's place of residence is associated with level of education, rightly or wrongly. This is why almost all the graduates in the survey were found to be living in high-cost, low-density neighbourhoods. It must be noted also that almost all the respondents in all the three townships belonged to E.L.B. and above. This made the study a lot easier in that translations from English into Nyanja or Bemba wasted minimal time.

3.7.4 Section B

This section, whose aim is as stated in 1.8.1, had fifteen open-ended questions based on the fifteen posters. The present discussion deals with responses to these questions and problems related to them.

Answers to Section 'B' presented two problems whose solutions helped in the construction of the final questionnaire. First, some questions had more responses than others. This complicated the task of designing a scoring system because it became virtually impossible to score items whose number of responses ranged between four and thirteen. Second, the responses could not be categorized into "BAM", "BAW" or "GN". Because of this, they could not be used as criteria to determine whether those who uttered them had any gender bias, which was one of the objectives the section was meant to achieve.

To solve both problems it was decided to categorize the responses into "BAM", "BAW", "GN" and "DK" so that in cases where there were more than one response in each category, only one response was chosen for the scoring scale. To do this, all responses were administered to sixteen subjects, eight males and eight females who were attending an AIDS counselling course at Kara Counselling Centre in Thornpark, Lusaka. All these subjects had college education. The decision to use a higher educational group of judges was based on Poster Sampling and part of the Preliminary Survey findings (whose fieldwork coincided with the Kara counselling course). Both the Poster Sampling and Preliminary Survey results seemed to suggest that the higher the educational level of the subject, the more gender sensitive that subject was likely to be.