

CHART C2

KALINGALINGA

	BAM	BAW	GN	DK
M	0	12.7	90	0
F	3.6	29	70	0
D	3.6	16.3	20	0

LIBALA

M	4.4	6.7	88.9	0
F	8.9	8.9	82.2	0
D	4.5	2.2	6.7	0

ROMA

M	4	0	96	0
F	5	0	85	10
DIF	1	0	11	10

4.2.3 Poster 4**

C3

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	1.4	5.7	92.8	0
F	16.4	4.5	34.8	34.3
DIF	15	1.2	58	34.3

LIBALA

M	0	3.6	93.3	0
F	13.3	0	86.7	0
DIF	13.3	3.6	6.6	0

ROMA

M	8	0	84	4
F	10	0	90	0
DIF	2	0	6	4

At 01 or "Biased Against Men", most respondents interviewed protested that it was not true that men 'always' had extra-marital relationships. For the first time so far, female and male interpretations and interests seemed to converge. While female respondents objected to the use of the word 'always', male respondents also pointed out that it was not only females who were prone to prostitution. The problem, it was pointed out, was that Zambian society used two different scales to judge male and female promiscuity. The result was that while female sexual immorality was openly ostracized, male promiscuity on the other hand seemed to be tacitly condoned.

**The absence of Posters 3,6 and 13-20 is explained at 3.4

Statistics according to Chart C3 above A13-A18, B3, B18 and B33 below show that no subject in Roma believed that the caption was directed at women because of their assumed vulnerability to prostitution. In Libala, 6.6 percent males and no female accepted that the caption was directed at women because of the reasons stated. In Old Kalingalinga, the percentage of men and women who thought the caption was directed at women are almost equal: 5.7 percent and 4.5 percent respectively. It must be noted, however, that except for two subjects, all those from both Old Kalingalinga and Libala belong to Age-group 1 (AG1) and all of them fall below college level of education. This could be interpreted to mean that probably this belief was much more widely spread among respondents of these categories than among others. The fact that it only occurred in Kalingalinga and Libala but not in Roma suggests it was not common in high-cost residential areas.

At 01, only 1.4 percent of the males admitted that men must be advised to stick to one partner because more men than women indulge in casual sex. On the other hand 16.4 percent of the women in Old Kalingalinga believed the caption was actually directed at men. Again it appears the mentality of blaming the opposite sex or another group for the spread of AIDS is restricted to below college level of education and goes up to Age-group II only. This trend is also found in Libala as previously stated. The difference was that no male respondent in Libala shared this belief compared to 13 percent for females. The reasons for this are the same as those advanced to explain female choices in Old Kalingalinga. Only 8 percent of the males against 10 percent of the females thought the caption was directed at men. These came from AG1 only, and their educational level (Grades 10-12 only) is also much lower than that for Roma and Libala. This is a clear testimony that this belief was restricted to the young and less educated.

The 34.3 percent of female respondents from Old Kalingalinga and four percent from Roma who chose "Don't Know" deserve some mention. The respondents' educational levels (Grades 7 to University) suggest that the interpretation problem had very little, if anything, to do with the education of respondents. It would appear as if these respondents did not have prior exposure to this poster and other people's interpretation of it. As we shall see later, some respondents regurgitated other people's interpretations when they could not make their own interpretations.

Poster 4 (1, 7, 13)

Under grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma											
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Who do those who made the poster advise to stick to one partner?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men; because they always have extra-marital partners or girl friends	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Women because they are more vulnerable and prone to prostitution	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men and women; AIDS doesn't choose, it infects both sexes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A14

Poster 4 (2, 8, 14)

Grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma											
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Who do those who made the poster advise to stick to one partner?	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1
Men; because they always have extra-marital partners or girl friends	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Women because they are more vulnerable and prone to prostitution	2	5	3	0	7	0	12	5	2	0	1	1	2	1	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men and women; AIDS doesn't choose, it infects both sexes	0	0	0	6	0	4	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Grade 8 and 9

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma												
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total						
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	Total				
Who do those who made the poster advise to stick to one partner?	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2
Men; because they always have extra-marital partners or girl friends	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Women because they are more vulnerable and prone to prostitution	8	7	8	0	4	0	20	7	6	9	2	4	2	2	10	15	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	4	6
Men and women; AIDS doesn't choose, it infects both sexes	0	0	0	2	0	5	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Don't know	10	8	8	3	4	5	22	16	8	10	2	5	2	2	12	17	6	8	0	0	0	0	0	6	8
Total																									

A16

Poster 4 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma												
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total						
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	Total				
Who do those who made the poster advise to stick to one partner?	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Men; because they always have extra-marital partners or girl friends	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Women because they are more vulnerable and prone to prostitution	16	7	8	0	5	0	29	7	9	10	6	4	4	3	18	17	2	1	1	1	1	2	4	4	
Men and women; AIDS doesn't choose, it infects both sexes	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Don't know	18	10	8	3	5	0	31	13	10	11	6	5	4	3	20	19	2	1	1	1	1	2	4	4	
Total																									

College	Kalingalinga					Libala					Roma					
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total
Who do those who made the poster advise to stick to one partner?	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Men; because they always have extra-marital partners or girl friend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Women because they are more vulnerable and prone to prostitution	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men and women; AIDS doesn't choose, it infects both sexes	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	2	1	6	4	2	1
Don't know	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	4	4	4	4	4	0	4	4	2	1	6	4	2	1	6

A18

University	Kalingalinga					Libala					Roma					
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total
Who do those who made the poster advise to stick to one partner?	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Men; because they always have extra-marital partners or girl friend	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Women because they are more vulnerable and prone to prostitution	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men and women; AIDS doesn't choose, it infects both sexes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3

Respondents Distribution in %

B3
Poster No. 4
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																			
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	
		01	M			1.4															
	F		3.6		3.6				5.6	1.8											16.4
02	M			1.4	2.9				1.4												5.7
	F		1.8		1.8				1.8												4.5
03	M		2.9	11.4	22.9				4.3	11.4	1.4	5.7			10.0	5.7	7.1				92.8
	F		9.0	12.7	12.7																34.8
04	M																				
	F								8.6	2.9	4.3	5.7			5.7	7.1					34.3
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	0	125

Respondents Distribution in %

B18
Poster No. 4
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M																	
	F		2.2	2.2	2.2				2.2	2.2	2.2									13.6
02	M			4.4	2.2															6.6
	F																			
03	M		4.4	13.3	20.9				2.2	4.4	13.3	4.4			4.4	4.4	8.8	13.3		93.3
	F			20.0	22.2				2.2	8.8	8.8	2.2			2.2	4.4	6.7	8.8		86.7
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0	90

Respondents Distribution in %

B33

Poster No. 4

Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																				
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total		
		01	M		4	4																
	F			10																		10
02	M																					
	F																					
03	M		4	16	8						4	8	8				4	24	12			84
	F			30	5	5				5	5	5	5				10	20	5			90
04	M			4																		4
	F																					
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9			100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4			45

4.2.4 Poster 5

This poster has an arrow that subjects could have interpreted as pointing either at the male's or female's mouth. The subject of two of the three sentences that make up the caption is 'I'. The object of the third sentence is 'me'. At face value, these indicate that the caption was said by one person out of the two, i.e. either husband or wife.

Despite all these hints, however, only one male (4 percent) and seven females (35 percent) in Roma, two females (4.4 percent) and no male in Libala and again one man (1.4 percent) and twenty-three females (41.8 percent) in Old Kalingalinga chose BAM. The higher percentage of female respondents who chose BAM cannot be attributed to their seeing the direction of the arrow because most of them failed to notice the significance of this arrow. The majority of females chose BAM because they felt or thought that the husband wants to deceive his wife into believing him. A very high percentage of the women interviewed believed their husbands do have Extra Marital Sex (EMS). Some of them, especially in Kalingalinga, felt that it was quite "normal" for males to have illicit sex as long as they didn't know or that the male didn't behave "strangely" to them and his children at home, and his girlfriends didn't brag about it. What scared wives at present was AIDS. Even so, a small percentage (5 percent) of those interviewed in Old Kalingalinga and 3 percent in Libala believed it was more "dignified" if they died of AIDS after being infected by their husbands than if boyfriends did so.

Statistics regarding Poster 5 show that between 58-93 percent of the respondents in Old Kalingalinga, Libala and Roma chose "GN". This may not be attributed to their failing to see the arrow and its direction - the 'I' and 'me' - as suggested earlier. To the contrary, they might have seen both, analysed the sentences and concluded that the words were said by each of the two as individuals and not as a couple. One respondent actually observed that the arrow pointed right in between the couple, implying that the individuals were responsible for the utterances. It is worth noting that in all the three townships, no female respondents thought that it was the woman who said these words "because she knows that she cannot indulge in casual sex since she is pregnant". The reason for this was probably that agreeing with such a statement on the part of women would be tantamount to confessing that when they were not pregnant married women indulge in casual sex. What was difficult to explain was the fact that

only one female (2.2) in Libala chose "BAW" because most single women do not subscribe to the idea propagated by married women that illicit sex is a monopoly of single women. It would not have been surprising if some of these subjects had chosen "BAW".

Some of the trends discussed at Poster 5 appeared at Poster 7 as well. One such trend was not choosing "BAM" especially by male respondents. Charts A20-24, B4, B19, B34 and C4 illustrate this very well. Charts A25-30, B5, B20, B35 and C5 for Poster 7 are not much different in this respect as their respective comparisons show.

C4

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	1.4	24.3	74.3	0
F	4.8	0	58.2	0
DIF	40.4	24.3	16.1	0

LIBALA

M	0	8.9	91.1	0
F	4.4	2.2	93.3	0
DIF	4	6.7	2.2	0

ROMA

M	4.0	16	80	0
F	35	0	65	0
DIF	31	16	15	0

C5

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	0	18.6	81.4	0
F	21.8	14.5	63.6	0
DIF	21.8	4.1	178	0

LIBALA

M	0	57.8	42.2	0
F	11.8	40	48.9	0
D	0	17	6.7	0

ROMA

M	0	44	60	0
F	25	25	50	0
D	25	19	10	0

Poster 5 (1, 7, 13)

Under grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma												
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	
Who says the words in the caption and why?																									
The man; because he wants to deceive his wife into believing him	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The woman; because she knows she cannot indulge in casual sex since she is pregnant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The couple (husband and wife). They want to protect themselves and each other from AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A20

Poster 5 (2, 8, 14)

Grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma												
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	
Who says the words in the caption and why?																									
The man; because he wants to deceive his wife into believing him	0	6	0	4	1	0	1	10	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The woman; because she knows she cannot indulge in casual sex since she is pregnant	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The couple (husband and wife). They want to protect themselves and each other from AIDS	1	2	3	6	5	4	9	12	1	1	1	2	1	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Poster 5 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma												
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	
Who says the words in the caption and why?	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	4
The man; because he wants to deceive his wife into believing him	2	0	3	0	0	0	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
The woman because she knows she cannot indulge in casual sex since she is pregnant	8	3	5	1	4	5	17	9	7	9	2	4	2	2	11	15	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
The couple (husband and wife). They want to protect themselves and each other from AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	10	8	8	3	4	5	22	16	8	10	2	5	2	2	12	17	6	8	0	0	0	0	0	6	8
Total																									

A22

Poster 5 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma												
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	
Who says the words in the caption and why?	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
The man; because he wants to deceive his wife into believing him	3	0	4	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The woman; because she knows she cannot indulge in casual sex since she is pregnant	15	5	4	2	5	0	24	7	9	11	6	5	3	3	18	19	2	1	1	0	1	1	4	2	
The couple (husband and wife). They want to protect themselves and each other from AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	18	10	8	3	5	0	31	13	10	11	6	5	4	3	20	19	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	4
Total																									

Poster 5 (5, 11, 17)

College

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total							
	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total					
Who says the words in the caption and why?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
The man; because he wants to deceive his wife into believing him	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
The woman; because she knows she cannot indulge in casual sex since she is pregnant	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
The couple (husband and wife). They want to protect themselves and each other from AIDS	0	0	2	4	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	6	4	8	5	0	1	2	1	5	3	7	5
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	2	1	6	4	8	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	6	4	8	6

A24

Poster 5 (6, 12, 18)

University

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total							
	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total					
Who says the words in the caption and why?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
The man; because he wants to deceive his wife into believing him	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
The woman because she knows she cannot indulge in casual sex since she is pregnant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
The couple (husband and wife). They want to protect themselves and each other from AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	5	2	
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	5	2		

B4
Poster No. 5
Kalingalinga

Respondents Distribution in %

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M														1.4					1.4
	F		10.9	9.0	9.0				7.3	3.6	1.8									41.8
02	M		1.4	2.9	4.3				1.4	4.3	5.7	2.9			1.4					24.3
	F																			
03	M		1.4	11.9	21.4				4.3	7.1	5.7	2.9			7.1					74.3
	F		3.6	5.6	9.0				10.9	1.8	7.3				7.3	9.0				58.2
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No. of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

B19
Poster No. 5
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																			
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	
01	M																				
	F								2.2	2.2											4.4
02	M		2.2	2.2	2.2												2.2				8.9
	F			2.2																	
03	M		2.2	15.6	20.0				2.2	4.4	13.3	4.4			4.4	4.4	6.7	13.3			91.1
	F		2.2	20.0	24.4				2.2	8.8	11.1	2.2			2.2	4.4	6.7	13.3			93.3
04	M																				
	F																				
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0		100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0		90

B34
Poster No. 5
Roma

Respondents Distribution in %

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M			4														
	F			20						5							5	5		35
02	M		4	8														4		16
	F																			
03	M		4	12	8					4	8	8	8				4	20	12	80
	F			20	5	5					5	5	5				5	15	5	65
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

4.2.5 Poster 7

The question here asked respondents to identify the sex of the AIDS patient.

In Roma, female respondents who said the patient was a man and those who said she was a woman were split at 25 percent for each group. Fifty percent said it was difficult to tell (GN). In Old Kalingalinga the male and female “BAM”-“BAW”-“GN” and “DK” ratios are shown on Chart C5. The “GN” for the females was higher than the “BAW” because many female respondents thought that the reason given at “BAW” was biased against them. In this regard one of them asked, “Don’t women also look after male AIDS patients?” More males (81.4) chose “GN” probably because of two reasons. First, they rejected “BAM” because of the gender or group solidarity phenomenon explained earlier. Second, most of them rejected “BAW” also most probably because they might have realized that very few women in Zambia infect each other with HIV directly. If there were more women suffering from AIDS, this would indirectly imply that more men are infecting women with HIV. Another probable explanation could be that some male respondents may have felt the way females felt, namely, that women also look after male AIDS patients.

In Libala, if this feeling was evident, it was not common. Percentages between females who chose “BAW” (40 percent) and ‘GN’ (48 percent) did not differ by significant margins. On the other hand, the highest number of males (57.8) in Libala said the patient was a woman as if to confirm what was rejected in Old Kalingalinga that more women care for other females than they do for male patients. There could also be other reasons for this high percentage. One is that males agreed with the caption which said “women share”. If this were the case, then the natural choice that reflects this attitude is ‘BAW’.

Poster 7 (1, 7, 13)		Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma											
Under grade 7		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
Age group		m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Do you think those who made this poster meant the patient to be a woman or man? Give reason for your answer.		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
He is a man. More men than women suffer from AIDS		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
She is a woman because of the presence of other women by the bedside		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
It is difficult to tell from pictures alone		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Poster 7 (2, 8, 14)		Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma											
Grade 7		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
Age group		m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Do you think those who made this poster meant the patient to be a woman or man? Give reason for your answer.		0	4	0	1	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
He is a man. More men than women suffer from AIDS		1	2	0	0	2	0	3	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
She is a woman because of the presence of other women by the bedside		1	2	4	9	5	3	10	14	1	0	1	2	1	1	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
It is difficult to tell from pictures alone		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know		2	8	4	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	2	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Total		2	8	4	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	2	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0

Poster 7 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma								
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	
Do you think those who made this poster meant the patient to be a woman or man? Give reason for your answer.	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
He is a man. More men than women suffer from AIDS	4	2	2	2	1	0	7	4	8	6	2	3	0	0	10	9	4	0	0	0	4
She is a woman because of the presence of other women by the bedside	6	3	6	1	3	4	15	8	0	2	0	1	2	2	5	2	1	0	0	0	2
It is difficult to tell from pictures alone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	10	8	8	3	4	5	22	16	8	10	2	5	2	2	12	17	6	8	0	0	6
Total																					

A28

Poster 7 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma								
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	
Do you think those who made this poster meant the patient to be a woman or man? Give reason for your answer.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
He is a man. More men than women suffer from AIDS	2	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	9	8	2	0	0	11	8	2	0	0	0	0	2
She is a woman because of the presence of other women by the bedside	16	8	7	4	5	0	28	12	1	1	4	5	4	3	8	9	0	1	0	1	2
It is difficult to tell from pictures alone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	18	10	8	4	5	0	31	14	10	11	6	5	4	3	19	19	2	1	1	1	2
Total																					

Poster 7 (5, 11, 17)	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma					
	16-25yrs				26-35yrs				36-45yrs				Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total			
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f		
Do you think those who made this poster meant the patient to be a woman or man? Give reason for your answer.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
He is a man. More men than women suffer from AIDS	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
She is a woman because of the presence of other women by the bedside	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
It is difficult to tell from pictures alone	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	4	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	0	4

Poster 7 (6, 12, 18)	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma					
	16-25yrs				26-35yrs				36-45yrs				Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total			
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f		
Do you think those who made this poster meant the patient to be a woman or man? Give reason for your answer.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
He is a man. More men than women suffer from AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
She is a woman because of the presence of other women by the bedside	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
It is difficult to tell from pictures alone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

B5
Poster No. 7
Kalingalinga

Respondents Distribution in %

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M																			
	F		7.3	5.6	1.8				1.8			1.8			1.8	1.8				21.8
02	M		1.4	5.7	2.9					2.9	1.4				2.9	1.4				18.6
	F		3.6	3.6	1.8					3.6		1.8								14.5
03	M		1.4	8.6	22.9				5.7	8.6	10.0	5.7			7.1	4.3	7.1			81.4
	F		3.6	5.6	11.9				12.6	1.4	5.7	2.9			4.3	5.7				63.6
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

Respondents Distribution in %

B20
Poster No. 7
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																			
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	
01	M																				
	F			4.4	4.4					2.2											11.1
02	M		2.2	17.8	20.0					4.4	4.4	2.2			2.2			4.4			57.8
	F		2.2	13.3	17.8					6.7											
03	M		2.2		2.2				2.2	8.8					2.2	4.4	8.8	8.8			42.2
	F			4.4	2.2				4.4	2.2	11.1	2.1			2.2	4.4	6.7	8.8			48.9
04	M																				
	F																				
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0		100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10			90

Respondents Distribution in %

B35
Poster No. 7
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																			
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	
01	M																				
	F			15	5						5										25
02	M		8	16	8							4						4	4		44
	F			20														5			25
03	M			8							4	4	8				4	20	8		60
	F			5								5	5				10	15	5		50
04	M																				
	F																				
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9		100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4		45

104

4.2.6 Poster 8

The question concerning this poster asks why only girls' pictures have been put on it. Answers to this question and the statistics that support them are unique in their own way. In Old Kalingalinga, 32.7 percent females chose "BAM" while 40 percent chose "BAW" and only 27.3 percent chose "GN". The ratio for male respondents in the same township was 29.9:30:41 and 0. The reason for more females choosing "BAW" was the widespread belief that the onus to control the spread of AIDS rested more on females by saying 'NO' to illicit sex than on males by ceasing to seduce females. This belief was based on the mistaken assumption stated earlier that it is 'natural' for males to engage in illicit sex but very immoral for females to do the same. It must be observed that in Old Kalingalinga age and educational level did not or seemed not to play any significant role in determining answers female respondents gave. Male figures show a different trend, however. The largest number (41.1 percent) decided on "GN" against 27.3 percent for female respondents. It is worth noting that "BAM" was chosen by males not below E.LD. This was probably because these educational levels had males who accepted that it was not so "natural" for them to seduce young girls into having illicit sex especially with the advent of AIDS. Thirty percent of the males, most of them below Grade Ten, supported the notion that girls needed AIDS advice more than boys did (a widespread belief in this neighbourhood) reflecting the attitudes explained already. The reasons for male choices were probably the same as those advanced to explain female choices. Forty one percent as stated above picked "GN". The distribution of these respondents does not seem to follow any specific pattern and was not restricted to any particular age group or educational level. The reason for this may not only be because these respondents believed that the poster was meant to tailor girls' thoughts about AIDS but could also be a direct rejection of the other two statements (BAM and BAW), namely, "Because girls have the right to say "No" to male promiscuity" and "Because girls need AIDS advice more than boys".

From the figures above, it will be seen that the "GN" distribution for all the three townships follow a distinct pattern. First, there were more males than females. Second, the difference between all "GN" figures was more than ten percent all round. BAW distribution for Libala where there were also more males than females also follows a similar pattern. Old

Kalingalinga had the reverse of this. This was not accidental. Females here had a tendency to be less sensitive to their own gender. The majority shared attitudes and beliefs consonant with those of their male counterparts. They appeared less emancipated than females in Libala and Roma. This was why beliefs like "Girls need AIDS advice more than boys", "AIDS control depends more on female sexual behaviour than that of males", "It is a woman who is a prostitute not a man" and "it is 'normal' for males to engage in extra-marital sex" gained more acceptance here in Old Kalingalinga than anywhere else in the three townships. This behaviour cannot be attributed to the variables of gender, age and educational level as separate variables but to their combination and in relation to the environment in which they are cast. Because Old Kalingalinga appeared to condone male promiscuity more openly than did Libala and Roma, it would not be surprising if AIDS statistics showed the epidemic was more prevalent here than in the other two neighbourhoods.

The picture is different for Libala where the "BAM"- "BAW"- "GN" and "DK" ratio for females was 42.2:8.9:46.7 and 0. For males it was 8.9::33.3:60 and 0. There was almost total rejection of "BAW" by females who did not agree that girls needed AIDS education more than boys. This in itself can be interpreted as a rejection of the notion that females only rather than both sexes hold the key to controlling AIDS. As stated earlier, this notion was very prevalent in Old Kalingalinga. Males too rejected "BAM" by almost the same margin. It must also be observed that while the difference between females who chose "BAM" (42.2 percent) and those who chose "GN" (46.7 percent) was only 4.5 percent, the difference between those who chose "BAW" and "GN" was 26.7 percent. This was mainly because of the wide difference already created between males and females who chose "BAM" which was 33.3 percent.

The "BAM"; "BAW"; GN and DK ratios (in percentages) for the three townships were as shown at Charts A31-A36, B6, B21 and B36 below.

A31

Poster 8 (1, 7, 13)

Jnder grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma									
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why did the makers of the poster put girls only on it?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because girls have the right to say no to male promiscuity (ie refuse being seduced by men)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because girls need AIDS advice more than boys.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because the poster is meant to tailor girls thoughts about AIDS (ie. Behave as those on the poster)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A32

Poster 8 (2, 8, 14)

Grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma									
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why did the makers of the poster put girls only on it?	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because girls have the right to say no to male promiscuity (ie refuse being seduced by men)	2	5	2	6	3	2	7	13	2	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Because girls need AIDS advice more than boys.	0	1	2	4	3	2	5	7	0	0	1	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because the poster is meant to tailor girls thoughts about AIDS (ie. Behave as those on the poster)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	8	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	8	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Poster 8 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Roma

Libala

Kalingalinga

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total					
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f				
Why did the makers of the poster put girls only on it?	0	2		0	0		0	0		1	1		0	0		0	0		0	0		1	2		0	0	
Because girls have the right to say no to male promiscuity (ie refuse being seduced by men)	3	3		3	2		2	3		8	8		5	3		1	1		0	0		2	3		0	0	
Because girls need AIDS advice more than boys.	7	3		5	1		1	1		13	5		2	2		1	3		2	2		5	7		3	3	
Because the poster is meant to tailor girls thoughts about AIDS (ie. Behave as those on the poster)	0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0	
Don't know	10	8		8	3		4	5		22	18		7	10		2	5		2	2		12	17		6	8	
Total																											

Poster 8 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Roma

Libala

Kalingalinga

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total					
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f				
Why did the makers of the poster put girls only on it?	3	6		4	3		4	0		11	9		2	7		0	1		0	1		2	9		0	0	
Because girls have the right to say no to male promiscuity (ie refuse being seduced by men)	4	1		2	0		0	0		6	1		4	1		1	0		0	0		5	1		0	0	
Because girls need AIDS advice more than boys.	11	3		2	0		1	0		14	3		4	3		5	4		4	2		13	9		2	1	
Because the poster is meant to tailor girls thoughts about AIDS (ie. Behave as those on the poster)	0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0	
Don't know	18	10		8	3		5	0		31	13		10	11		6	5		4	3		20	19		2	1	
Total																											

B6
Poster No. 8
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M				4.3						5.7	4.3			1.4	1.4	5.7			22.9
	F		3.6	3.6	10.9						5.6	7.3				1.8				32.7
02	M		2.9	4.3	5.7			2.9	4.3	2.9					4.3	2.9				30.0
	F		9.0	7.3	1.8			10.9	3.6						3.6	4.3				40.0
03	M			10.0	15.7			2.9	7.1	2.9	1.4				4.3	1.4	1.4			41.1
	F		1.8	5.6	5.6			7.3	1.8						3.6	1.8				27.3
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

B21
Poster No. 8
Libala

Respondents Distribution in %

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M			2.2	4.4										2.2			
	F		2.2	11.1	15.6				2.2	2.2	2.2				2.2		2.2	2.2		42.2
02	M		4.4	12.6	8.8				2.2	2.2	2.2									33.3
	F			4.4	2.2					2.2										8.9
03	M			4.4	8.8					2.2	11.1	4.4			2.2	4.4	8.8	13.3		60.0
	F			4.4	6.7				2.2	6.7	8.8					2.2	2.2	6.7		46.7
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0	90

Respondents Distribution in %

B36
Poster No. 8
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M			4														
	F			5													5			10
02	M		4	8																12
	F			15																15
03	M		4	12	8						4	8	8				4	24	12	84
	F			15	5	5					5	5	5				5	20	5	70
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

C6

KALINGALINGA

	BAM	BAW	GN	DK
M	29.9	30	41.1	0
F	32.7	40	27.3	0
DIF	2.8	10	13.8	0

LIBALA

M	8.9	33.3	60	0
F	42.2	8.9	46.7	0
DIF	33.3	24.4	23.3	0

ROMA

M	4	12	84	0
F	10	15	75	0
DIF	6	3	14	0

4.2.7 Poster 9 Statistics

Chart C7

KALINGALINGA

	BAM	BAW	GN	DK
M	8.6	10	77.1	5.7
F	12.7	7.3	72.7	5.5
Dif	4.1	2.7	4.4	0.2

LIBALA

M	4.4	11.1	84.4	0
F	8.9	2.2	88.9	0
Dif	4.5	8.9	4.5	0

ROMA

M	4.0	4	92	0
F	10	0	90	0
Dif	6	4	2	0

The question concerning Poster 9 required respondents to state why they thought its captions were meant or not meant for 'smart guys' only. The overwhelming answer was gender neutral (72-92). The reason, reflective of the statement, was because AIDS concerns everybody, smart or not, i.e, both sexes and all ages. In spite of, and also because of this convergence of opinion, there were a lot of intra and inter-township variations and similarities in the male-female "BAM"- "BAW"- "GN" and "DK" distribution patterns as shown in the charts C6 and C7 above, A37-42, B7, B22 and B37 below.

A37

Poster 9 (1, 7, 13)

Under grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma									
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why would you or wouldn't you say the words in the caption are for smart guys only?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because guys who are not smart can easily be seduced into casual sex.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because Sugar Mummies like smart guys.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
AIDS concerns both sexes and all ages	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A38

Poster 9 (2, 8, 14)

Grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma									
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why would you or wouldn't you say the words in the caption are for smart guys only?	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because guys who are not smart can easily be seduced into casual sex.	0	0	2	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because Sugar Mummies like smart guys.	2	3	2	6	4	3	8	12	1	0	1	2	2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
AIDS concerns both sexes and all ages	0	3	0	0	2	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	2	8	4	10	8	3	14	21	2	1	1	2	2	5	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	2	8	4	10	8	3	14	21	2	1	1	2	2	5	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	2

174

Poster 9 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma									
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why would you or wouldn't you say the words in the caption are for smart guys only?	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Because guys who are not smart can easily be seduced into casual sex.	1	0	2	1	0	0	3	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Because Sugar Mummies like smart guys.	6	7	5	2	4	5	15	14	6	7	2	4	2	2	10	13	5	6	0	0	0	5
AIDS concerns both sexes and all ages	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	10	8	7	3	4	5	22	16	8	9	2	5	2	2	13	15	6	8	0	0	0	6
Total																						

A40

Poster 9 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma									
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why would you or wouldn't you say the words in the caption are for smart guys only?	3	2	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because guys who are not smart can easily be seduced into casual sex.	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because Sugar Mummies like smart guys.	14	7	7	4	5	0	26	11	8	10	5	5	4	3	17	18	2	1	1	1	2	4
AIDS concerns both sexes and all ages	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	18	10	7	4	5	0	30	14	10	11	6	5	4	3	20	19	2	1	1	1	2	4
Total																						

115

Poster 9 (5, 11, 17)	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma					
	College																							
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
Why would you or wouldn't you say the words in the caption are for smart guys only?	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Because guys who are not smart can easily be seduced into casual sex.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Because Sugar Mummies like smart guys.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
AIDS concerns both sexes and all ages	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	2	1	6	4	8	5	0	1	2	1	6	4	8	6
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	2	1	6	4	8	5	0	1	2	1	6	4	8	6

Poster 9 (6, 12, 18)	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma					
	University																							
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
Why would you or wouldn't you say the words in the caption are for smart guys only?	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Because guys who are not smart can easily be seduced into casual sex.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Because Sugar Mummies like smart guys.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
AIDS concerns both sexes and all ages	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	3	1	5	2
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	3	1	5	2

B7

Poster No. 9
Kalingalinga

Respondents Distribution in %

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M			1.4	4.3					1.4					1.4			
	F		3.6	1.8	3.6				3.6											12.7
02	M			1.4	1.4				2.9	2.9					1.4					10.0
	F				1.8				3.6	1.8										7.3
03	M		2.9	8.6	20.0				2.9	7.1	11.9	5.7			5.7	5.7	7.1			77.1
	F		5.6	12.7	12.7				10.9	3.6	5.6	7.3			5.6	9.0				73
04	M			2.9											2.9					5.7
	F		5.6																	5.6
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

Respondents Distribution in %

B22
Poster No. 9
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M			2.2							2.2							
	F		2.2	2.2	2.2					2.2										8.9
02	M		2.2	4.4	4.4															11.1
	F			2.2																2.2
03	M		2.2	13.3	17.8				2.2	4.4	11.1	4.4			4.4	4.4	8.8	13.3		84.4
	F			15.6	22.2				4.4	8.8	11.1	2.2			2.2	4.4	6.7	8.8		88.9
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0	90

118

B37
Poster No. 9
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M		4															
	F			10																10
02	M			4																4
	F																			
03	M		4	20	8					4	8	8	8			4	24	12		92
	F			30	5	5				5	5	5				10	20	5		90
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3		0	0	3	10	4	45

First, let us discuss the similarities. Statistics show that, except for “BAM”, all the three A37 columns had higher male than female percentages. In Libala the trend was the same except for “BAW”. This intra-township similarity was absent with respect to Roma. Another similarity was that differences between “BAM”, “BAW” and “GN” as regards males become higher as one moves from “BAM” towards “GN”. This applies to all townships. Let us now turn to differences.

The first inter-township difference and the easiest to notice was that only in Old Kalingalinga did respondents of both sexes claim they didn't know whether the captions were meant for smart guys only. The second variation was that ‘GN’ had the highest concentration of respondents as compared to other columns. The final difference which could also be categorised as a similarity in that it occurred in all townships under discussion, was that there were more male than female respondents who chose “BAM”. This constituted a variation in that it occurred only under “BAM”. Having described the similarities and variations, it is time now to turn to reasons why these similarities and differences occurred.

Fewer men than women in Kalingalinga chose “BAM” because of the group or gender solidarity phenomenon of blaming other groups already discussed at some length. The same reason explains why fewer females than males chose “BAW”. Statistics show that this behavioural pattern applied to all townships. The high concentration of subjects in the “GN” columns in all the neighbourhoods also followed the already established trend because the cases of almost all the questions already discussed “GN” yielded the highest scores. Reasons for this have already been advanced. However, the three subjects who said or claimed they ‘didn't know’ deserve special attention. Given that these respondents were in Age-Group 1 (AG1) and with a Grade Seven level of education and that terms like ‘seduce’ and “sugar mummy” were adequately explained to them by the researcher, the reason they claimed not to know probably could have been out of sheer innocence and honesty. A probable explanation for their choice, therefore, is that they actually failed to choose.

Before discussing the results of Poster 10 it will suffice to mention one aspect of Poster 9 that deserves further discussion. This is the fact that many respondents (probably because of their educational level) did not associate smartness with cleverness. They thought it referred to manner of dress. In this regard one subject commented: "It is difficult to tell whether all these guys are smart." Failure to realize that 'smart' here referred to wit might partly explain (apart from the other reasons already given) the high concentration of scores at "GN". Probably 'GN' was the easiest to understand.

4.2.8 Poster 10

The partial convergence mentioned with regard to Poster 9 also existed as regards Poster 10 though in a completely different direction and only between Kalingalinga and Libala as shown by the charts. In Kalingalinga, 78.6 percent of the male and 90.9 of the female respondents chose to blame the man himself for his state of AIDS illness. The male-female percentage ratios for Libala and Roma were 80:86.7 and 44:45 respectively. Fifty-two percent of the males and 45 percent of the females respectively chose "GN" because in Roma they said they "didn't know" since it was difficult to tell how this man was infected or who had infected him. This view was least prevalent in Libala and Old Kalingalinga. These results suggest that in Old Kalingalinga and Libala the majority of the respondents put emphasis on sexual intercourse as the commonest mode of HIV transmission while in Roma there was a high awareness of other modes like blood transfusion, sharing of needles and razor blades and so on.

It is noteworthy that the number of female respondents blaming other females is zero in Old Kalingalinga and only two percent in Libala. The reason for this was that most female respondents in Kalingalinga and Libala thought that the man in the poster got AIDS because he was rich. "He bought it with his money", they said. "So why blame other women?". Some women even said this man deserved the disease. One case in particular clearly comes to this researcher's mind. When shown the poster, the female respondent burst out laughing and called out to her husband who seemed to have lost interest in what was going on. "You see what AIDS and money can do to you", she enthused. "It does not only waste your flesh! It also takes away your nice suit, shirt, tie and pair of shoes". In Old Kalingalinga not only all the female respondents who refused to blame perceived female promiscuity as regards Poster 10 but that all male respondents opted for either "BAM" (78.6 percent) or "GN" (21.4 percent) probably because of the assumed wealthy status of the victim. The statistical reference points for this poster are charts A43-A48, B8, B23, B38 and most importantly C8.

Poster 10 (1, 7, 13)

Under grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma											
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this man's AIDS illness?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The man himself because he indulged in casual sex.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The woman who infected him.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We don't know for sure because we don't know who infected him and how he was infected.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A44

Poster 10 (2, 8, 14)

Grade 7

Age group	Kalingalinga						Libala						Roma											
	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this man's AIDS illness?	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	1	0	1	2	2	2	4	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
The man himself because he indulged in casual sex.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
The woman who infected him.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We don't know for sure because we don't know who infected him and how he was infected.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	3	0	1	2	2	2	6	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0

Poster 10 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total				
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f			
Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this man's AIDS illness?	9	8		6	3	1	4	16	15	4	6	2	4	2	4	8	14	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	4	5
The man himself because he indulged in casual sex.	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
The woman who infected him.	1	0		2	0	3	1	6	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
We don't know for sure because we don't know who infected him and how he was infected.	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	10	8		8	3	4	5	22	16	10	8	2	5	2	4	14	17	6	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total																										

A46

Poster 10 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total				
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f			
Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this man's AIDS illness?	16	8		5	3	1	0	22	11	9	5	5	3	5	17	19	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	2
The man himself because he indulged in casual sex.	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The woman who infected him.	2	2		3	0	4	0	9	2	2	1	1	0	1	4	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	
We don't know for sure because we don't know who infected him and how he was infected.	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	18	10		8	3	5	0	31	13	11	10	6	5	4	21	20	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	
Total																										

Poster 10 (5, 11, 17)

College

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total											
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f										
Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this man's AIDS illness?	0	0	4	2	0	0	4	2	0	0	2	1	5	0	8	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2		
The man himself because he indulged in casual sex.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
The woman who infected him.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
We don't know for sure because we don't know who infected him and how he was infected.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	2	1	5	0	8	1	0	1	2	1	2	1	6	4	8	6

A48

Poster 10 (6, 12, 18)

University

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this man's AIDS illness?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The man himself because he indulged in casual sex.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The woman who infected him.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We don't know for sure because we don't know who infected him and how he was infected.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Respondents Distribution in %

B8
Poster No. 10
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M		2.9	12.6	22.9				5.7	8.6	7.1	5.5			10.0	1.4	1.4			78.6
	F		14.5	14.5				18.2			5.6	3.6			7.3	7.3				90.9
02	M																			
	F																			
03	M			1.4	2.9					2.9	4.3					4.3	5.7			21.4
	F				3.6							3.6			1.8					9.1
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

Respondents Distribution in %

B23
Poster No. 10
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M		2.2	4.4	20.0				2.2	4.4	11.1	4.4			4.4	4.4	6.7	11.1		80.0
	F			13.3	20.0				4.4	8.8	11.1	2.2			4.4	8.8	11.1			86.7
02	M		4.4	11.1																15.6
	F			2.2																2.2
03	M			2.2	2.2						2.2						2.2			8.9
	F			2.2	2.2				2.2											6.7
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %		3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0	90

125

B38
Poster No. 10
Roma

Respondents Distribution in %

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M		4	16	4								4				4	8	4	44
	F			25	5						5							10		45
02	M		4																	4
	F			10																10
03	M			4	8						4	8	4					16	8	52
	F			5		5						5	5				10	10	5	45
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

C8

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	78.6	0	21.4	0
F	90.9	0	9.1	0
DIF	12.3	0	13.3	0

LIBALA

M	80	15.6		0
F	86.7	2.2		0
DIF	6.7	13.4		0

ROMA

M	44	4	52	0
F	45	10	45	0
DIF	1	6	7	0

4.2.9 Poster 11

C9

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	2.9	22.9	74.3	0
F	30.9	16.4	52.7	0
DIF	28	6.5	21.6	0

LIBALA

M	0	2.2	91.1	0
F	35.6	11	60	0
DIF	35.6	8.8	31.1	0

ROMA

M	4	8	88	0
F	10	10	80	0
DIF	6	2	8	0

The distribution pattern for Poster 11 is slightly different from that for Poster 10 just discussed. Charts C9 above, B9, B24 and B34 testify to this. Here, in all the three townships the highest percentages fall under "GN". The reason for this is not only rejection of biases at 'BAM' and 'BAW' but due to other factors as well. For example, choice of "GN" could also be interpreted as a confirmation of the speculation that up to eight years after AIDS was confirmed in Zambia, it had remained more or less a closed subject compared to sex with

which it is associated. Many Zambians first simply refused to acknowledge that there was AIDS not because they didn't see the danger but because they wanted to escape from the contradiction of acknowledging the existence of AIDS and at the same time refusing to change their sexual behaviour. In fact this researcher encountered subjects who dreaded talking about AIDS more than they feared AIDS itself. When we scrutinize the statistics, we find that only 2.9 percent of the males in Old Kalingalinga, 0 percent in Libala and 4 percent in Roma acknowledge that they ignore advice concerning AIDS, yet this was exactly what the majority of them were doing. In addition, 22.85 percent males suggested they should try to seduce females but the latter must say 'No' to men's advances in order that they stop the spread of AIDS.

The question on Poster 11 required the respondent to state why the anti-AIDS campaigner decided to talk to another woman and not to a man. Statistics here show that age and educational level played a significant role in determining the choices the respondents made. In Old Kalingalinga, one of the two males and 64 percent of the females who chose "BAM" came from AG1. On the other hand, 75 percent of the males and 66 percent of the females who chose "BAW" came from the same age group while only 74.3 percent of the males and 52.7 percent of the females chose "GN":

These figures seem to suggest that the younger the respondents (and usually the lower their educational level), the more defensive they were about their gender group, the less analytical they were about the questions asked, and the more pronounced their escapist attitudes were, that is, blaming other groups and refusing to take responsibility. On the other hand, the older the respondents (and usually the higher their educational level) the more emancipated, analytical and realistic they were in their approach to AIDS issues. Older subjects were less defensive of their gender groups and much more ready to accept responsibility. Defensive behaviour was exhibited by choosing answers that could be interpreted to accuse other groups or members of the opposite sex. This will become much clearer when the results of Poster 12 are discussed.

Poster 11 (1, 7, 13)

Under grade 7

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			
	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	
On this poster the anti-AIDS campaigner went to talk to another woman (instead of a man) because the makers of the poster want to tell us ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That men ignore advice on AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That if all women said no to casual sex, AIDS would be controlled.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That it is easier to discuss AIDS with members of the same gender.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A50

Poster 11 (2, 8, 14)

Grade 7

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			
	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	m	f	Total	
On this poster the anti-AIDS campaigner went to talk to another woman (instead of a man) because the makers of the poster want to tell us ...	0	4	0	5	1	0	1	9	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That men ignore advice on AIDS	2	1	3	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That if all women said no to casual sex, AIDS would be controlled.	0	3	3	2	6	4	9	9	2	0	1	1	2	1	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That it is easier to discuss AIDS with members of the same gender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Poster 11 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
On this poster the anti-AIDS campaigner went to talk to another woman (instead of a man) because the makers of the poster want to tell us ...	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	2
That men ignore advice on AIDS	4	1	2	0	0	0	6	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	1
That if all women said no to casual sex, AIDS would be controlled.	5	2	6	3	4	5	15	10	7	4	2	3	2	2	11	9
That it is easier to discuss AIDS with members of the same gender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	10	8	8	3	4	5	22	16	11	7	2	5	2	2	12	17
Total																

A52

Poster 11 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
On this poster the anti-AIDS campaigner went to talk to another woman (instead of a man) because the makers of the poster want to tell us ...	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
That men ignore advice on AIDS	6	4	1	0	0	0	7	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	0
That if all women said no to casual sex, AIDS would be controlled.	12	4	7	3	5	0	24	7	7	3	6	5	4	3	17	11
That it is easier to discuss AIDS with members of the same gender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	18	10	8	3	5	0	31	13	7	14	6	5	4	3	17	22
Total																

Poster 11 (5, 11, 17)

College

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	Kalingalinga			Libala			Roma					
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total
On this poster the anti-AIDS campaigner went to talk to another woman (Instead of a man) because the makers of the poster want to tell us ...	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f	
That men ignore advice on AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That if all women said no to casual sex, AIDS would be controlled.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That it is easier to discuss AIDS with members of the same gender	0	4	4	4	4	0	2	1	6	4	2	8
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	4	4	4	4	0	2	1	6	4	2	8

A54

Poster 11 (6, 12, 18)

University

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	Kalingalinga			Libala			Roma					
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total
On this poster the anti-AIDS campaigner went to talk to another woman (Instead of a man) because the makers of the poster want to tell us ...	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f	
That men ignore advice on AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That if all women said no to casual sex, AIDS would be controlled.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That it is easier to discuss AIDS with members of the same gender	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3

Respondents Distribution in %

B9
Poster No. 11
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M			1.4											1.4			
	F		7.3	9.0	3.6				9.0											30.9
02	M		2.9	5.7	8.6				1.4	2.9	1.4									22.9
	F		1.8	1.8	7.3				5.6											16.4
03	M			7.1	17.1				4.3	8.6	10.0	5.7			8.6	5.7	7.1			74.3
	F		5.6	3.6	7.3				3.6	5.6	5.6	7.3			7.3	7.3				52.7
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

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Respondents Distribution in %

B24
Poster No. 11
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M																	
	F		2.2	11.1	15.6				2.2	4.4										
	M			2.2																35.6
	F			2.2	8.8															2.2
02	M		4.4	15.6	15.6				2.2	4.4	13.3	4.4			4.4	4.4	8.8	13.3		91.1
	F			8.8	6.7				2.2	6.7	11.1	2.2			2.2	4.4	6.7	8.8		60.0
03	M																			
	F																			
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0	90

133

Respondents Distribution in %

B39
Poster No. 11
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M																			4
	F			10																10
02	M		4	4																8
	F			10																10
03	M		4	20	8						4	8	8				4	20	12	88
	F			20	5	5					5	5	5				10	20	5	80
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

134

Poster 12 (1, 7, 13)	A55															
	Under grade 7	Kalingalinga				Libala				Roma						
		16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total			
At whom do you think the makers of the poster directed the words that make the caption? Give reason for your answer.	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
At men because they seduce women.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
At women because if all women rejected casual sex AIDS would be controlled.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
At both men and women because AIDS does not choose it infects both genders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Poster 12 (2, 8, 14)	A56															
	Grade 7	Kalingalinga				Libala				Roma						
		16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total			
At whom do you think the makers of the poster directed the words that make the caption? Give reason for your answer.	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
At men because they seduce women.	0	4	0	6	1	0	1	10	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
At women because if all women rejected casual sex AIDS would be controlled.	2	1	1	3	0	0	3	4	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
At both men and women because AIDS does not choose it infects both genders	0	3	2	2	7	3	9	8	1	0	1	2	1	4	3	2
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	8	3	11	8	3	13	22	2	1	1	2	1	5	4	2

Poster 12 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
At whom do you think the makers of the poster directed the words that make the caption? Give reason for your answer.																
At men because they seduce women.	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2
At women because if all women rejected casual sex AIDS would be controlled.	4	1	2	0	0	0	6	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
At both men and women because AIDS does not choose it infects both genders	5	2	6	3	5	4	16	9	5	6	2	4	2	2	9	12
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	8	8	3	5	4	23	15	8	6	2	4	2	2	12	12

A58

Poster 12 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
At whom do you think the makers of the poster directed the words that make the caption? Give reason for your answer.																
At men because they seduce women.	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1
At women because if all women rejected casual sex AIDS would be controlled.	4	5	2	0	0	0	6	5	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
At both men and women because AIDS does not choose it infects both genders	13	4	6	3	5	0	24	7	9	7	5	6	4	3	18	16
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	11	8	3	5	0	30	14	10	11	5	6	4	3	19	20

Poster 12 (5, 11, 17)

College

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	Kalingalinga			Libala			Roma						
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	
At whom do you think the makers of the poster directed the words that make the caption? Give reason for your answer.	m	f		m	f		m	f	m	f		m	f
At men because they seduce women.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
At women because if all women rejected casual sex AIDS would be controlled.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
At both men and women because AIDS does not choose it infects both genders	0	4	0	4	0	2	1	6	4	2	1	8	5
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	4	0	4	0	2	1	6	4	2	1	8	5

A60

Poster 12 (6, 12, 18)

University

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	Kalingalinga			Libala			Roma						
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	
At whom do you think the makers of the poster directed the words that make the caption? Give reason for your answer.	m	f		m	f		m	f	m	f		m	f
At men because they seduce women.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
At women because if all women rejected casual sex AIDS would be controlled.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
At both men and women because AIDS does not choose it infects both genders	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1

Respondents Distribution in %

B10
Poster No. 12
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M			1.4											1.4			
	F		5.7	9.0	3.6				10.9											30.9
02	M		2.9	5.7	7.3				1.4	2.9	2.9									21.4
	F		1.8	1.8	9.0				5.6											18.1
03	M			7.1	18.6				2.9	8.6	8.6	5.7			10.0	7.1	7.1			74.2
	F		5.6	3.6	9.0				3.6	5.6	5.7	7.3			5.6	7.3				52.7
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																			
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	
01	M																				
	F		2.2	6.7	8.8																24.4
02	M		2.2	6.7	2.2																11.1
	F																				
03	M		2.2	11.1	20.0				2.2	6.7	11.1	2.2			2.2	2.2	8.8	13.3			86.7
	F		13.3	15.6	2.2				2.2	8.8	13.8	2.2			2.2	4.4	6.7	8.8			
04	M																				
	F																				
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0		100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0		90

Respondents Distribution in %

B40
Poster No. 12
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M																			
	F			10													5			15
02	M			4																4
	F			5																5
03	M		8	20	8						4	8	8				4	24	12	96
	F			25	5	5					5	5	5				5	20	5	80
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

C10

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	2.9	21.4	74.2	0
F	30.9	18.1	52.7	0
DIF	28	3.3	21.3	0

LIBALA

M	0	11.1	86.7	
F	24.4	0	75.6	
DIF	24.4	11.1	11.1	

ROMA

M	0	4	96	0
F	15	5	80	0
DIF	15	1	16	0

The question on Poster 12 required respondents to identify the message or the target of the captions. Close to three percent said the caption was directed at fellow men against 30.9 percent of the women who said the same in Old Kalingalinga. The ratios at "BAW" were the reverse of those at "BAM". Twenty-one percent of the men here believed the caption was directed at women while only eighteen percent of the women agreed with this. The reasons for these attitudes have been postulated already. What is important to note, however, is the percentage of women indicating that the caption is actually directed at them - or their gender. The reasons for female respondents accepting this have also been already advanced with respect to Poster 1. The phenomenon described above concerning Kalingalinga was replicated in Libala and Roma. These similarities as Charts A56-A60, B10, B25 and B40 show, also occurred in the gender neutral distribution of both sexes. Figures show that there was a difference of less than 20 percent when we compare Old Kalingalinga, Libala and Roma "GN" female choices and when we do the same for male choices. What is worth noting is that the majority of both male and female respondents decided that the captions were directed at both sexes because AIDS does not choose. It might appear strange that Roma females chose the same items as those for Old Kalingalinga. However, statistics from questions 4 and 9 that have similar "GN" answers suggest that some respondents from the three townships sometimes converge in thinking on certain issues. One thing is noteworthy, however. When the respondents' views from all the three townships converged, that is, made similar or same

choices, it was mostly Old Kalingalinga and Libala respondents who swayed towards those of Roma. As far as age group and educational levels were concerned, the views of the younger respondents appeared to sway towards those of the older respondents while the views of those with lower educational levels moved towards those of higher educational levels and rarely in the reverse direction. These findings suggest that the older the respondents and the higher their educational levels the more consistent they were in their choices. The fact that mobility, or change of opinion, when convergence of opinion occurred, was from Kalingalinga and Libala to Roma implied that Roma respondents were more consistent in their choices and more assertive than those of the other two townships. Ultimately, this explains why the phenomenon of women blaming other women so prevalent in Old Kalingalinga was rare in Roma. Regarding the question on Poster 21, most convergence areas discussed above disappear leaving only two similarities.

4.2.11 Poster 21

C11

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	4.3	20	75.2	0
F	12.7	7.3	78.1	0
DIF	8.4	12.7	2.9	0

LIBALA

M	0	17.8	82.2	0
F	33.3	31.1	35.6	0
DIF	33.3	13.3	42.2	0

ROMA

M	0	16	76	8
F	15	5	80	0
DIF	15	11	4	8

Poster 21 (1, 7, 13)	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma							
	Under grade 7																									
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total		
Age group	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
What do the makers of the poster want to tell us by making the woman carry the load?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That men are so cruel that they burden women with AIDS.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That this woman is carrying a load of guilt because she killed her husband with AIDS.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That the woman is a symbol of the family.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Poster 21 (2, 8, 14)	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma							
	Grade 7																									
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total		
Age group	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
What do the makers of the poster want to tell us by making the woman carry the load?	0	2	0	2	1	0	1	4	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That men are so cruel that they burden women with AIDS.	2	2	2	1	1	0	5	3	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
That this woman is carrying a load of guilt because she killed her husband with AIDS.	0	4	2	7	5	3	7	14	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That the woman is a symbol of the family.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	2	8	4	10	7	3	13	21	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	5	4	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
Total	2	8	4	10	7	3	13	21	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	5	4	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0

Poster 21 (3, 9, 15)
Grade 8 and 9

Roma

Age group	Kalingalinga				Libala				Roma			
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total
What do the makers of the poster want to tell us by making the woman carry the load?	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
That men are so cruel that they burden women with AIDS.	2	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
That this woman is carrying a load of guilt because she killed her husband with AIDS.	4	1	3	0	7	1	3	5	0	0	0	0
That the woman is a symbol of the family.	4	6	5	3	13	14	5	0	2	3	0	4
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	10	8	8	3	22	16	8	10	2	5	0	10

Poster 21 (4, 10, 16)
Grade 10 - 12

Roma

Age group	Kalingalinga				Libala				Roma			
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total
What do the makers of the poster want to tell us by making the woman carry the load?	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
That men are so cruel that they burden women with AIDS.	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	0
That this woman is carrying a load of guilt because she killed her husband with AIDS.	1	5	1	0	2	0	2	8	1	0	0	1
That the woman is a symbol of the family.	17	8	7	3	29	11	8	0	5	4	2	17
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	18	15	8	3	31	13	10	11	6	5	4	20

A65

Poster 21 (5, 11, 17)

College	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma														
	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total						
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f				
What do the makers of the poster want to tell us by making the woman carry the load?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That men are so cruel that they burden women with AIDS.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That this woman is carrying a load of guilt because she killed her husband with AIDS.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That the woman is a symbol of the family.	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	2	1	6	3	8	4	0	1	2	1	4	0	1	2	4	4	6	4	4	6
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	4	0	4	4	0	4	4	0	2	1	6	4	4	8	5	8	5	0	1	2	1	6	4	1	2	6	4	8	6	6	6

A66

Poster 21 (6, 12, 18)

University	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma														
	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total						
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f				
What do the makers of the poster want to tell us by making the woman carry the load?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That men are so cruel that they burden women with AIDS.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That this woman is carrying a load of guilt because she killed her husband with AIDS.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
That the woman is a symbol of the family.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
We don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

B11
Poster No. 21
Kalingalinga

Respondents Distribution in %

Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M			2.9											1.4					4.3
	F		3.6	1.8	3.6			3.6												12.7
02	M		2.9	5.7	1.4			2.9	4.3	1.4					1.4					20.0
	F		3.6	1.8				1.8												7.3
03	M			5.6	24.3			2.9	9.0	10.0	5.7				7.1	5.6	7.1			75.2
	F		7.3	10.9	11.9			10.0	7.3	7.3	5.7				7.3	9.0				78.1
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	0	125

Respondents Distribution in %

B26
Poster No. 21
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		Total	
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total	
01	M																				
	F		2.2	11.1	6.7				4.4	2.2	2.2						2.2	2.2			33.3
02	M		2.2	6.7	4.4				2.2												17.8
	F			11.1	17.8					2.2											31.1
03	M		2.2	11.2	17.8					4.4	11.1	4.4			4.4		8.8	13.3			77.8
	F									6.7	8.8	2.2			2.2	4.4	4.4	6.7			35.6
04	M																				
	F																				
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0		100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0		90

147

Respondents Distribution in %

B41
Poster No. 21
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M																	
	F			15																15
02	M		4	8							4									16
	F			5																5
03	M		4	16	8							8	8				4	16	12	76
	F			20	5	5					5	5	5				10	20	5	80
04	M																	8		8
	F																			
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

148

The question on this poster asked why it was a woman who was made to carry the load. The male “BAM” ratios for Old Kalingalinga-Libala-Roma, as indicated on Chart C11 above, were 4.3.0:0 respectively. The male rejection of “BAM” in all the three townships is one similarity between poster 12 and 21 results. The other similarity was the concentration of most choices in the “G.N.” column, just like with respect to most questions. The female ratios in the order arranged above were 12.7:33:15 percent. This was not surprising since the statement blames men for the state in which the woman carrying the load finds herself. When we come to “BAW”, which blames women for the burden the woman on the poster is carrying, the numbers of male respondents increase and those of female respondents decreases. Reasons for this kind of phenomenon have already been given with respect to earlier questions. What is worthy of note here is the fact that two male respondents in Roma with college education, as shown on Charts B41 and A65, said they did not know what the poster was supposed to convey to them. In general terms, there were two reasons for this. First, many respondents found this poster very difficult to interpret, especially during the preliminary stages. The two subjects in question were therefore being honest by stating that they didn’t know or couldn’t decipher the message. The second explanation had to do with the nature of the question and the method used to extract honest answers from respondents. The question in this case aimed at eliciting the respondents’ views regarding the posters. It also required respondents to believe or pretend to believe that their answer was actually the view of the maker of the poster. The two respondents might have realised that they may not be right to claim that they were giving someone else’s views or that their views were the same as those of the people who made the posters. That is probably why they chose ‘Don’t Know’. The number of those who chose “Don’t Know” increased to 27 (12 + 15) percent regarding the next question. They were once again all from Roma as Charts A69, A71, A72 and C12 indicate.

4.2.12 Poster 22

Two of the respondents with regard to Poster 21 had university degrees while three had college education and the remainder had Grade Nine level of education. Their reasons for choosing “DK” cannot, therefore, be based only on the explanations advanced in section 4.2.11. First, considering the fact that AIDS was a widely ___ though not always openly discussed subject ___ the educational background and ages of these respondents suggest that they knew

something about AIDS. If these premises are accepted, these respondents could have been aware that sex is not the only mode of HIV transmission. They might have decided that the woman on the poster might have been infected through other means mentioned at Poster 10. It should be recalled that Poster 22 was painted as a result of an outcry from women lobby groups after Poster 10 was published. Because of their close relatedness, as already discussed, the two posters were deliberately put far apart. The differences and similarities between the answers on the two posters should accordingly be viewed in this light. The first difference could be attributed to the changed format with respect to Poster 22 where no reason is attached to "DK". As regards Poster 10 there is an explanation that can be given, namely, that we don't know how the woman was infected. Because of this, respondents in the latter case were more inclined to choose this answer than was the case in regard to Poster 22.

C12

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	4.3	7.1	88.6	0
F	36.4	10.9	52.7	0
DIF	32.1	3.8	35.9	0

LIBALA

M	2.2	6.7	91.1	0
F	41.9	17.8	53.3	0
DIF	39.7	11.1	37.8	0

ROMA

M	4	8	76	12
F	10	10	65	15
DIF	6	2	11	3

The second and final variation was an inter-township difference which was common between Roma and the other two townships. Only in Roma were there respondents who said they didn't know whom to blame at Poster 22. This, as already pointed out, was because they were aware of other modes of HIV transmission. As a result, they seemed not to want to make judgemental statements about the assumed promiscuity of either partner. The second reason was that these respondents pointed out that the poster does not tell us the marital or professional status of the woman, namely, whether she is married or she is a sex worker. In the absence of this information these respondents might have felt that any judgement would be mere speculation.

Poster 22 (3, 9, 15)	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma																				
	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total												
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f													
Grade 8 and 9																																							
Age group																																							
Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this woman's AIDS illness.																																							
The men who infected her.	0	5		0	0		0	1		0	6		0	3		0	2		0	2		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	2		0	0		0	2	
The women who infected her partner.	2	1		1	0		0	0		3	1		1	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		1	0		0	2		0	0		0	0		0	2	
The woman herself	8	2		7	3		4	4		19	9		7	7		2	3		2	2		11	12		5	4		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	5	4
We don't know	0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		1	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	1	0
Total	10	8		8	3		4	5		22	16		8	10		2	5		2	2		12	17		6	8		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	6	8

A70

Poster 22 (4, 10, 16)	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma																						
	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total														
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f			
Grade 10 - 12																																									
Age group																																									
Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this woman's AIDS illness.																																									
The men who infected her.	1	2		0	0		0	0		1	2		0	3		0	1		0	1		0	5		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0
The women who infected her partner.	1	1		0	0		0	0		1	1		1	8		1	0		0	0		2	8		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0
The woman herself	16	7		8	3		5	0		29	10		9	0		5	4		4	2		18	6		2	1		1	1		1	1		1	1		1	2	4	4	
We don't know	0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0		0	0
Total	18	10		8	3		5	0		31	13		10	11		6	5		4	3		20	19		2	1		1	1		1	1		1	1		1	2	4	4	

Poster 22 (5, 11, 17)		Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma					
		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
College	Age group	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
	Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this woman's AIDS illness.	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	The men who infected her.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	The women who infected her partner.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	The woman herself	0	0	4	3	0	0	4	3	0	0	2	1	5	4	7	5	0	1	2	1	3	2	5	4
	We don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1
	Total	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	2	1	5	4	7	5	0	1	2	1	6	4	8	6

Poster 22 (6, 12, 18)		Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma					
		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
University	Age group	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
	Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this woman's AIDS illness.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	The men who infected her.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	The women who infected her partner.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	The woman herself	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4
	We don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
	Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1

Respondents Distribution in %

B12
Poster No. 22
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENT'S CATEGORY																Total		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M		1.4		1.4										1.4					4.3
	F		10.9	9.0	3.6				7.3		1.8				1.8					36.4
02	M			2.9	1.4					1.4					1.4					7.1
	F			1.8	1.8				7.3											10.9
03	M		1.4	11.9	22.9				5.7	10.0	11.9	5.7			7.1	5.7	7.1			88.6
	F		1.8	3.6	10.0				5.6	5.6	5.6	5.3			5.6	7.3				52.7
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %		8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

154

Respondents Distribution in %

B27
Poster No. 22
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M																	2.2		2.2
	F		2.2	6.7	6.7				2.2	4.4	2.2				2.2		2.2			41.9
02	M			2.2	2.2						2.2									6.7
	F				17.8															17.8
03	M		2.2	15.6	20.0				2.2	4.4	11.1	4.4			4.4	4.4	8.8	11.1		91.1
	F			15.6					2.2	6.7	8.8	2.2				4.4	4.4	8.8		53.3
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0	90

Respondents Distribution in %

B42
Poster No. 22
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M		4															
	F			10																10
02	M																			8
	F			10																10
03	M		4	20	8					4	8	8	8				4	12	8	76
	F			20	5	5				5	5						10	10	5	65
04	M			4														4	4	12
	F												5					10		15
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

Poster 23 (1, 7, 13)												
Under grade 7												
Age group	Kalingalinga			Libala			Roma			Total		
Who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total
The man (bridegroom) because he suspects his bride might be HIV positive	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
The bride; because she suspects the groom might have AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Both man and woman because they don't want to be infected with HIV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A74

Poster 23 (2, 8, 14)												
Grade 7												
Age group	Kalingalinga			Libala			Roma			Total		
Who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total
The man (bridegroom) because he suspects his bride might be HIV positive	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
The bride; because she suspects the groom might have AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Both man and woman because they don't want to be infected with HIV	2	5	3	7	4	4	9	16	0	0	1	3
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	8	4	10	7	4	13	22	2	1	2	5

Poster 23 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total				
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f			
Who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	0	2		0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
The man (bridegroom) because he suspects his bride might be HIV positive	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	1
The bride; because she suspects the groom might have AIDS	10	6	7	3	4	5	21	14	5	6	2	5	2	2	9	13	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Both man and woman because they don't want to be infected with HIV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	10	8	8	3	4	5	22	16	8	10	2	5	2	2	12	17	6	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Total																										

A76

Poster 23 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		
Who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
The man (bridegroom) because he suspects his bride might be HIV positive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
The bride; because she suspects the groom might have AIDS	18	10	8	3	5	0	31	13	8	10	5	5	4	3	17	18	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	2
Both man and woman because they don't want to be infected with HIV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	18	10	8	3	5	0	31	13	10	11	6	5	4	3	20	19	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	2
Total																									

Poster 23 (5, 11, 17)

College

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		
Who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
The man (bridegroom) because he suspects his bride might be HIV positive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
The bride; because she suspects the groom might have AIDS	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Both man and woman because they don't want to be infected with HIV	0	0	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	6	4	8	5	0	1	2	
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	2	1	6	4	8	5	0	1	6	4	8	5	0	1	2

A78

Poster 23 (6, 12, 18)

University

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total		
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f	
Who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The man (bridegroom) because he suspects his bride might be HIV positive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The bride; because she suspects the groom might have AIDS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Both man and woman because they don't want to be infected with HIV	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Respondents Distribution in %

B13
Poster No. 23
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M								1.4						1.4			
	F		5.6	3.6																9.1
02	M									1.4					2.9					5.7
	F								5.6											5.6
03	M		2.9	14.3	25.7				4.3	10.0	11.9	4.3			5.7	5.7	7.1			87.6
	F		9.0	10.9	18.2				12.7	5.6	5.6	7.3			7.3	9.0				85.5
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

Respondents Distribution in %

B28
Poster No. 23
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																				
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total		
		01	M		2.2		2.2															
	F		2.2	4.4	2.2																	8.9
02	M		2.2	6.7	2.2					2.2												13.3
	F			4.4																		4.4
03	M		11.1	17.8					2.2	4.4	11.1	4.4			4.4	4.4	8.8	13.3				82.2
	F			13.3	22.2				4.4	11.1	11.1	2.2			2.2	4.4	6.7	8.8				86.7
04	M																					
	F																					
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0		100	
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0		90	

Respondents Distribution in %

B43
Poster No. 23
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																				
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total		
		01	M		4	4																
	F			10																		10
02	M			4																		4
	F			5																		5
03	M		4	16	8						4	8	8				4	24	12			88
	F			25	5	5					5	5	5				10	20	5			85
04	M																					
	F																					
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9			100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4			45

C13**KALINGALINGA**

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	2.9	5.7	91.4	0
F	9.1	5.5	85.5	0
DIF	6.2	0.2	2.1	0

LIBALA

M	4.4	13.3	82.2	0
F	8.9	4.4	86.7	0
DIF	4.5	8.9	4.5	0

ROMA

M	8	4	88	0
F	10	5	85	0
DIF	2	0	3	0

It is not difficult to advance reasons why the majority of respondents as regards Poster 23 chose "GN" in all three townships. The pronoun 'us' played a pivotal role here. Most respondents realized that this was a plural pronoun. Evidence for this was the fact that the majority of those who chose other answers had Grade Seven level of education. It can be safely concluded, therefore, that educational level played a more dominant role in choices respondents made than age and gender. This explanation, however, might appear to contradict that postulated at Poster 5 where it was suggested that the respondents might not have attached any significance to the subjects and object of the sentences. Poster 24, where it was asked why it is a man who had been made to utter the words on the caption, is unique in its own way.

4.2.14 Poster 24

What made answers regarding Poster 24 unique was the predominant occurrence of 'DK' type of answers in all three townships. The majority of the respondents were in Age Group 1 and Grade Nine and above level of education (see Charts A81-A83, B14, B29, B44 and C14). The occurrence of 'DK' type of answers could be attributed to the fact that some of these respondents claimed not to have been exposed to condoms. It could also be that they were not sure about confidentiality guarantees in respect of their answers, and, as a result, they feared that their knowledge of sex matters would be made public. This might explain why two 25-year old men claimed they didn't know much about sex matters. Religious constraints can also be said to have played a part here. The two men in question were Born Again Pentecostals.

C14

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	12.9	24.3	60	2.9
F	27.2	5.5	65.5	3.6
DIF	14.3	18.8	5.5	0.7

LIBALA

M	2.2	42.2	46.7	8.9
F	13.3	17.0	60.0	8.9
DIF	11.1	24.4	13.3	00

ROMA

M	8	4	72	16
F	25	5	55	15
DIF	17	1	17	1

In Old Kalingalinga and Roma, the percentage of male respondents who attributed the caption to the types of condoms available in Zambia was higher than female respondents. The reverse was the case in Libala. At face value this could be interpreted to imply that female respondents in Libala knew more about condoms than their male counterparts. While there is no reason to contradict this, it can be argued nevertheless that this state of affairs was brought about because 42 percent of the male respondents' deciding that prostitutes don't mind whether condoms are used or not, something more male respondents would be expected to know better about than women. The a choice that "prostitutes don't mind" was evidence enough that Libala men did know something about condoms.

In all three townships, very few males in Old Kalingalinga, Libala and Roma, 12.9:2.2:8 percent respectively, said males initiate sex acts or seduce females. These low percentages could be as a result of the fact that not all men would admit that they seduce females, including those who do.

Poster 24 (1, 7, 13)

Under grade 7

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why is it a man who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because men always seduce women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because prostitutes don't mind whether condoms are used or not	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because condoms available in Zambia can only be worn by men	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A80

Poster 24 (2, 8, 14)

Grade 7

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why is it a man who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	0	6	1	0	1	0	2	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because men always seduce women	1	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	0
Because prostitutes don't mind whether condoms are used or not	0	0	0	10	6	4	6	14	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0
Because condoms available in Zambia can only be worn by men	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Don't know	2	9	4	10	7	4	13	23	2	1	1	2	2	5	4	2
Total	2	9	4	10	7	4	13	23	2	1	1	2	2	5	4	2

Poster 24 (3, 9, 15)

Grade 8 and 9

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why is it a man who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	2	7	0	0	0	0	2	7	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Because men always seduce women	4	1	2	0	0	0	6	1	7	2	1	1	0	0	8	3
Because prostitutes don't mind whether condoms are used or not	3	0	6	3	4	5	13	8	2	5	1	3	2	2	5	10
Because condoms available in Zambia can only be worn by men	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	10	8	8	3	4	5	22	16	9	9	2	5	2	2	13	16
Total																

A82

Poster 24 (4, 10, 16)

Grade 10 - 12

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
Why is it a man who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	4	2	1	0	0	0	5	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Because men always seduce women	6	1	1	0	0	0	7	1	6	1	2	1	0	0	8	2
Because prostitutes don't mind whether condoms are used or not	8	7	6	3	5	0	19	10	2	5	2	3	4	3	8	11
Because condoms available in Zambia can only be worn by men	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	0	0	0	3	4
Don't know	18	10	8	3	5	0	31	13	9	12	6	5	4	3	19	20
Total																

College	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma					
	16-25yrs				26-35yrs				36-45yrs				Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total			
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f		
Why is it a man who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because men always seduce women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because prostitutes don't mind whether condoms are used or not	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because condoms available in Zambia can only be worn by men	0	0	4	4	0	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	2	1	5	4	7	5	0	1	2
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	4	4	0	4	0	0	4	4	0	0	4	4	0	2	1	5	4	8	5	0	1	2

A84

University	Kalingalinga												Libala						Roma					
	16-25yrs				26-35yrs				36-45yrs				Total		16-25yrs		26-35yrs		36-45yrs		Total			
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f		
Why is it a man who has been made to say the words that make the caption?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because men always seduce women	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because prostitutes don't mind whether condoms are used or not	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because condoms available in Zambia can only be worn by men	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Respondents Distribution in %

B14
Poster No. 24
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																				
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total		
01	M			2.9	5.7				1.4		1.4				1.4						12.9	
	F		10.9	12.9	3.6																	27.2
02	M		1.4	5.7	8.6				4.3	2.9	1.4											24.3
	F			3.6	1.8																	5.5
03	M			4.3	11.9					8.6	8.6	5.7			8.6	5.7	7.1					60.0
	F				12.7				18.2	5.6	5.6	7.3			7.3	9.0						65.0
04	M		1.4	1.4																		2.9
	F		3.6																			3.6
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0		100	
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0		125	

168

Respondents Distribution in %

B29
Poster No. 24
Libala

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M																	2.2
	F			4.4	4.4					2.2	2.2									13.3
02	M		2.2	15.6	13.3				2.2	2.2	4.4				2.2					42.2
	F		2.2	4.4	2.2				2.2	2.2	2.2				2.2					17.8
03	M			4.4	4.4					2.2	4.4	4.4			2.2	4.4	8.8	11.1		46.7
	F			11.1	11.1				2.2	6.7	6.7	2.2				4.4	6.7	8.8		60.0
04	M		2.2		2.2						2.2									8.9
	F				8.9															8.9
	Total %	0	3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0	90

169

Respondents Distribution in %

B44
Poster No. 24
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		Total
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
		01	M																	8
	F			5							5						5	10		25
02	M			4																4
	F			5																5
03	M			12	8					4	8	8					4	16	12	72
	F			15	5	5				5		5					5	10	5	55
04	M			8																8
	F			15																15
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

170

A85

Poster 25 (1, 7, 13)

Under grade 7

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total		
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f	
Why did the makers of this poster place the child in its mother's (not father's arms) ?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because mothers endanger their children more	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Because mothers endanger their children more than men when they engage in casual sex	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The woman is only used to symbolize the family	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

A86

Poster 25 (2, 8, 14)

Grade 7

Kalingalinga

Libala

Roma

Age group	16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total			16-25yrs			26-35yrs			36-45yrs			Total		
	m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f		m	f	
Why did the makers of this poster place the child in its mother's (not father's arms) ?	0	4	0	2	0	1	0	7	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Because mothers endanger their children more	1	3	1	2	1	0	3	5	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	0
Because mothers endanger their children more than men when they engage in casual sex	1	1	0	3	6	3	7	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0
The woman is only used to symbolize the family	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	2	8	7	7	7	4	16	19	2	1	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	2	8	7	7	7	4	16	19	2	1	1	2	2	1	5	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

171

Poster 25 (3, 9, 15)	Libala																					
	Kalingalinga				Libala				Roma													
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total										
Grade 8 and 9																						
Age group	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f										
Why did the makers of this poster place the child in its mother's (not father's arms) ?	2	2	1	1	0	0	3	3	0	1	0	2	0	4	0	0	4					
Because mothers endanger their children more	4	1	2	0	0	0	6	1	2	2	1	0	3	3	4	0	3	4				
Because mothers endanger their children more than men when they engage in casual sex	4	5	5	0	4	5	13	10	5	7	2	4	1	1	8	12	3	0	3	0		
The woman is only used to symbolize the family	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Don't know	10	8	10	1	4	5	24	14	8	10	2	5	2	2	12	17	6	8	0	0	6	8
Total																						

A88

Poster 25 (4, 10, 16)	Libala																						
	Kalingalinga				Libala				Roma														
	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total	16-25yrs	26-35yrs	36-45yrs	Total											
Grade 10 - 12																							
Age group	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f											
Why did the makers of this poster place the child in its mother's (not father's arms) ?	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1		
Because mothers endanger their children more	5	2	1	0	0	0	6	2	6	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	
Because mothers endanger their children more than men when they engage in casual sex	6	12	0	7	5	0	11	19	2	11	5	4	3	3	10	18	2	0	0	1	1	3	2
The woman is only used to symbolize the family	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	12	16	4	7	5	0	21	23	10	11	6	5	3	4	19	20	2	1	1	1	2	4	4
Total																							

Respondents Distribution in %

B15
Poster No. 25
Kalingalinga

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																	Total	
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M			2.9	1.4					1.4										5.7
	F		7.3	3.6	3.6				3.6	1.8					1.8					21.8
02	M		1.4	5.7	7.1				1.4	2.9	1.4				1.4					21.4
	F		5.6	1.8	1.6				3.6											14.5
03	M		1.4	5.7	8.6					7.1					8.6	5.7	7.1			72.9
	F		1.8	9.0	21.8				5.6		12.7	7.3			5.6	9.0				63.6
04	M								10.9	3.6	5.6	7.3								21.4
	F																			
	Total %	0	8	14.4	22.4	0	0	0	11.2	8.8	8.8	6.4	0	0	8.8	7.2	4	0	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	10	18	28	0	0	0	14	11	11	8	0	0	11	9	5	0	0	125

174

B30
Poster No. 25
Libala

Respondents Distribution in %

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																		
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
		01	M																	
	F		2.2	2.2					2.2		2.2				2.2	2.2				33.3
02	M		2.2	2.2	13.3				2.2		2.2					2.2	2.2			28.9
	F			4.4					2.2	2.2						8.9				
03	M				4.4					4.4	11.1	4.4			4.4	2.2	6.7	13.3		62.2
	F				24.4					8.8	2.2					2.2	6.7	8.8		77.8
04	M	2.2	2.2	2.2	4.4															8.9
	F																			
	Total %		3.33	20	23.3	0	0	0	3.33	7.78	12.2	3.33	0	0	3.33	4.44	7.8	11	0	100
	Total No of respondents	0	3	18	21	0	0	0	3	7	11	3	0	0	3	4	7	10	0	90

175

Respondents Distribution in %

B45
Poster No. 25
Roma

		RESPONDENTS CATEGORY																	Total	
Multiple Choice Options	Respondents Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
01	M																			
	F			20								5					5			30
02	M		8	12							4									24
	F			20	5	5														30
03	M			12	8							8	8				4	24	12	76
	F										5		5				5	20	5	40
04	M																			
	F																			
	Total %	0	4.44	31.1	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	4.44	6.7	6.7	0	0	0	6.7	22	9	100
	Total No of respondents	0	2	14	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	3	10	4	45

C15

KALINGALINGA

	BIASED AGAINST MEN	BIASED AGAINST WOMEN	GENDER NEUTRAL	DON'T KNOW
M	5.7	21.4	72.9	0
F	21.8	14.5	63.6	0
DIF	16.1	6.9	14.3	0
LIBALA				
M	0	28.9	62.2	8.9
F	33.3	8.9	77.8	0
DIF	33.3	20.0	15.6	8.9
ROMA				
M	0	24	76	0
F	30	30	40	0
DIF	30	6	36	0

Statistics from Roma show that 76 percent of the male respondents stated that the woman on this poster was made to assume a symbolic value, i.e. to represent the family as on Poster 21. It is worth noting that the same number of male respondents thought the same with regard to questions 21 and 25. On the other hand, only 40 percent of the females concurred with this view. All in all, more males in this instance chose "GN" than females. This was also the position in Libala. This was mainly because, as already observed, males were more consistent and unanimous in defending their own groups. This was not the case as regards females. Thirty percent, for example, sided with men in claiming that mothers endanger their babies more than men do by engaging in illicit sex. Apart from the explanations advanced earlier, this attitude could also be attributed to the fact that some females were ignorant about how the HIV virus from a man would finally infect the unborn.

Kalingalinga presented a different picture. Nearly six percent of the males agreed that men don't mind much about infecting their unborn children as against 21.8 of the females who thought likewise. These statistics could be interpreted as suggesting that perhaps it was true that there were more males in high density areas who mind less about their unborn children than in the low density townships. However, what is closer to the truth is that people with lower educational standards, as postulated by Chirwa et al (1993), resist change more than those with higher standards. AIDS demands sexual behavioural change. Therefore, resistance by Old Kalingalinga respondents should be interpreted in this light and not that they didn't mind infecting their unborn children.

Following the trend already established and explained, 'GN' had more respondents than other columns. It is important to note, however, that more males (72.9 percent) recognized the symbolism attached to the woman than females (63.6 percent). This was repeated in Roma. The difference between Old Kalingalinga and Roma was that in the latter case the number of females who chose "BAM" and "BAW" was the same (30 percent). In Libala, the trend at "GN" was a reversal of the one in Old Kalingalinga and Roma: more women (77.8 percent) than men (62.2 percent) chose "GN".

Finally, the male respondents (21.4 percent in Old Kalingalinga and 8.9 percent in Libala) who chose "D.K." deserve some special consideration. The first respondent in Old Kalingalinga who chose "DK" belonged to the 26-35 years age group and had a Grade Seven level of education while the second, though from the same age group, had a Grade Nine level of education. The first two respondents who chose "DK" in Libala also came from these same educational levels except that the Libala respondents were younger, i.e. they came from the 16-25 years age group. The purpose of this explanation is to illustrate that due to the fact that they did not understand the meaning of "symbolize", these respondents chose "DK" and this was most probably because of their lower educational standards.

The third respondent from both Old Kalingalinga and Libala shared a Grade Twelve level of education while the last one from Old Kalingalinga had college education. Their choice of "DK" was mainly because they felt that what they considered as right answers were absent from the list. These included:

- (a) women are custodians of society's morality,
- (b) women are more susceptible to temptation,
- (c) men have a stronger will against temptation,
- (d) men lose more in E.M.S. affairs than women,

and so forth. But why was it only men who chose "DK" on this question? Part of the answer was that most females interviewed seemed to be quite aware of what this poster was about.

We shall explain this in detail in Section C.

4.2.16 Poster Hierarchy

Statistics relating to figures 15 - 16A are meant to tell us which posters respondents deemed most or least gender biased. However, the figures become almost unbelievable when we

attempt to marry the chart to the controversy that surrounded some of the posters during fieldwork. For example, most posters that generated the most vehement controversy are nowhere near the top of the chart.

Figure 15: BIAS-NEUT-DK Totals

Poster		BAM	BAW	NEUT	DK
1		14	12	234	0
2		10	29	219	2
4		20	10	205	25
5		34	26	200	0
7		22	81	157	0
8		61	68	131	0
9		22	18	213	7
10		200	11	49	0
11		38	35	187	0
12		33	33	194	0
21		28	45	187	0
22		40	36	194	0
23		17	17	226	0
24		38	76	127	19
25		28	52	176	4
		605	549	2699	57

Figure 15A

POSTER NO.	PERCENTAGE					RANKING			
	BAM	BAW	GN	DK	BAM/BAW COM	BAM/BAW COM	BAM	BAW	GN
1	5.58	4.61	90	0	10.41	14	11	13	1
2	3.86	11.15	84.23	0.77	15	11	12	8	3
4	7.69	3.85	78.85	9.61	11.54	13	9	14	5
5	13.07	10	76.92	0	23.07	7	5	10	6
7	8.46	31.15	60	0	39.61	4	8	1	10
8	23.46	26.15	50	0	49.61	2	2	3	11
9	8.46	6.92	81.92	2.69	15.38	10	8	11	4
10	76.92	4.23	18.84	0	81.15	1	1	14	13
11	14.61	13.46	71.92	0	20.07	9	4	6	9
12	12.69	12.69	76.61	0	25.38	6	6	7	7
21	10.75	17.3	71.92	0	28.05	5	7	5	8
22	15.38	10	76.61	0	25.38	6	3	10	7
23	6.54	6.54	86.92	0	13.08	12	10	12	2
24	14.61	29.23	48.85	7.3	43.84	3	4	2	12
25	10.75	20	67.69	1.54	20.75	8	7	4	9
TOTAL	16.74	14.28	70.23	1.48					

Key
 POST NO. - Poster Number
 COM - Combined

Figure 16: Consolidated Poster Rank Percentage and Totals

Post No.	GN	G.B. BAM/BAW	BAM/BAW COM. %	BAM	BAW	NEUT	DK
1	1	14	10.19	5.58	4.61	90	0
2	3	11	15	3.85	11.15	84.23	0.77
4	6	13	11.54	7.69	3.85	78.85	9.61
5	5	7	23.07	13.07	10	79.92	0
7	11	4	39.61	8.46	31.15	60	0
8	12	2	49.61	23.46	26.15	50.38	0
9	4	10	15.38	8.46	6.92	81.92	2.69
10	14	1	84.15	76.92	4.23	18.84	0
11	9	9	20.07	14.61	13.46	71.92	0
12	7	6	25.38	12.69	12.69	76.61	0
21	8	5	28.05	10.75	17.3	71.92	0
22	7	6	25.38	15.38	10	76.61	
23	2	12	13.08	6.54	6.54	86.92	
24	13	3	43.84	14.6	29.23	48.85	7.3
25	10	8	20.75	10.75	20	67.69	1.54
Total Choices 3843			Total	15.74	14.28	70.2	1.48

Key:
 G.B. = Gender Bias

Figure 16A: Poster Hierarchy According to BAW-BAW Bias

Gender	Bias	Ranking
Poster No.	% Bias	
10	84.15	1
8	49.61	2
24	43.84	3
7	39.61	4
21	28.05	5
12	25.38	6
22	25.38	6
5	23.07	7
25	20.75	8
11	20.07	9
9	15.38	10
2	15	11
23	13.08	12
4	11.54	13
1	10.19	14

Source - Figure 15A. BAM + BAW

The posters and the controversies they raised are as follows:

Poster	Controversy
2	(a) Why put a male condom on this poster? (b) Is this really what goes on in bars? (c) What makes you believe the couple in the background are going to have illicit sex?
4	(a) Why make the male AIDS victim more conspicuous?
7	(a) "Women together can stop AIDS"; Don't men too have a decisive role?
24	(a) How would you identify a male seropositive? (b) Are all men who go to bars that promiscuous? (c) Refer to A2b above.
25	(a) Should it not be a man (preferably the father) who must hold this baby? In other words, why place the baby in the mother's arms?

On the other hand, posters 10, 8, 5, which raised the least verbal controversies shot to the top of the chart. While there was nothing "unusual" about the rankings pertaining posters 7, 21, 24, 19, 12, 11 and 23 because of their non controversial nature or overwhelming unanimity of the answers given by respondents, the "surprise" positions of 10, 8, 5, 2, 4 and 25 deserve some explanation.

Poster 10 shot to the top of the table with the highest bias votes against the victim because of the assumed wealthy status of the man it depicts. The assumption in Old Kalingalinga during the survey was that rich men were quite promiscuous. This belief was strengthened by the fact that patrons of Kalingalinga's popular bars, such as Msazala, Millionaire's Den and Friday's Corner, drove there from somewhere else including neighbouring high-cost Kabulonga. Poster

22, which was related to 10, on the other hand, shifted from “BAW” to “GN” because many respondents were reluctant to label it “BAW” for the simple reason that they did not know the woman’s marital status. Hence they did not know how she was infected.

Poster 8 owes its position to two reasons. First, the “GN” explanation tallied with the messages respondents gave. Second, many respondents rejected the reason given at “BAW”. Note that the twin Poster 9 is fifth from the bottom because of its “GN” high profile. This also accounted for the lower half rankings which we have termed as “normal”.

Poster 5 owes its “high rating” to the sympathy respondents gave to the pregnant woman. Subjects felt that makers of this poster were being hypocritical and cruel. “You don’t expect a nine- month pregnant woman to engage in extra marital sex” they said. The woman’s silence, as depicted on the poster, appeared to support this view. No one could be certain whether she agreed with her husband.

Poster 2 nose dived in its gender bias ratings mainly because of the numerous questions (including the three above) it left unanswered. This also applied to Posters 4 and 25. There were certain positions, however, which are difficult to explain. One of these is the seemingly “GN” and straight forward Poster 12 which got higher bias votes than 4, 2, 11 and 25 which appeared more gender biased.

4.3 Section “B”: Conclusions

Section (B) has one specific objective, namely, whether there are gender biases in the Anti-AIDS language campaign in Lusaka. The preceding poster by poster discussion has provided us with the necessary data required to arrive at an informed conclusion. However, before zeroing in on this objective it is important first to make two salient aspects of this discussion clear in order to avoid possible confusion.

First, the gender biases referred to here were detected by the respondents and are therefore from their point of view. This is to say that as far as the poster artists and commissioners were concerned, they had no premeditated gender biases at all. This is understandable because even

from the respondents' point of view, gender biases were quite apparent. That is why they used terms like "in favour of" or "against" and so forth. That brings us to the second point, namely, that for the purposes of this study "Gender Bias" is the researcher's own term and not that of the respondents.

From the data as presented in Figure 15 as well as from the preceding discussion together with the accompanying charts 11, 12, 13 and 14, the presence of gender biases in all posters should be evident. From the same data, it can be safely said that questions of which posters were deemed to be more gender biased against which sex and what categories of respondents detected this bias and why, have also equally been fairly settled. Therefore, what really remains now in order to bring this section to a conclusion is to explain the apparent contradiction that arose from the fact that our respondents detected gender biases which the poster makers denied being there.

To tackle this aspect we must consider the intricacies of this gender problem in Lusaka which might well explain male-female gender bias disparities, sensitivities, acceptance and denials. This calls for investigating the source of this gender bias. Therefore, we must consider the source and history of gender differentiation in relation to male-female promiscuity which is the core problem. This is dealt with in some detail in 5.1.

4.4 Section "C": Results

This component of the study discusses results for Section "C" of the questionnaire whose objective was to find out whether respondents got the "right message" from the posters and their accompanying captions. Establishing whether respondents got or missed the "right message" required two caveats: first, what the "right" or "wrong" messages were needed defining, and second, a system under which a message could either be accepted as being correct or rejected as being wrong also needed to be established.

For the purpose of this study, they will be deemed "right" or "correct" those messages that convey or communicate messages that are in line with the anti-AIDS campaign objectives of promoting AIDS awareness, as for example "Beware of AIDS! Avoid it". On the other hand,

they will be deemed “wrong” those messages that interfere with the intended “correct” message or which suggest something else, such as blaming a particular group of people for the spread of AIDS.

To establish which of the respondents’ responses were “correct” or “wrong”, all responses elicited on each poster were taken to the Ministry of Health’s Education Unit Anti-AIDS Project and the Kara Counselling judges described at 3.7.4. Members of these groups were asked the question “Which are the acceptable interpretations of this poster?” with respect to each poster. Those interpretations which were not chosen were deemed “unacceptable”.

The reason for involving the two groups was twofold. First, the Ministry of Health Education Unit personnel printed most of these posters and distributed all of them. They could therefore be expected to be best placed to know the correct interpretations. Surprisingly, they were rarely unanimous about the posters’ interpretations or messages. We shall return to this later. On the other hand, the Kara Counselling judges were more unanimous on the many messages they said the posters communicated. Moreover they offered more plausible reasons for accepting or rejecting some of the interpretations. These reasons shall be considered in the actual discussion later. Before we come to that, let us look at the material data under discussion.

But before that, it should also be added the Kara judges introduced a very important aspect into the study which those from the Ministry of Health had ignored or seemed not to be aware of, namely, that apart from the “correct” and “wrong” or “accepted” and “rejected” messages, there were also the “intended” and “unintended” messages on the posters and their accompanying captions. It was further observed that these “intended” or “unintended” messages could be right or wrong. For example, according to the commissioners of these posters, some of the correct messages for Poster 24 are “Beware of AIDS”; “When you indulge in casual sex, use a condom”; “Don’t trust looks”, and so on. However, according to the Kara judges, this poster carries many (un)intended messages as well, namely:

- (a) It is mostly females who are AIDS carriers.
 - (b) Males are not AIDS carriers.
 - (c) You can tell a male AIDS carrier from looks alone.
 - (d) HIV and AIDS are the same.
 - (e) Female bar patrons expect male patrons to buy them beer.
 - (f) Male bar patrons are freer to discuss AIDS than their female counterparts,
- and so on. It is not yet appropriate at this stage to discuss whether these messages are correct or wrong. However, we can at this point eliminate (e) which says nothing about "AIDS", which this study is about.

The classification of messages into intended and unintended messages rose out of a realization that there were two crucial questions to be addressed regarding the posters if focus on clarity was to be maintained in the study. These questions were:

- (a) What message did the maker(s) of the poster want to communicate to the intended target? and
- (b) What message does the poster actually convey or communicate to the intended target?

It was realized that these questions were very different. Consequently, more often than not, answers to them were different with regard to some of the posters. For example, with regard to Poster 25, the captions spelt out the intended and acceptable message the makers of the poster wanted to convey. However, the presence of only one parent, whom we will suppose is the mother, or more importantly, the absence of the father, implies females were considered to be more responsible than males for infecting their unborn babies with HIV. [It was felt that the message of the poster would have been more complete and less ambiguous if either both parents were printed on it or the child was printed alone].

Apart from the classification of the respondents' interpretations of "correct message", "wrong message", "intended" and unintended message" there was a second classification based on how the respondents reacted to or behaved during the interviews. There appeared to have been three classes of responses here, namely, spontaneous, caption oriented and stereotyped classes

of interpretations. In most instances, the respondents' mental disposition, their linguistic ability and previous exposure to the posters played a crucial role in deciding in which class his interpretations fell.

Spontaneous interpretations were those uttered by respondents immediately they saw the posters. This type of interpretation usually centered on the pictures of the poster. Posters 4, 10 and 22 are the best examples of those that elicited this class of responses.

Caption-based interpretations were those uttered after the respondents had scrutinised the captions. This usually comprised re-reading or re-interpreting the captions. This led to certain posters generating as many interpretations as captions or more messages than the captions when pictorial interpretations were taken into consideration.

Finally, there were those interpretations or messages that could be called "stereotype" because they appeared to be communally patterned in the sense that respondents did not seem to think about the answers or responses they uttered once they saw the posters. For example, with regard to posters 10 and 22, respondents said, "*kuyondoloka so, AIDS yimazunza ndithu!*" This is Nyanja for "Becoming so thin. AIDS really torments" or "*Fyabufi*. AIDS doesn't strip people like this" (*Fyabufi* is Bemba for "It's all lies"). Let us now look at the actual responses or interpretations.

4.4.1 Poster Interpretations

4.4.1.1 Poster 1

Question: What does this poster want you not to do?

Correct Responses: This poster does not want me to...

- | | |
|--|----|
| a) rely on looks when identifying HIV positive people. | 38 |
| b) take chances with AIDS. | 16 |
| c) gamble with my life. | 4 |
| d) sleep with strangers. | 10 |
| e) indulge in casual sex. | 4 |
| f) propose sex to males or females on the street. | 3 |

- g) engage in illicit sex without precautions. 11
- h) ignore dangers of AIDS. 7
- i) look for sex partners near or in bars. 1
- j) not to take risks. 4
- k) I can tell some AIDS patients from looks alone. 2
- l) people are not carriers of AIDS but carriers of HIV. 2

Wrong (rejected) interpretations:

This poster does not want me to...

- m) engage in extra marital and premarital sex. 1
- n) greet strangers on the streets. 1
- Don't know: 0

4.4.1.2 Poster 2

Question: Why have male condoms been included on this poster?

Correct Responses:

- a) To remind those who drink and engage in casual sex to use them to protect themselves against AIDS. 27
- b) To promote safer sex. 7
- c) Because men decide whether condoms should be used or not. 8
- d) To encourage bar patrons to use them. 6
- e) To use with unknown sexual partners. 2
- f) To use with sex workers. 7
- g) For use in illicit sex as a precaution against STD, HIV/AIDS. 8
- h) Because many men engage in a lot of casual sex. 4
- I) Because there were no femidoms in Zambia at the time the poster was printed. 6
- j) To prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS and STDs. 6

Rejected Interpretations

k)	To boost condom sales.	1
l)	To protect men from prostitutes with HIV/AIDS.	7
m)	To teach people to be responsible.	1
n)	Because a condom was the only protective device against HIV/AIDS.	2
o)	Most females who patronize bars do so for commercial sex.	2
p)	A lot of males who drink indulge in illicit sex.	2
Don't know:		0

4.4.1.3 Poster 4

Question: Why has the vulture or eagle been used on this poster?

Correct Responses:

a)	To illustrate how tragic AIDS is.	10
b)	To symbolize certain death once you are infected with HIV.	25
c)	To convince people that AIDS has no cure and kills.	10
d)	To demonstrate that AIDS surely kills.	11
e)	To show how deadly or fatal AIDS is.	9
f)	To show that AIDS leads to one's grave.	5
g)	To show that AIDS rarely misses.	4
h)	To scare people from illicit sex.	10
i)	To make AIDS appear really scary or frightening.	10
j)	To convince people of the need to stop taking chances with HIV.	
k)	Like a vulture AIDS is a harbinger of death.	6

Rejected Responses

l)	A vulture is a sign of hell to sinners.	2
m)	To show that extra marital sex and premarital sex kills.	4
n)	Males are more of innocent victims of AIDS than females.	4
Don't know:		0

4.4.1.4 Poster 5

Question: If you were to interpret or explain this poster to someone else, what would you say it means?

Correct Responses:

a)	This couple is safe from HIV/AIDS because they are happily married.	15
b)	Married people must avoid extra marital sex.	45
c)	Extra marital sex spreads HIV/AIDS.	11
d)	Fidelity saves lives.	9
e)	Stick to one partner and thereby avoid AIDS.	6
f)	Spouses who love each other and are faithful to each other.	4
g)	A man cheating on his wife that he is faithful.	5
h)	Woman cheating on her husband.	2
i)	A couple going through marriage routine rituals.	3
Don't know:		0

4.4.1.5 Poster 7

Question: What does this poster want you to do?

Accepted Responses:

a)	To look after AIDS patients.	31
b)	To share the burden with AIDS patients.	6
c)	To share the AIDS burden with those infected with and affected by HIV/AIDS.	4
d)	To know that women care.	11
e)	To realize that AIDS is a community problem.	20
f)	To stop shunning people with AIDS.	8

Rejected Responses:

g)	To educate women to stop AIDS.	6
h)	To realize that men don't care for AIDS patients.	3
i)	To show that more women suffer from AIDS than men.	2
j)	To know that women matter more than men in stopping AIDS.	14
Don't know:		0

4.4.1.6 Poster 8

Question: What message do you get from this poster?

Correct Responses:

- | | |
|--|----|
| a) Each caption carries a clear message. | 5 |
| b) Girls must abstain from premarital sex. | 13 |
| c) Premarital sex can lead to disaster. | 7 |
| d) Premarital sex can lead to AIDS and death. | 16 |
| e) Premarital sex can destroy your career. | 15 |
| f) Premarital sex can ruin your chances of a happy marriage. | 10 |
| g) Girls must say "No" to male promiscuity. | 11 |
| h) Girls must take responsibility for what happens in their lives. | 9 |
| i) Girls! No more complacency! | 2 |

Rejected Responses:

- | | |
|---|----|
| j) The onus to stop the spread of AIDS is on females. | 13 |
| Don't know: | 9 |

4.4.1.7 Poster 9

The poster advises that "Your time will come"

Question: Time to do what?

Correct Responses:

- | | |
|--|----|
| a) Time to have sex. | 10 |
| b) Time to have sex without fear of AIDS. | 36 |
| c) Time to marry and have sex. | 14 |
| d) Time to have one faithful sexual partner. | 17 |
| e) Time to stick to one sexual partner. | 11 |

Rejected Responses:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| f) Time to have one stinking partner. | 2 |
| Don't know: | 10 |

4.4.1.8 Poster 10

Question: Why do you think this poster was made?

Correct Responses:

- | | | |
|----|---|----|
| a) | To warn men about the dangers of illicit sex. | 20 |
| b) | To show that AIDS really tortures and finally kills. | 9 |
| c) | To illustrate the damage casual sex can wreck on men. | 5 |
| d) | To warn men about the risks of sleeping with prostitutes. | 10 |
| e) | To scare people out of casual sex. | 5 |
| f) | To warn society about AIDS. | 11 |
| g) | To illustrate that AIDS kills when life is sweetest. | 12 |
| h) | To show that AIDS doesn't choose - rich or poor. | 14 |
| i) | To demonstrate that AIDS really strips - physically, materially and in terms of prestige. | 6 |

Rejected Responses

- | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| j) | To warn rich people against AIDS. | 8 |
| Don't know: | | 0 |

4.4.1.9 Poster 11

Instruction: Write your own message, caption or words for this poster

Correct Responses:

- | | | |
|----|--|----|
| a) | Educate others about AIDS. | 10 |
| b) | AIDS is a community problem and therefore requires community effort. | 22 |
| c) | Women must unite against AIDS. | 7 |
| d) | Everyone has a duty to do something about AIDS. | 10 |
| e) | AIDS kills. Avoid premarital and extramarital sex. | 10 |
| f) | When you say "No" to casual sex, you are saying "No" to AIDS. | 11 |
| g) | You can discuss AIDS anywhere. | 4 |
| h) | It is easier for people of the same sex to discuss AIDS. | 5 |

Rejected Responses:

i)	Women together can stop AIDS.	6
j)	Women must join men to fight AIDS.	1
k)	Men must join women to fight AIDS.	1
l)	Educate women about AIDS in order to stop its spread.	13
	Don't know:	0

4.4.1.10 Poster 12

Instruction: Complete the message below:

The aim for making this poster was to inform or tell us that:

Accepted Responses:

a)	AIDS is here to stay. We must therefore change our sexual behaviour.	4
b)	We must stick to one sexual partner in order to avoid AIDS.	36
c)	We must avoid illicit or casual sex.	15
d)	AIDS has no cure.	4
e)	AIDS doesn't choose whether you are male or female.	6
f)	Love? Remember there is AIDS.	1
g)	Sex? Remember there is AIDS.	1
h)	Beware of AIDS.	5
i)	Play it safe; have one faithful partner.	10
j)	Fidelity in sexual partnership guarantees security against AIDS.	13

Rejected Responses

k)	Keep to only one stinking partner.	2
l)	You cannot contract AIDS through kissing.	1
m)	We must control our sexual lust.	2
	Don't know:	0

4.4.1.11 Poster 21

Question: Who should give a hand to whom?

Correct Responses:

- | | |
|--|----|
| a) The uninfected should give a hand to the infected. | 9 |
| b) Both the infected and uninfected must lend a hand to those suffering from AIDS. | 20 |
| c) Society as a whole must help AIDS victims. | 31 |
| d) Doctors and nurses must assist the infected. | 5 |

Rejected Responses:

- | | |
|--|----|
| e) Women victims of AIDS must help other women AIDS victims. | 3 |
| Don't know: | 32 |

4.4.1.12 Poster 22

Question: What message does this poster convey to you?

Correct Responses:

- | | |
|--|----|
| a) AIDS really devastates and finally kills. | 41 |
| b) AIDS is terribly deadly. | 15 |
| c) Casual sex can ruin, waste and kill you. | 7 |
| d) Avoid illicit sex. | 3 |
| e) Prevent the spread of AIDS. | 1 |
| f) Women must be faithful to their men. | 1 |
| g) Stick to one AIDS-free partner. | 13 |
| h) Men must be faithful to their women. | 10 |

Rejected Responses

- | | |
|---|---|
| i) Prostitutes will infect you with AIDS. | 1 |
| j) Extramarital sex leads to death. | 6 |
| Don't know: | 0 |

4.4.1.13 Poster 23

Question: If you were asked to write a caption for this poster, what would you write?

Correct Responses

- | | |
|--|----|
| a) Let AIDS not separate us. Not even AIDS should part us! | 42 |
| b) Marry a partner who will be faithful to you. | 5 |
| c) One man and one woman for life. | 8 |
| d) Never allow AIDS to ruin you and your family. | 10 |
| e) Stick to one partner. | 4 |
| f) Avoid AIDS: don't indulge in premarital and extramarital sex. | 6 |
| g) Not even such a powerful marriage will protect you from AIDS. | 11 |
| h) Happiness for ever without AIDS. | 4 |

Rejected Responses

- | | |
|---|---|
| i) The young must wait for such a powerful wedding. | 2 |
| Don't know: | 8 |

4.4.1.14 Poster 24

Question: What message do the pictures, the bar environment and caption convey to you?

Correct Responses:

- | | |
|--|----|
| a) Those who drink must discuss AIDS. | 7 |
| b) Educate others about AIDS. | 1 |
| c) If you indulge in casual sex, use condoms. | 12 |
| d) Practice safe sex. | 6 |
| e) Don't take chances with prostitutes and AIDS. | 15 |
| f) Don't allow alcohol to expose you to AIDS. | 21 |
| g) Beware that alcohol lowers your guard against AIDS. | 5 |
| h) Prostitutes spread HIV/AIDS. | 6 |
| i) Prostitutes go to bars for men. | 4 |
| j) When you go to drink, carry condoms. | 5 |
| k) Prostitutes who patronise bars may have AIDS. | 10 |

Rejected Responses

- | | |
|--|---|
| l) Bar patrons engage in a lot of casual sex. | 4 |
| m) Condoms are not 100 percent safe. | 1 |
| n) When you drink don't indulge in casual sex. | 1 |
| o) Women who patronise bars are prostitutes. | 4 |
| Don't know: | 0 |

4.4.1.15 Poster 25

Question: The purpose for making this poster was to advise...

Correct Responses:

- | | |
|--|----|
| a) us to avoid promiscuous behaviour for our children's sake. | 15 |
| b) the community to avoid AIDS for posterity's sake. | 25 |
| c) mothers to avoid AIDS in order to protect their children. | 10 |
| d) mothers to be responsible. | 6 |
| e) parents to avoid AIDS. | 5 |
| f) parents to stick to one sexual partner. | 4 |
| g) us that innocent people should not suffer from AIDS. | 5 |
| h) us to think about the repercussions of our behaviour in relation to AIDS. | 10 |

Rejected Responses

- | | |
|---|---|
| i) the onus to protect children from AIDS is the responsibility of mothers. | 6 |
| j) the onus to control AIDS rests on the shoulders of females or mothers. | 7 |
| k) women or mothers alone must stick to one sexual partner. | 2 |

4.4.2 Section "C": Discussion

To answer the question "Did respondents get the right message?" it is important first to refer to Table 14 which indicates what percentages of respondents got the "right message" and those who did not. This table clearly shows that the answer to the question posed above is both

'Yes' and 'No' except that the levels of significance between those who got the "right messages" and those who missed them are different, i.e., there were more respondents who got the messages right as compared to those who missed it on all posters. The questions to be settled, therefore, are:

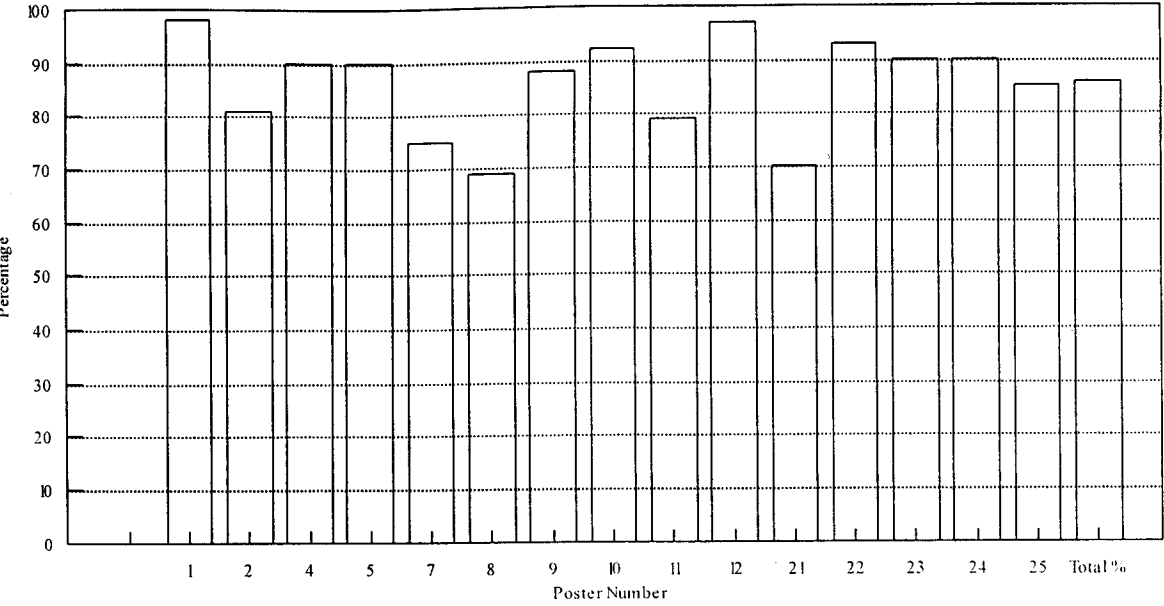
- (a) What were the probable reasons for this misunderstanding of the messages?
- (b) Why were some posters (mis)understood more than others?

To answer these questions adequately, we must examine what the statistics say about each poster.

TABLE 14

POSTER NUMBER	NUMBER OF TIMES RESPONDENTS UNDERSTOOD THE POSTERS' MESSAGE IN %	NUMBER OF TIMES RESPONDENTS DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE MESSAGE		
		Number of times respondents gave wrong interpretations	Number of times respondents did not know how to interpret posters	TOTAL
1	98	2	0	2
2	81	19	0	19
4	90	10	0	10
5	90	10	0	10
7	75	25	0	25
8	69	22	9	31
9	88	2	10	12
10	92	8	0	8
11	79	21	0	21
12	97	3	0	3
21	70	3	27	30
22	93	7	0	7
23	90	2	8	10
24	90	10	0	10
25	85	15	0	15
TOTAL	1285	159	54	213
TOTAL IN %	85.78	10.61	3.6	14.22

FIGURE 14: Bar graph Representation of Understood Messages



4.4.2 SECTION "C" DISCUSSION

4.4.2.1 Poster 1

As far as the data are concerned, Poster 1 carried the most understood messages because it had the highest number of respondents who gave messages deemed "accepted", "correct" or "right messages", i.e., 98 percent, and the lowest number of respondents who gave "wrong messages", i.e., 2 percent. The high percentage for those who got the "right message" was due mainly to the Anti-AIDS campaign crusade that was mounted by the Ministry of Health at the time the present research was conducted. By the time the respondents saw this poster with this researcher, they had already seen it and it had already been interpreted to them very many times before as well. The same was the case with all the posters produced at an early stage of the Anti-AIDS campaign, namely, Poster 12 (1987), Posters 1, 2, 4, 10 and 22 (1989), 7, 11 and 25 (1990). The high percentage of respondents who got the "right message" is also responsible for the low percentage of those who did not. Those who gave "wrong" interpretations did so, it appears, because they did not seem to realize this poster was about AIDS ___ as evidenced by their utterances, namely, "m" and "n". The respondent who uttered 'm' went even further off the correct interpretation of the poster by suggesting the marital status of those on the poster which the captions didn't hint at.

It is noteworthy that four percent of the respondents (“k” and “l”) did not agree with the wording of the captions. Their points of view were quite valid. The confusion between HIV and AIDS was quite evident at the early stages of the Anti-AIDS Campaign not only in Zambia but in other parts of the world as well, as pointed out by Morrison (1989). The two responses were accepted because they exhibit a high level of understanding of the poster’s messages, i.e., what they were supposed to convey and what they were not supposed to convey.

4.4.2.2 Posters 2 and 24

The fact that those who commissioned these posters were confusing HIV and AIDS is apparent in regard to captions on posters 2 and 24. For instance, while the advice on Poster 2 is “...prevent the spread of AIDS: use a condom.” The caption on Poster 24 says “Just by looking at a woman, you cannot tell if she is an *AIDS carrier*. So use a condom”. As is now known, while condom use helps to prevent the spread of HIV which causes AIDS, it does not stop the spread of AIDS itself in that seropositives are carriers of HIV and not AIDS. This confusion in terminology gives us some idea of the knowledgeability about HIV/AIDS of the people who made these posters at the time.

The confusion between HIV and AIDS illustrated above was not, however, responsible for the high percentage of respondents who missed the “right message”, viz., 19 percent and 10 percent for posters 2 and 24 respectively. There were reasons why these responses were deemed “wrong”. We start with responses regarding Poster 2.

Although it may be true that there was some business element in condom sales or that selling condoms was big business in Lusaka, statement “k” was wrong to suggest that commerce was the motive behind the Anti-AIDS campaign in Lusaka. To all intents and purposes, this was not the point of view of the Anti-AIDS campaigners. It was also wrong to postulate, as statement “l” suggests, that it is only prostitutes who infect male clients. The reverse was also equally untrue. Statement “m” was rejected because the meaning was considered incomplete or inadequate; it was felt that it needed to be qualified with an Anti-AIDS clause. Statement “n” was considered “wrong” because use of condoms was not the only method of controlling

AIDS, contrary to what the statement suggests. Abstinence for the unmarried and fidelity on the part of the married were considered better and more effective and morally acceptable methods. Statements "h" and "p" were considered wrong because heterosexual promiscuity involved both sexes and not just one sex. It was inappropriate, therefore, to blame only the female gender members whether they were defined as prostitutes, sex workers or beer drinkers. "O" in regard to both posters was also considered a wrong interpretation because, it was argued, commercial sex in regard to beer drinking was not always the objective but was sometimes a byproduct of the influence of alcohol. And it's not only females who engage in alcohol-related casual sex. Neither was it only the sex workers nor single males nor females.

It is noteworthy that statements represented by "l", "h" and "o" ("o" in regards to both posters), which accounted for about 66 percent of "wrong messages" with respect to Poster 2, were a result of feminist attitudes already discussed, namely, that the onus for controlling the spread of AIDS lay with females and that it was "normal" and "natural" for male spouses to engage in extramarital and premarital sex.

Finally, a word about the "wrong messages" on these posters is in order. Although they had become "wrong" by the time of the present study, these messages had initially been intended and touted to be communicated as correct messages by those who commissioned the posters. This was particularly true as regards "l", "h", "p" and "o" with respect to Poster 2 and "l" and "o" as regards Poster 24. There is enough evidence to support this argument. For example, what message did the commissioners intend to convey by depicting a bar environment? Why are the women dressed the way they are, i.e. in tight mini-dresses and some of them in dresses with half open chests? What was the woman on Poster 2 depicted as having no beer doing in a bar, while those in Poster 24 had only one bottle each, yet the three men on the other table had eight bottles of beer?. The attention of the two women was fixed on the men. What was the artist communicating to the target people by this? The answer is probably to be found in the caption on Poster 24. Is it probable that the couple in the background of Poster 2 are husband and wife? What were they going to do where they were going? The answers are probably represented by statements "l" and "o" of Poster 24 from the point of view of the commissioners. The foregoing were probably the reasons why 19 and 10 respondents on Posters 2 and 23 respectively failed to get the "right message."

4.4.2.3 Poster 4

The statistics relating to this poster show that only ten percent of responses were “wrong”. “l” was wrong because of its explicit attempt to associate AIDS with sin. Both groups, i.e., the Kara judges mentioned earlier and the commissioners who were interviewed, rejected this as a probable interpretation. Statement “m”, like its counterpart on Poster 1, was rejected because the marital status of the male and female on the poster was not known. The poster did not say who between the two people did not “stick to one partner”. Statement “n” was rejected because of factual inadequacy: no one sex between the two should be regarded as more innocent or more responsible in regards to the spread and consequences of HIV/AIDS. Unfortunately, this was one of the unintended messages some respondents got because the male victim of AIDS was made to appear more prominent than the female victim as if to emphasise just that point.

Having explained why some respondents got the wrong message, let us now consider why the majority of respondents were in accord that there was a serious message of danger in this poster. The choice of colours (red for blood and black for death), the vulture and its talons sunk deep into human flesh, the tumbling victims and the supposedly parting opposite directions they face made this poster one of the most scary posters to almost all the respondents. The caption compounded the severity of the message. The first reaction by most respondents upon seeing this poster was almost always: “This is really scaring”, or “AIDS must be very serious.” Indeed, that was the message, and it was delivered with deadly clarity both graphically and semantically by the picture and caption. The next poster to be considered had fewer “wrong” interpretations than Poster 4.

4.4.2.4 Poster 5

With regard to this poster, only ten percent of responses were rejected. There were many reasons why respondents gave these wrong responses. One of the reasons was given by the seven percent who gave “g” and “h” as answers, namely, that there was a big difference between what spouses profess to each other and what they actually do when out of sight. In other words, these respondents felt there was a lot of cheating and lying in some marriages. “*Fyabufi ifi*” (Bemba for “It’s all lies”), said one female respondent. “Do you think any

husband or wife can admit having extra marital affairs without being caught?" she asked. This "lie" attitude was the reason why respondents who offered "I" felt that the couple was going through some kind of routine marriage ritual.

Another factor that contributed to respondents getting a "wrong message" was the fact that the woman was depicted as being pregnant. Half of the respondents who gave "wrong messages" evoked the traditional belief that it was taboo for a pregnant woman to engage in illicit sex. The other fifty percent pointed out that expectant spouses needed a lot of attention. The man was therefore perceived as saying to his wife what he is expected to say and what his wife wants to hear whether he puts his heart in his words or not. All these misinterpretations were compounded by the arrow which was supposed to indicate who exactly between the two spouses uttered the words that were contained in the caption. Most respondents (75 percent) said the man uttered the words while ten percent thought the woman uttered them. The remainder, 15 percent, ignored the pronouns "I", "my" and "me" in the caption and said that the words were said by both spouses because, they claimed, the arrow pointed right in the middle between the two spouses.

This could have made sense if these respondents had mentioned that these spouses uttered these words as individuals. This graphical ambiguity is responsible, to a large extent, for the ambiguity of the message the poster was intended to convey. Poster 7, which will be considered next, has similarly this kind of ambiguity in the sense that respondents could not tell whether the patient was a male or female. This information, respondents argued, could have helped to explain the absence of male friends or relatives by the bedside.

4.4.2.5 Poster 7

In regard to this poster, 80 percent of "wrong" messages, i.e. statements "g" and "j", were a direct result of paraphrasing the second caption which declares that "women together can stop AIDS". This message was deemed wrong because it contradicted the much vouched idea that AIDS was a community problem. If indeed AIDS was a community problem, why did the poster leave out the men who are an integral part of the community? One thing seems clear about this wrong message: it was intended! The same cannot be said about statement "h".

This “wrong message” was not intended; it arose as a negative interpretation of the absence of male sympathisers from the bedside. On the other hand, “j” was a result of the assumption that the patient was a woman. This assumption could have been right or wrong. It is noteworthy nevertheless that there was no respondent who chose “Don’t know” on all the five posters so far discussed. This was not the case regarding the next poster.

4.4.2.6 Poster 8

This poster had the highest percentage of respondents (31 percent) who got “wrong messages” and it was the first to register “Don’t know” responses (9 percent). The reasons for the “wrong message” and “Don’t know” responses were more or less the same. First, there was lack of stress on AIDS issues on the poster. By this time respondents had realized that this study was about AIDS. Those in the 31 percent were therefore confused to see that the first caption stressed “No sex before marriage”. Even the bottom caption which refers to AIDS very vaguely is placed in brackets. Second, the multiplicity of captions and their messages which were basically on premarital sex, career, education and so on appeared to have added to the confusion. Third, the appearance of one gender in this case, the female gender, seemed to strengthen the statement at “I”, namely, that the onus to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS lay with females. Reasons for this attitude have already been explained.

The lack of stress on AIDS, the multiplicity of captions and messages, vague reference to AIDS by lead captions and bracketing of these captions and the appearance of single gender photos all applied also to Poster 9.

4.4.2.7 Poster 9

The big difference between Poster 8 and 9 “wrong messages” was notably that no respondent felt that the onus for controlling the spread of AIDS lay with males - or “guys” in this particular case. This accounted for the wide disparity between those who gave wrong interpretations between the two posters, i.e. 22 percent for Poster 8 and only 2 percent at Poster 9. In this regard, it is worth noting that the percentages of “Don’t know” responses were very close: 9 at Poster 8 and 10 at Poster 9. These responses were probably given by the same respondents in regards to both posters.

This is further evidenced by the nature and percentages of rejected responses in regard to Poster 9. Only two percent chose this statement and there was enough evidence to suggest that the respondents intended to introduce some humour to the study that dealt with such a serious subject like AIDS. Posters 10 and 22 which will be considered next show the seriousness of AIDS.

4.4.2.8 Posters 10 and 22

These two posters have been handled together because of their many similarities. For example, their captions were exactly the same. The pictures drawn on them differed in their gender only while the effect of AIDS on them was the same. In a way, their statistics were quite close: both had zero "Don't know" responses, the number of respondents who got "wrong messages" were also quite close: 8 in regard to Poster 10 and 7 in regard to Poster 22. Responses that accounted for the majority of "correct messages" had similar meanings in regard to each poster. For Poster 10 these were "a", "b", "c", "d" and "I" which added up to 60 percent while with regard to Poster 22 they were "a", "b", "c" and "d" which accounted for 65 percent. There were also inter-poster response similarities between the two. For example "a", with regard to Poster 10, was similar to "c" and "d" for Poster 22; "b" for Poster 10, was similar to "a" and "b" for Poster 22 and so on.

The percentages of respondents who got "right messages", namely 92 percent and 93 percent, and the percentages of those that got "wrong messages", viz., 8 percent and 7 percent, rank the two posters as the third and fourth most correctly interpreted and some of the most understood posters in the study. Although Poster 11 also had no respondent who claimed not to know the "correct messages", the higher percentages of respondents who gave wrong interpretations suggested it was not as well interpreted as Posters 1, 10, 12 and 22.

4.4.2.9 Poster 11

The high number of respondents (21 percent) who did not understand the message appeared to stem from the fact that the female Anti-AIDS campaigner on this poster decided to discuss AIDS with another female - suggesting that females mattered more than males in this campaign, echoing views and attitudes that were prevalent with regard to Poster 7 for almost

the same reasons, i.e. that the onus for stopping the spread of AIDS is more on females than on males. Thus, we have the second caption for Poster 7 appearing as interpretation "I" for Poster 11; interpretation "I" for Poster 11 and interpretation "I" for Poster 7 being a rephrased version of interpretation "I" with regard to Poster 11. It is not a coincidence that the two statements or interpretations had exactly the same percentage (i.e. 13) of respondents - they were the same respondents! The one percent who gave "j" must have seen a billboard at the Show Grounds on the Great East Road which carried exactly that caption. This was strong evidence to suggest that those who designed these "wrong messages" had intended to communicate such messages though it might not have been apparent to them that these messages were wrong. Statement "k" was probably given as a reaction to statement "j". It should not be surprising that Posters 7 and 11 and the billboard at the Show Grounds which had a lot of intended "wrong messages" were commissioned by the same people - the Non Governmental Organization Coordinating Committee (N.G.O.C.C.). Some of these organizations, which commissioned these posters, were actually the source of the many "wrong messages" and misinterpretations. We shall return to this later. For the moment let us consider Poster 12.

4.4.2.10 Poster 12

The percentage of respondents who gave "wrong messages" on this poster should be reduced from five to three because of the humour element discussed with regard to Poster 9. It should also be noted that the same number of respondents gave "f" and "k" with regard to posters 9 and 12 respectively. As regards "l" of Poster 12, the judges felt this was a wrong message because, firstly, the statement was not totally true since people with bleeding mouth ulcers can infect each other with HIV. Secondly, the judges pointed out that serious sexual games do not end at kissing.

As mentioned earlier on in 4.4.2.1, this poster was the oldest of all the posters that were sampled for this study. It was also one of the most widely displayed in Lusaka. This accounted for its high rate of correct interpretations (97) and the similarity in these correct interpretations. In fact, it was the second most correctly interpreted after Poster 1. We can therefore safely conclude that respondents got the correct message.

4.4.2.11 Posters 21 and 23

The posters named above have been treated together because the reasons that caused respondents fail to interpret them or to interpret them wrongly were the same.

According to statistics, respondents found Poster 21 the most difficult to interpret. Consequently, it had the highest percentage (35 percent) of respondents who did not understand the message it was intended to convey to the intended target groups. It had also the lowest percentage of respondents who understood its "right message". The difficulties inherent in interpreting this poster are evidenced by the fact that it generated the least number of responses, namely only five, while other posters generated as many as thirteen responses.

There were five basic reasons why some respondents found the two posters difficult to interpret. First, both were relatively new at the time the present study was conducted. As a result, 50 percent of respondents were seeing them for the first time. Second, 35 percent with regard to Poster 21 and 25 percent with regard to Poster 23 had semantic problems with the posters' captions. For Poster 21, these respondents did not equate "Give a hand" to "help" or "assist". On the other hand "Let not AIDS do us part" was not always interpreted to mean "Let AIDS not separate us". Third, 40 percent of respondents did not relate the load the woman was carrying on Poster 21 to AIDS because it was not labelled "AIDS" the way the vulture on Poster 4 was. On the other hand, the prominence of the acronym "AIDS" on Poster 23 appeared to have been responsible for the higher percentage of "right messages". Fourth, 20 percent of the respondents pointed out that it was difficult to tell whether the hands touching the load on Poster 21 were removing or placing (fixing) it on the woman's head. Finally, none of the 260 respondents saw and recognized the significance of the map of Zambia in the background of Poster 21 or of the heart in which the bride and groom were emblezoned in on Poster 23.

Apart from the fact that these posters were new, all the other four reasons given above had the same explanation: these posters were commissioned by a feminist elitist organization, namely, Society for Woman and AIDS in Zambia - SWAZ. It is a psychologically established fact that the elite in society in their ivory towers wrongly assume that other people see things the way

they see them themselves. This is the misconception responsible for creating interpretation problems for Posters 21 and 23, and accounts for why so many respondents got the wrong messages.

4.4.2.12 Poster 25

The high rate of wrong messages with regard to this poster was due to the presence of only one parent - the mother - holding the baby. In other words, the absence of the other parent, namely, the father, sent a lot of wrong signals to respondents. Almost all the “wrong messages” were unintended and were without exception due to the feminist slant already discussed, i.e., that females bear the responsibility in the fight to control the spread of HIV/AIDS more than males. It appears that it was this slant which was responsible for the failure by fifteen percent of respondents to get the “right message”.

4.4.3 Section “C”: Conclusion

Having considered all the posters, it can be concluded that the posters were overwhelmingly correctly interpreted although there were a few respondents who did not get the “right message” regarding a few of the posters. Statistically, as many as 85.78 percent of the messages interpreted messages were deemed to be correct and only 10.61 percent were considered to be wrong while 3.6 were classified under “Do Not Know”.

There were four major reasons for the failure on the part of some respondents to correctly interpret the posters or miss the “right message”. The first reason, it appears, was the sexism exhibited on some of the posters. This sexism was more often than not a result of the poster commissioners’ entrenched stereotype attitudes emanating from traditional female-male gender and role differentiation with regard to sex and sexually transmitted phenomena like HIV/AIDS. Second, semantic difficulties contributed to the high failure rate because some respondents failed to understand some captions because they found certain syntax combinations incomprehensible. Poster 21 and 23 were the best examples in this regard. Third, it appears that some posters, like Poster 21 for instance, were inadequately labelled or captioned, giving rise to some respondents to guess instead of interpreting the poster. Finally it seems some of the people who made the posters were not very knowledgeable about certain issues concerning

AIDS. This is evidenced by their emphasis on the use of condoms as the only preventive measure (without mentioning other preventive methods and condom failure rate), and their confusing simple terms like AIDS and HIV which are not one and the same thing.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION

5.1 Context and History Behind Male Promiscuity and Gender Differentiation in Zambia

It has been repeatedly claimed in this study that while there were several sanctions against female unchastity and infidelity, male promiscuity, on the other hand, was tacitly (sometimes openly) condoned by society. Justice would not have been done to the study if an attempt to substantiate the claim was not made and given its context and rationale. This is one of the objectives this section sets out to achieve. However, before delving further into this theme, it is important to mention, in passing, that Lusaka, where this study was conducted, was one of Zambia's linguistic and cultural melting pots. As far as culture was concerned, Lusaka was part of a larger Zambian community. As a result, to a large degree, what obtained somewhere else in Zambia also obtained in Lusaka and vice-versa. Bearing this in mind, the following points will now be considered.

Acceptance, and sometimes promotion, of male promiscuity by some sectors of the Zambian community, according to the findings of this study, has some historical and cultural background. It is also perpetuated in society by the principal carrier of a people's culture - language. For example, there is a proverb in a cluster of Zambian languages, namely "*ubucende bwamwaume tabutoba ing'anda*" (Bemba), or "*Uuhule wa mwanalume wukuswa nthengwa yayi*" (Tumbuka) which means "a husband's promiscuity does not break a marriage." Implicit, if not explicit, in this attitude and position is that a wife's infidelity does break a marriage. Audrey Richards (1940:15) confirms that among the Bemba, more continence was expected of women than men. It is Elizabeth Colson, (1940:45), however, who is more explicit. Commenting on the marriage culture of the Tonga, she says:

"In theory, the establishment of marriage gives the husband exclusive rights to sexual possession of the wife. This is not a reciprocal right, and the wife has no redress if her

husband takes other lovers or philanders freely so long as he does not neglect her at the same time. If she tries to make a scene and openly accuses him and his sweetheart, the woman may bring her to court on a slander charge. The court is very unlikely to sympathise with the wife. Instead, they will inform her that she is being most injudicious in bringing the affair to public attention, that if this information arouses the suspicion of her alleged rival's husband, her own husband may have to pay damages or that the scandal may lead to a fight and injury of her husband. As a good wife, she ought to keep quiet and keep her knowledge to herself”.

Barnes (1951:31) says almost the same thing. For the sake of emphasis and comparison, it will suffice to quote him also. He says;

“The sexual rights and obligations of husband and wife in each other are not symmetrical. A man has seclusive rights over his wife; a woman cannot gain seclusive sexual rights over her husband. A husband can marry co-wives or commit adultery. So long he does not neglect her, she has no legal grounds for complaint. The most she can do is to make life so unpleasant for him that rather than face her anger, he decides to sleep with her alone”.

The sexual differentiations between the two genders are clearly drawn from the very beginning.

Gender differentiation is also clearly marked by terminologies describing male-female sex or marriage relationships which depict females as passive-recipient partners. While men marry, women get married (**kukwatira-kukwatiwa**: Nyanja). Men sleep with women while women are “slept”. As a result of their positions (as “property of men”), women in traditional society (or environment) rarely, if ever, sued other women for committing adultery with their spouses, let alone sue their husbands for divorce as a result of adultery, as Colson and Barnes confirm. This was because it was acceptable for men to have more than one woman. It appears, judging from what the present research has shown, that these attitudes had not changed much in Lusaka at the time of this study.

It appears that this state of affairs was the result of a carefully designed and manipulated informal curriculum that inculcated values that propagated and ensured male dominance in society. This was the rationale for setting up two value systems for the two genders from early childhood up to death. For example, girls were taught the virtues of chastity (Barnes 1951:3) and abstinence for many reasons, among which the first was to maintain their own good reputation and that of their families, communities and clans. Among the Ngoni of Eastern Province, for example, if a girl was married off after losing her virginity to another man, her parents were made to repay part of the lobola paid on her to indicate some kind of "apology". On the other hand, no one insisted that males enter matrimony while still virgins. Girls were not expected (in fact were forbidden) to practice premarital sex - especially in what Barnes calls "In the old days". A lot of checks were put in place to enforce and to monitor their movements and sleeping arrangements. One of these was sending them on errands accompanied by small children who could report back what transpired on the way. The other, according to Colson (1940:45), was constructing girls' dormitories very close to the parents' houses or simply forcing them to sleep with their grandparents. These sanctions were meant to reduce, if not totally to eliminate, the girls' chances of promiscuous behaviour. The girls' initiation was the climax of this "chastity" education. Girls were taught what irreparable "damage" men and promiscuity could wreak on them for the rest of their lives. At marriage, teachings zeroed in on matrimonial specifics. Although these were many, virtues of fidelity and how to behave when a man took on a second wife (or lover) topped the list. This alone implied male promiscuity was permissible. On the other hand, penalties regarding female promiscuity were spelt out to her in no uncertain terms.

The boys' "initiation", on the other hand, among the Ngoni, according to Barnes, among the Lunda, according to Turner, (1940) and among the Luvale, according to White, (1961) took a diametrically opposite course and value system. The boy was taught how to be a real man and not to behave like a whimp. "Real manhood" included going out there to explore the world, which included flirting with members of the opposite sex.

These gender differentiations permeated and still permeate the value systems of most Zambian ethnic groups and were usually accepted by the majority of Zambian women, particularly those with little formal education. Women were taught that, except in cases involving more than one

man against one woman, illicit sex cannot occur without the consent of the woman and that women are to blame for the prevalence of promiscuity in society. Men, it appears, have accepted this philosophy because it suits them perfectly by giving them absolution from blame and culpability from sexual immorality.

This is the backdrop underlying attitudes that place societal sexual and moral responsibility more upon women than upon men. The average Lusaka woman, according to the present study, echoed these attitudes. During the survey, the rationale many such women gave for maintaining the status quo and for their role in the fight against AIDS were stereotyped. "Men are dogs", they said. "If women do not say "No" to men's lusts, men can even sleep with their own sisters and daughters". These attitudes explain why the phenomenon of women blaming other women for the prevalence of promiscuity and for the spread of AIDS was more prevalent than that of men accusing other men. The problem in today's AIDS era is that while some men yearn to maintain the status quo, a lot of emancipated women reject this state of affairs. The tragedy, as Allan Patton (1948) pointed out, is that when society rejects a previously accepted norm without converting to a new norm befitting the new changed circumstances, the void created is usually, albeit temporarily, filled with disaster. This is what appears to have happened to issues pertaining to sex, morality and AIDS in Zambia today.

5.2 Attitudes of the Makers of Posters

From the preceding discussion, and from what Colson (1940), White (1960), Richards (1940) and Barnes (1951) have to say, insinuate or suggest, it appears that in most traditional societies women played a very important role in formulating the norms, sanctions and rewards that governed and regulated society's sexual behaviour. Ironically, it was the men and their courts and "insaka" that so religiously enforced these norms. Men did contribute to the formulation of these norms but their role was usually restricted to aspects that dealt in particular with boys' affairs. The *mukanda* initiation ceremony of the Luvale-Lunda and the Ngoni boys' regiments are a case in point.

It may not be very crucial in any case to know exactly which gender established these norms. What is critical to know is that whoever formulated these norms subsequently became a self-appointed social commentator with regard to society's traditional, cultural and moral values.

These self-proclaimed social engineers then came to hold that their views mirrored those of society. As far as traditional, cultural and moral values were concerned, these people were, it appears, the final imprimatur. And society moved along.

The artists who made the posters appear to have inherited these attitudes. Additional to making posters, they also assumed the role of moralists and social commentators by assuming that their views reflected those of the whole society. What they seemed to be saying is, "Look, this is what society thinks is responsible for spreading AIDS". On the other hand, part of society appears to have rejected this viewpoint, saying "This is what **you** think is..." (and not what we think). This discord is responsible for the ensuing controversy that was caused mainly by the failure by the designers of the posters to account for, as well as for taking for granted, the changed male-female relational circumstances in regard to gender. Society was now questioning what the "imprimatur" thought society should accept without dissent. For example, it may be questioned why the woman on Poster 1 was placed nearer to a bar than the man. Similarly, the woman on Poster 2 has no beer in her hand, thereby creating the impression that she is in the bar for some other reason(s). The caption on this poster says "Use a condom" yet only male condoms were available in Lusaka at the time of this study. Regarding Poster 4, there must have been a reason why the male AIDS victim was made to look more prominent than the female counterpart. On Poster 5, the woman is made to keep quiet as if to suggest that she disagreed with her husband. As regards Poster 7, the caption says "Women together can stop AIDS". The result of this was that the gripe in Lusaka was: "Women together spread AIDS". On Poster 24 the two women, although appropriately attired and very attentive (suggesting a certain degree of AIDS-awareness), do not ask the speaker how to identify a male seropositive "just by looking at him".

These are but only a few omissions that constitute a louder message than that contained in the captions (see Section C). Though the women on Poster 24 are made to keep quiet, others, including some men, have dared cry foul. Thus the controversy.

The poster makers, like the traditional social engineers, probably did not expect any controversy. They thought they were mirroring what they knew society wanted to see. The evidence from the study suggests that part of society rejected this assumption. This is what

accounts for the apparent discord between the intended messages by the makers of the posters and the interpretations by the target audience. The respondents did not fail to properly interpret or “get” the message. Evidence from the study appears to suggest that society actually did but at the same time partly dismissed it. In this sense society would seem to have sacked the “imprimatur”.

Apart from the attitudes of the poster-makers, another reason responsible for the resultant confusion and numerous “rejected messages” in this campaign was the way the undertaking was conducted. For example, as is explained below, there was no feasibility study or sampling undertaken prior to the designing and commissioning of the final posters. Consequently the first were ultimately the final.

5.3 Lack of Research as Source and Cause of Confusion and Ambiguity

In a research unrelated to the present study published as an article entitled “The Anti-AIDS Campaign Loses Steam” that appeared in the “Times of Zambia” of 6th November, 1997, and reproduced here in part, the present researcher found that the most important reason why the Anti-AIDS campaign was not impacting on society (by failing to change people’s sexual behaviour) was that the most crucial tenets of this campaign, namely, the posters and billboards, were not preceded by any research at all, let alone by any serious feasibility study. The result, according to the findings, was that this became a haphazard exercise undertaken by people still groping in the dark. The beauty of feasibility studies is that you don’t grope in the dark.

The haste was perhaps understandable, may be even acceptable, considering that “experts” could not continue to theorize about AIDS while the phenomenon continued to kill people. Anyhow, as findings indicate, the absence of research in this campaign led to serious confusion and message-ambiguities that required superlative adjectives to describe them. Posters were commissioned and displayed (in public places) which were inappropriate or which

communicated unintended messages or whose intended messages were seriously wrong. Sometimes the intended messages escalated the spread of AIDS instead of slowing it down. We shall explain this later. Other times the posters elicited lurid gripes from the public that was expected to take them seriously, thereby diluting the effect. A matter of life and death, as the issue pertaining to AIDS ought to be viewed, it appears, had been inadvertently turned into a joking matter.

Take posters 10 and 22 which hung across many bar counters, for example. One bar patron asked his friend, while pointing at the poster depicting the male AIDS victims: "What is your friend doing here (in the bar) in that "after" state? Tell him he is spoiling my appetite". His friend, standing next to him concurred: "*Fyabufi*" ("it is all lies"!)." "Can AIDS strip you off your jacket, tie, shirt and shoes?" They both laughed.

This unfortunate humour was elicited by the poster. The lessons this researcher learnt were that, first the poster designer(s) were overzealous by "stripping" the AIDS victim, and second, not all posters, not even the most scary or those carrying the most appropriate advertisement against AIDS, were suitable in all places. This could have been discovered if the exercise had been preceded by some research.

Propaganda or campaigns not preceded by research can sometimes impact negatively and can produce quite opposite and unintended results. In the case of the Anti-AIDS campaign, some of its very slogans, it appears, were partly responsible for the escalation of the HIV infection as mentioned earlier on. An example of this is a seemingly innocent and apparently well-meaning and well-intended caption that advises: "Stick to one partner".

The 25 percent of respondents who objected to this caption may not appear to be significant. Their reasons for objection were, however, quite valid. They pointed out that this caption and the accompanying advice were inadequately worded and suited only certain classes of the society, namely, the courting, the married and above all, those who were HIV negative. They claimed that the caption did not cater for those who were copulating for the first time because, they pointed out, first-time (virginal) sexual intercourse is almost never first-time (virginal) to

both partners. The other (experienced) partner may already have the virus. It is also highly suicidal, they claimed, for those who indulge in frequent illicit sex to stick to one sex worker. It was much safer, they said, to pick one today and dump her tomorrow. According to them, that way one does not build any trust in any one casual sexual partner. Trust built in long lasting sexual relationships, they claimed, tended to lower peoples' guard against AIDS and tempted them to indulge in unprotected sex. This kind of trust, they felt, only ignored but did not remove the prostitutes' past which may include virus infection.

Lack of research in this campaign was more graphically illustrated by the linguistic and semantic deficiencies and inappropriate repertoire that conspired to produce controversy___prone slogans like: "Women must join men in the fight against AIDS". Apart from the gender bias the slogan exhibits, respondents pointed out that it did not reflect reality in that in the early stages of the AIDS epidemic and in the early stages of the campaign, and indeed throughout the present study, more women were involved in the AAC than men, particularly women from the teaching and nursing professions from which the majority of AIDS counsellors are drawn. Well-researched work meant to influence, as well as to change, society's sexual behaviour must of necessity reflect reality as regards what obtains in society.

Apart from reflecting reality, poster messages must be unambiguous and easily intelligible. Should they contain more than one message, these messages should be intentional and complementary - not contradictory. This has not been the case in this campaign as already illustrated in the main discussion. Above all, the messages must not be distorted either by the picture or by the captions.

Part of this message distortion in the campaign under study was a result of anchoring the aegis of the campaign on wrong assumptions and premises (principally because of lack of research) namely, the poster-designers believing that their target audience feared death so much that they could be scared out of illicit sex if they were constantly reminded that AIDS kills. However, evidence suggests otherwise. In fact it appears some people's libidos were much stronger than their will to escape AIDS and eventually death. Evidence for this is that despite the fact that AIDS kills in the most macabre of ways, statistics showed that people still indulged in illicit sex ___ AIDS' surest and most faithful agent of infection.

Finally, if this campaign had been preceded by thorough research, it could also have exploited and adapted already existing avenues that championed the virtues of chastity, fidelity and high moral standards in general, namely, religion. Throughout the study, this researcher never came across a religious-inspired poster that said, for example, "Don't indulge in casual sex; the Lord is watching you!", or "It is a sin to engage in illicit sex," or "Casual sex kills mortally and spiritually". In a topic of the magnitude of life and death like AIDS, all possible preventive methods should have been tried. This was not done because, as already stated, the campaign was not heralded by research. In modern times, research is a prerequisite for almost all human problems.

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A P E N D I X 1: P I C T U R E S

2 2 7

POSTER No. 1

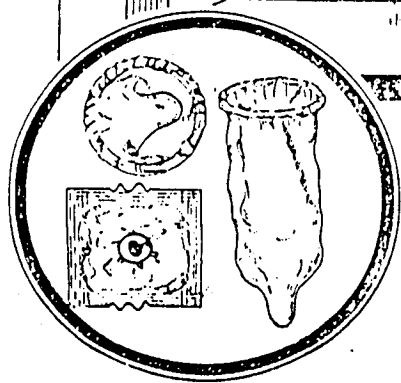
YOU CAN NOT TELL AN AIDS CARRIER FROM LOOKS ALONE

1



DO NOT TAKE CHANCES

BE RESPONSIBLE PREVENT THE SPREAD AIDS AND GONORRHOE



USE A CONDOM

PRODUCED BY THE HEALTH EDUCATION UNIT, MINISTRY OF HEALTH, LUSAKA 1989 WITH ASSISTANCE OF WHO.



POSTER 4

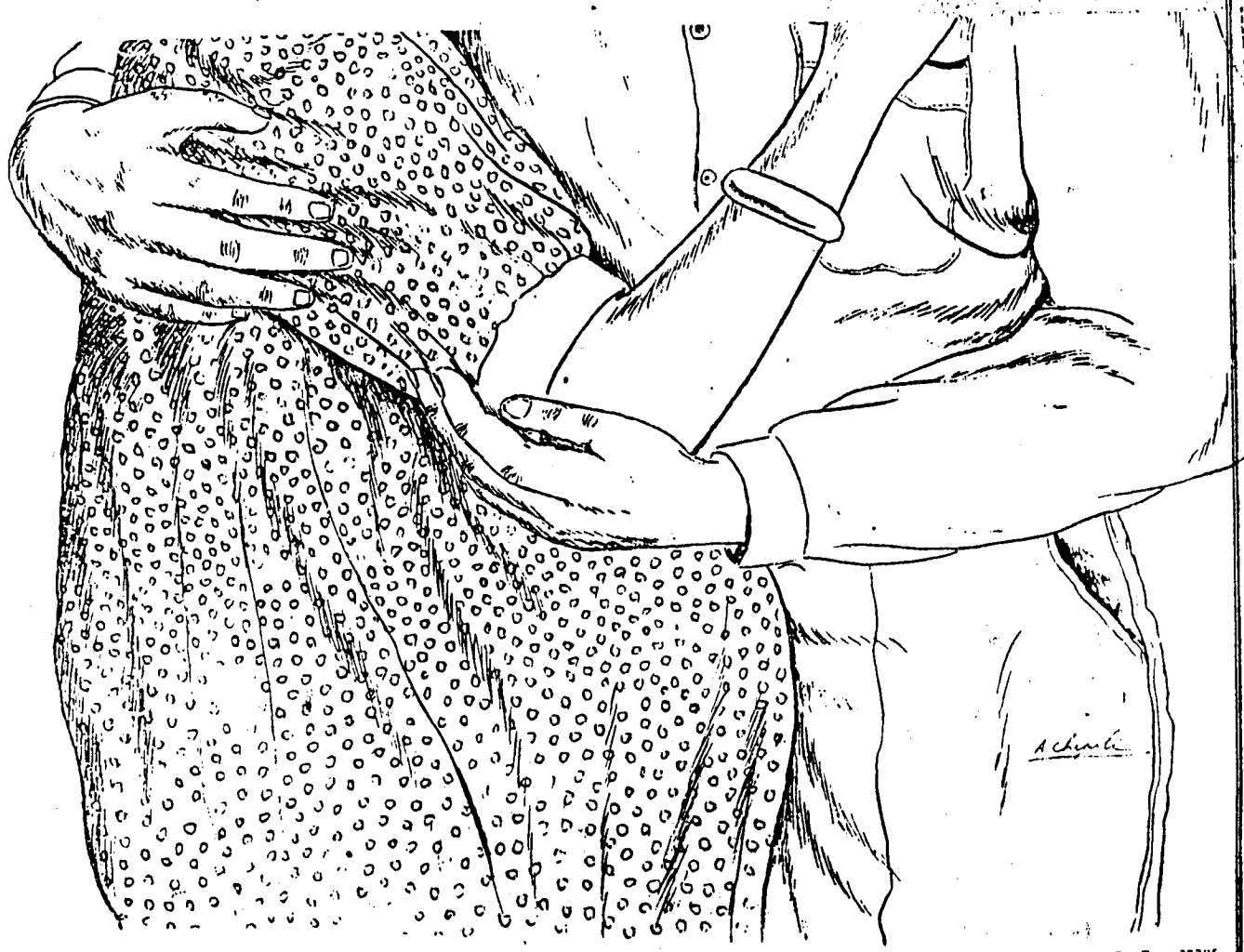
IF AIDS GETS YOU



u ... there is no turning back.
stick to one sexual partner

am happily married.
want to protect my family from AIDS.
r me, no sex outside marriage.

5



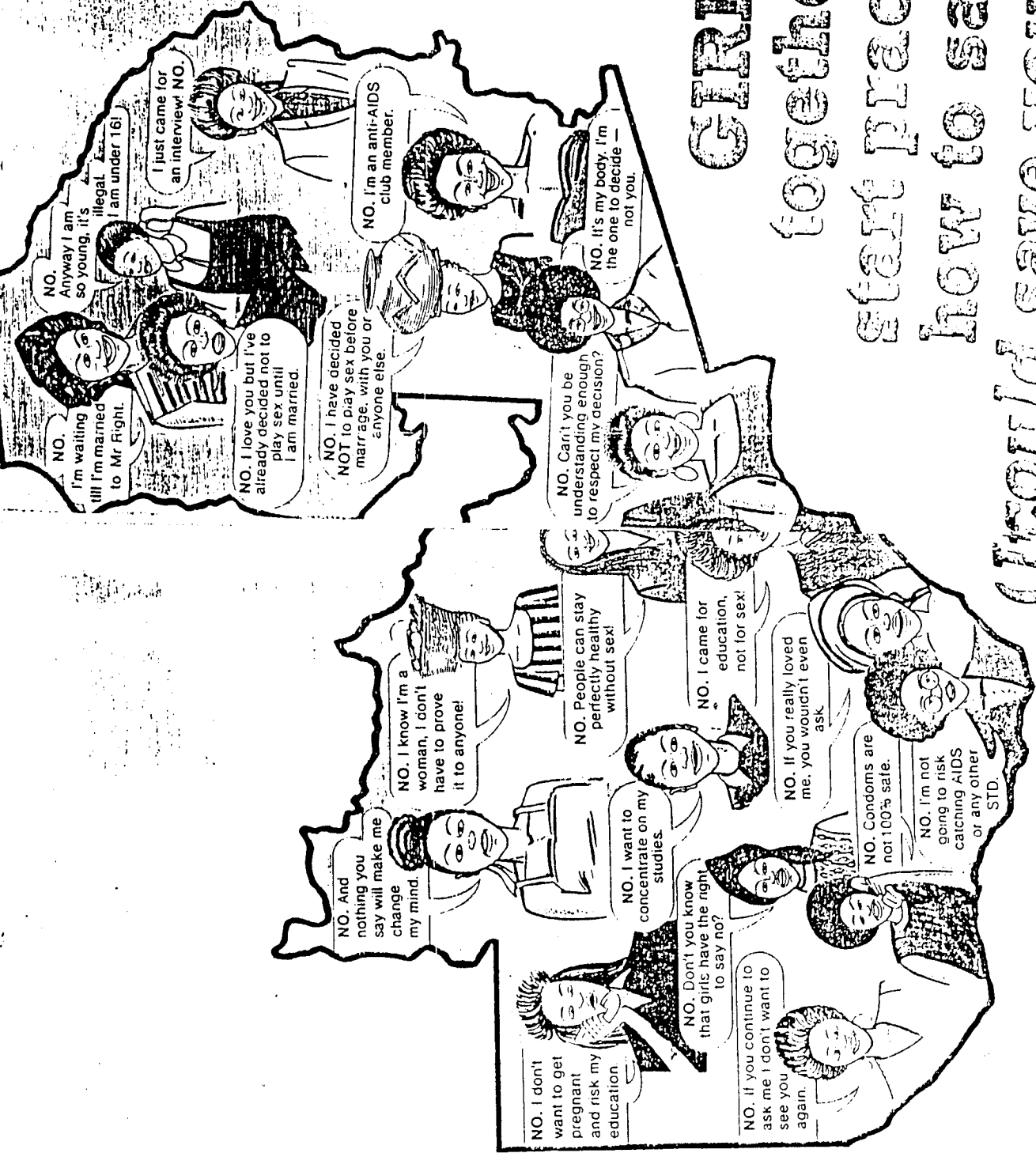
WOMEN CARE, WOMEN SHARE



WOMEN TOGETHER
CAN STOP AIDS

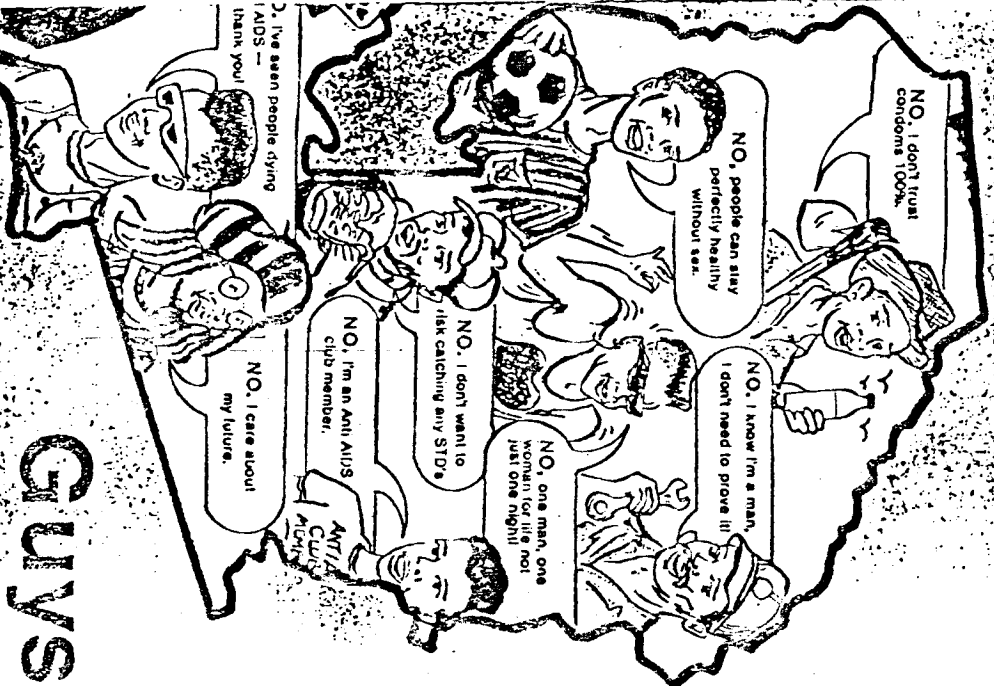
PRINTED FOR WORLD AIDS DAY 1980

Non Governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee
P.O. Box 37879, Lusaka



GIRLS! get together and start practising how to say NO! (It could save your life).

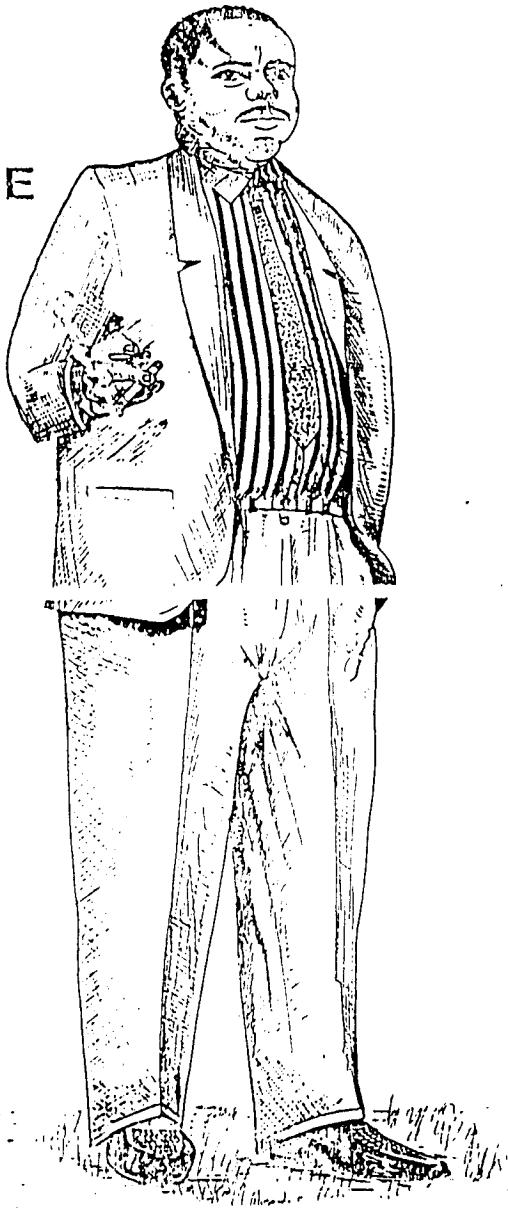
Smart Guys say NO to Casual Sex!



Guys think twice, your time will come!

POSTER NO 10
10
CARELESS SEX can get you
TOTALLY WASTED!

BEFORE



AFTER



BEWARE OF AIDS!

PRODUCED BY THE HEALTH EDUCATION UNIT MINISTRY OF HEALTH LUSAKA 1988

REPRINTED BY ANTI-AIDS PROJECT APRIL 1989

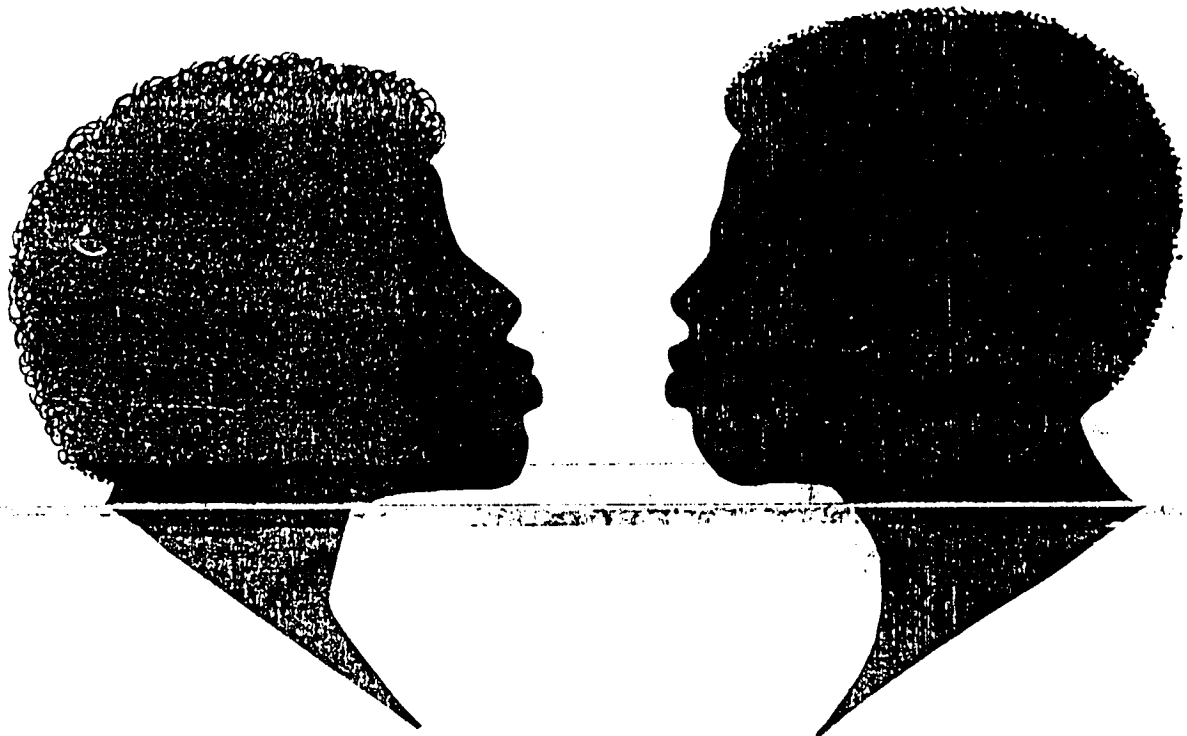


PRINTED FOR WORLD AIDS DAY 1990
Non Governmental Organisation Coordinating Committee
P.O. Box 37879, Lusaka

12

POSTER NO 12

BE AWARE OF AIDS



PLAY SAFE

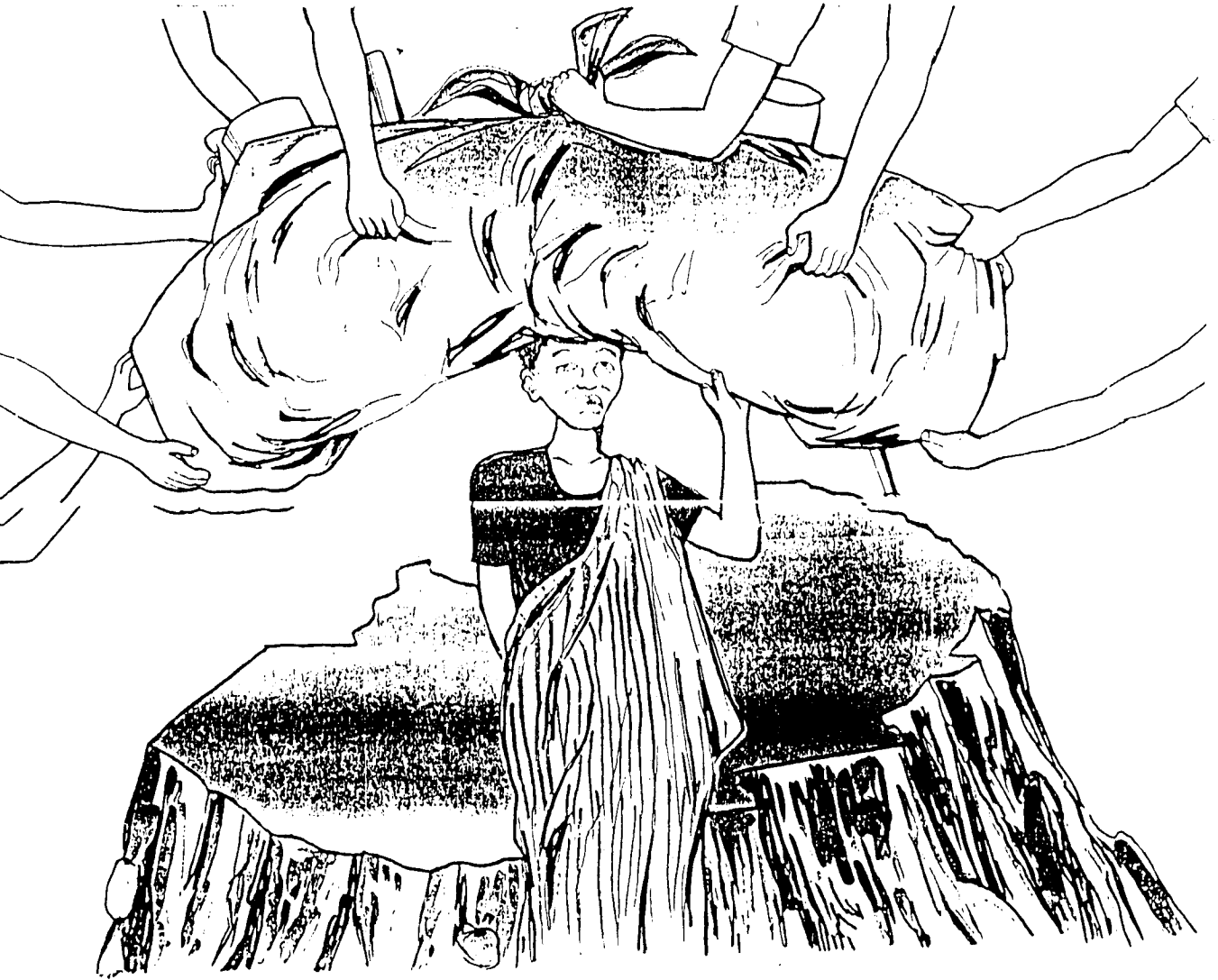
TICK TO ONE SEXUAL PARTNER

AIDS KILLS

21

POSTER No 21

Give a hand



against AIDS

SOCIETY FOR WOMEN AND AIDS IN ZAMBIA

224

238

EASTERN SUN PRINTERS LTD

23
CARELESS SEX can get

TOTALLY WASTE

22

BEFORE



AFTER



BEWARE OF AIDS

PRODUCED BY THE HEALTH EDUCATION UNIT MINISTRY OF HEALTH LUSAKA 1988

REPRINTED BY ANTI-AIDS PROJECT APRIL 1989

23

For life



... Let not AIDS
do us part.

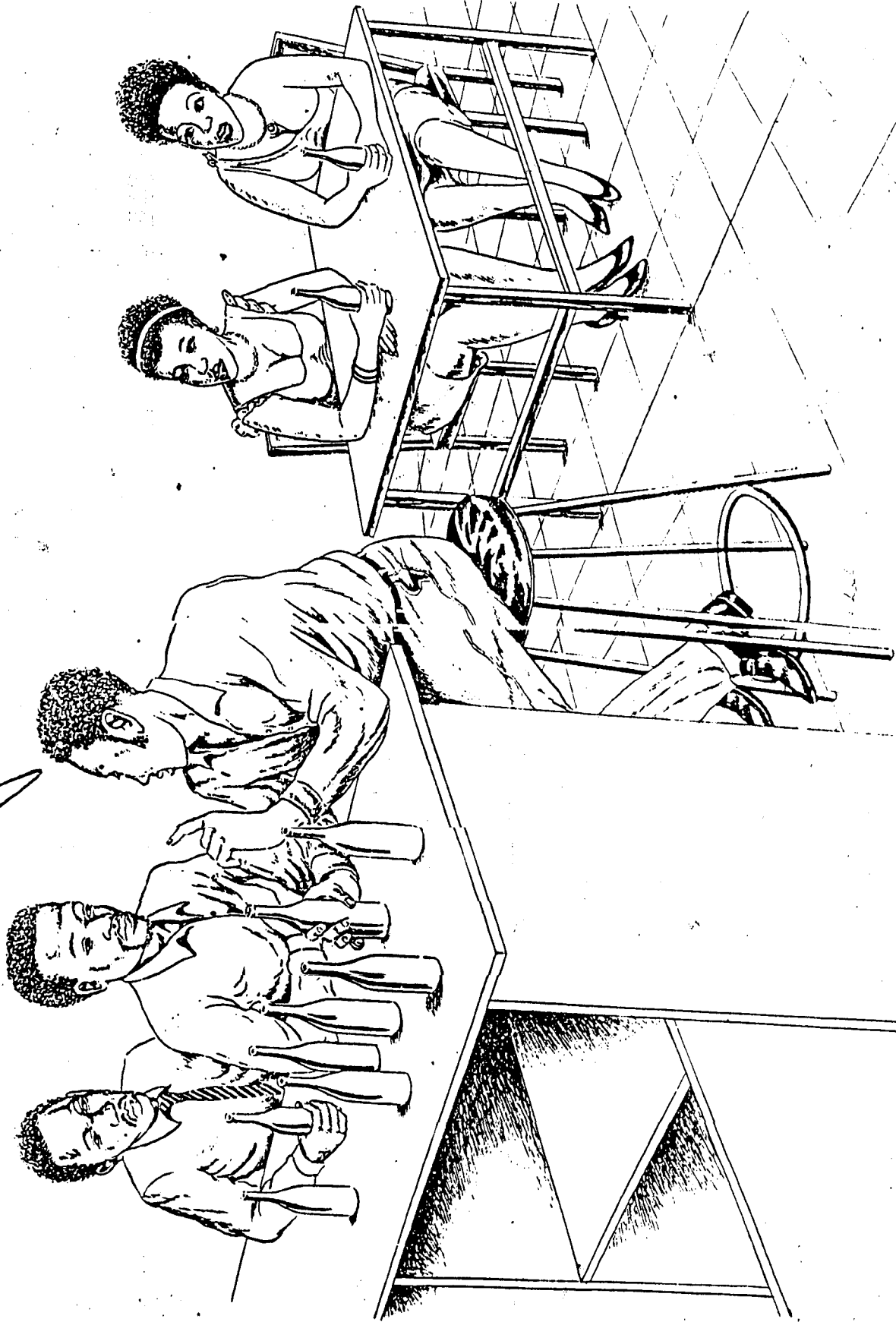
SOCIETY FOR WOMEN AND AIDS IN ZAMBIA

LITHO BY COURTESY OF EASTERN SUN PRINTERS LTD

POSTER NO 24

24

carrier.
So, I use a condom everytime.....

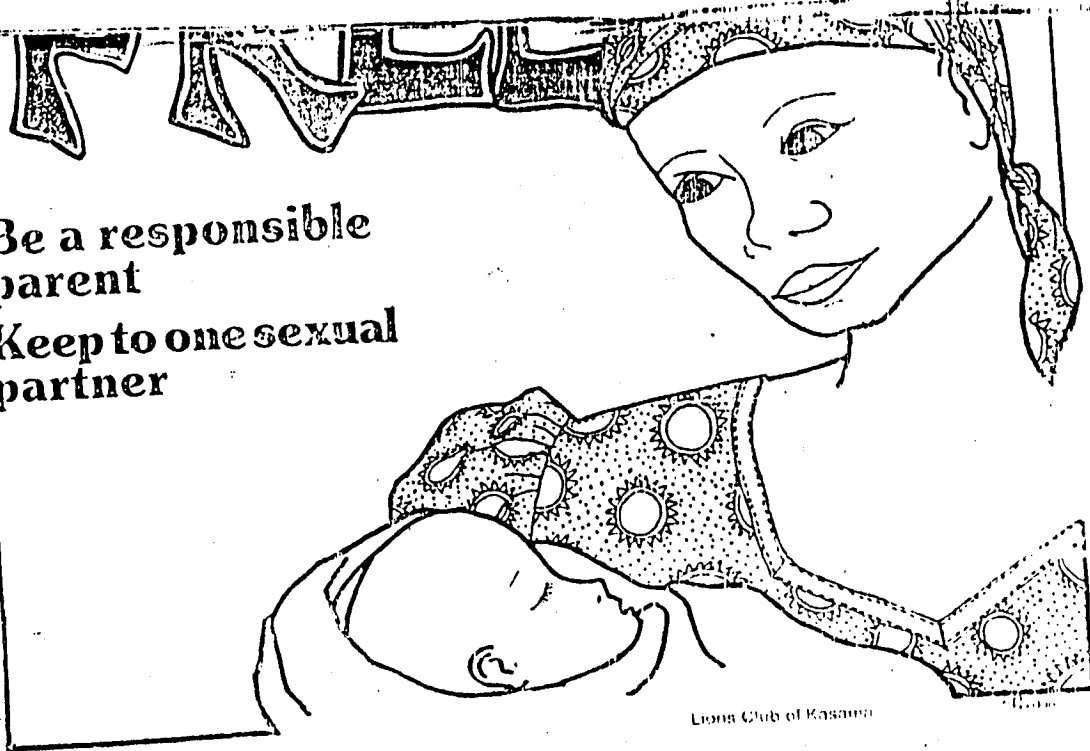


5

Let your child be born

Northern Province Health Educator Project on Aids

AIDS MOTHER



Be a responsible
parent
Keep to one sexual
partner

Lions Club of Kasama

m

APPENDIX II
Research Instruments

Questionnaire I

Poster 1

1. Who do you think the makers of this poster advise when they say "You cannot tell from looks alone"?

Poster 2

2. Why did the makers of this poster depict a bar situation?

Poster 4

3. Who do those who made the poster advise to stick to one partner?

Poster 5

4. Who says the words in the caption and why?

Poster 7

5. Do you think those who made this poster meant the patient to be a woman or man? Give reason for your answer.

Poster 8

6. Why did the makers of the poster put girls only on it?

Poster 9

7. Why would you or wouldn't you say the words in the caption are for smart guys only?

Poster 10

8. Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this man's Aids illness?

Poster 11

9. On this poster the anti-Aids Campaigner went to talk to another woman (Instead of a man) because the makers of the poster want to tell us.....

Poster 12

10. Who do you think the makers of the poster directed the words that make the caption? Give reason for your answer.

Poster 21

11. What do the makers of the poster want to tell us by making the woman carry the load?

Poster 22

12. Who do you think those who made this poster blame for this woman's Aids illness.

Poster 23

13. Who has been made to say the words that make the Caption?

Poster 24

14. Why is it a man who has been made to say the words that make the Caption?

Poster 25

15. Why did the makers of this poster place the child in its mother's (not father's) arms?

QUESTIONNAIRE II

QUESTIONNAIRE ON ANTI-AIDS POSTERS AND CAPTIONS IN ZAMBIA

Answer all questions as honestly and objectively as possible. Your answers will be confidential. You need not write your names on the questionnaire.

SECTION A

Choose the correct item by ticking the box like this

Your Sex:

 M F

Your Age:

 I II III

Your Educational Level

Below Grade 7

Grade 7

Grades 8-9

Grades 10-12

College

 A B C D E

University

 F

House No: Residence/Township/Compound.....

SECTION B

There is one question on each poster. Please ensure that you answer the questions following the order in which both the questions and posters are arranged.

POSTER 1

1. Who do you think the makers of this poster advise when they say "You cannot tell from looks alone"?

- A. The woman; because men spread AIDS..
- B. The man; because women spread AIDS
- C. The community, men and women because seemingly healthy people may have HIV
- D. Don't know

POSTER 2

2. Why did the makers of this poster depict a bar situation?

- A. This is where loose or promiscuous men pick ladies for casual sex.
- B. This is where prostitutes with AIDS pick men who indulge in casual sex.
- C. Because beer influences people to indulge in casual sex.
- D. Don't know

POSTER 4

3. Who do those who made the poster advise to "stick to one partner?"

- A. Men; because they always have extra-marital partners or girlfriend
- B. Women because they are more vulnerable and prone to prostitution
- C. Men and women; AIDS doesn't choose, it infects both sexes.
- D. Don't know

POSTER 5

4. Who says the words in the caption and why?
- A. The man; because he wants to deceive his wife into believing him.
 - B. The woman; because she knows she cannot indulge in casual sex since she is pregnant.
 - C. The couple (husband and wife). They want to protect themselves and each other from AIDS.
 - D. Don't know

POSTER 7

5. Do you think those who made this poster meant the patient to be a woman or man? Give reason for your answer.
- A. He is a man. More men than women suffer from AIDS.
 - B. She is a woman because of the presence of other women by the bedside.
 - C. It is difficult to tell from pictures alone.
 - D. Don't know

POSTER 8

6. Why did the makers of the poster put girls only on it?
- A. Because girls have the right to 'say 'No' to male promiscuity (ie refuse being seduced by men).
 - B. Because girls need AIDS advice more than boys.
 - C. Because the poster is meant to tailor girls thoughts about AIDS (ie. behave as those on the poster)
 - D. Don't Know

POSTER 9

7. Why would you or wouldn't you say the words in the caption are for smart guys only?

- A. Because guys who are not smart can easily be seduced into casual sex.
- B. Because Sugar Mummies like smart guys.
- C. AIDS concerns both sexes and all ages.
- D. Don't know.

POSTER 10

8. Who do you think those who made the poster blame for this man's AIDS illness?

- A. The man himself because he indulged in casual sex.
- B. The women who infected him.
- C. We don't know for sure because we don't know who infected him and how he was infected.
- D. Don't know.

POSTER 11

9. On this poster the anti-AIDS Campaigner went to talk to another woman (^{instead} of a man) because the makers of the poster want to tell us.....

- A. That men ignore advice on AIDS.
- B. That if all women said 'No' to casual sex, AIDS would be controlled.
- C. That it is easier to discuss AIDS with members of the same sex.
- D. Don't know.

POSTER 12

10. ^{At} Whom do you think the makers of the poster directed the words that make the caption? Give ~~a~~ reason for your answer.

- A. At men because they seduce women
- B. At the women; because if all woman rejected casual sex AIDS would be controlled
- C. At both men and women because AIDS does not choose; it infects both sexes.
- D. Don't know

POSTER 21

11. What do the makers of the poster want to tell us by making the woman carry the load?

- A. That men are so cruel that they burden women with AIDS.
- B. That this woman is carrying a load of guilt because she killed her husband with AIDS
- C. That the woman is a symbol of the family
- D. We don't know

POSTER 22

12. Who do you think those who made this poster blame for this woman's AIDS illness.

- A. The men who infected her
- B. The women who infected her parter
- C. The woman herself
- D. We don't know

POSTER 23

13. Who has been made to say the words that make the Caption?

A. The man (bridegroom) because he suspects that his bride might be HIV positive.

B. The bride; because she suspects the groom might have AIDS.

C. Both man and woman because they don't want to be infected with HIV.

D. Don't know.

POSTER 24.

14. Why is it a man who has been made to say the words that make the Caption?

A. Because men always seduce women.

B. Because prostitutes don't mind whether condoms are used or not.

C. Because Condoms available in Zambia can only be worn by men.

D. Don't know.

POSTER 25.

15. Why did the makers of this poster place the child in its mother's (not father's) arms?

A. Because mothers endanger their children more.

B. Because mothers endanger their children more than men when they engage in casual sex

C. The woman is only used to symbolize the family

D. Don't know.

Answer all questions as briefly as possible.

POSTER 1

1. What does the poster not want you to do?

POSTER 2

2. Why have male Condoms been included on this poster?

POSTER 4

3. Why has the vulture or eagle been used on this poster?

POSTER 5

4. If you were to interpret (or explain) this poster or its message to someone else, what would tell him or her?

POSTER 7

5. What does this poster want you to do?

POSTER 8

6. What message do you get from this poster?

POSTER 9

7. The poster advises that "Your time will come!" Time to do what?

POSTER 10

8. Why do you think was this poster made?

POSTER 11

9. Write your own message (CAPTION OR WORDS) for this poster.

POSTER 12

10. Complete the message below:

The aim of the makers of this poster is to inform (tell) us that.....

POSTER 21

11. Who should give a hand to who?

POSTER 22

12. What message does this poster convey to you?

POSTER 23.

13. If you were to write a caption for this poster in your own words, what would you say?

POSTER 24.

14. What message do the pictures, the bar environment and the caption convey to you?

POSTER 25

15. Complete the sentence below

The purpose of making this poster is to warn or advise
that

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