



Working Paper

No. 465

Modelling Cross-Gender and Sexual Relations: Exploring the Soul Buddyz Edutainment Initiative in South Africa

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January 2009

* ISS MA Research Paper Award winner for the academic year 2007-2008

ISSN 0921-0210

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Abstract

HIV/AIDS among youth is a serious problem in South Africa. Cross-gender relations and associated constructs surrounding masculinity/femininity and sexuality are increasingly recognized as at the heart of the issue. Growing attention has thus been given to developing initiatives geared towards children and very young adolescents (VYAs), aimed at addressing attitudes and behaviours surrounding gender and sexuality. This paper explored the representations of 'positive' cross-gender relations, as well as associated constructs, in the Soul Buddyz edutainment initiative primarily geared towards 8-12 year-olds, and intended to provide "positive" role models for girls and boys. Pertinent Soul Buddyz material was explored through methods of narrative and frame analysis, from a position informed by social constructionism and theoretical tenets of Michel Foucault. Findings were then situated within a broader framework, with reference made to the formative research undertaken for the development of Soul Buddyz, as well as other relevant studies concerning children and youth. The overarching aim of this paper was to raise questions in reference to HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives dealing with cross-gender relations and associated constructs, critical reflection upon these issues being considered as crucial within the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and for potentially strengthening prevention initiatives.

Relevance to Development Studies

Addressing cross-gender relations and constructions surrounding masculinity/femininity and sexuality is increasingly recognized as integral for HIV/AIDS prevention. It is thus important to consider an initiative geared towards boys and girls, who may both uphold certain ideas surrounding cross-gender relations. Moreover, programmes geared towards children and VYAs are particularly crucial, as such programmes may influence attitudes and behaviours as they are in the process of being formed rather than when fully developed. It is thus imperative to consider the "positive" modelling in an initiative intended to create behavioural and social change, geared towards this key age group.

Keywords

HIV/AIDS, gender, sexuality, children, VYAs, youth, edutainment, discourse analysis

Acronyms

E-E:	Entertainment-Education
HIV/AIDS:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
SABC:	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SCIHDC:	Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication
STIs:	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
UNFPA:	United Nations Population Fund
VYAs:	Very Young Adolescents

Modelling Cross-Gender and Sexual Relations ¹

Exploring the Soul Buddyz Edutainment Initiative in South Africa

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Indication of Problem

HIV/AIDS among youth in South Africa is a significant problem. The 15-24 age group experiences the highest rates of new HIV infections, with one in ten South Africans aged 15-24 being HIV positive (Campbell et al. 2005: 471; Visser 2007: 679). Even when educated about HIV/AIDS, however, many youth may engage in HIV/AIDS risk behaviour. Relations between boys and girls (or cross-gender relations),² informed by constructs surrounding masculinity/femininity and sexuality, are seen to be a major contributing factor. Gender norms for boys may entail pressure to exhibit sexual prowess, power, dominance, and control within sexual relationships. Gender norms for girls, in turn, may entail pressure to have a boyfriend, demonstrate sexual ignorance and passivity, and be submissive. Intimate cross-gender relations may thus be characterized by violence, inequality, non-communication about sex, and pressure to engage in unsafe sexual behaviour (Barker and Ricardo 2005; Campbell and MacPhail 2002; Eaton et al. 2003; Petersen et al. 2005; Reddy and Dunne 2007; MacPhail and Campbell 2001; Morrell et al. 2001; Wood and Jewkes 2001).

Apartheid was a significant historical contributor to such cross-gender relations, as many non-white men, disenfranchised and emasculated in the public sphere, used the private sphere as an arena in which to reassert themselves (Campbell 1992: 618; Kandirikirira 2002: 119; Morrell 2001: 18; Schneider 2008: 137-138). Thus, in their relations with women, many men “exaggerated their maleness, focusing on the aggressive and controlling aspects, and becoming sexually unaccountable” (Kandirikirira 2002: 119).

¹ I would first like to thank Dani Setlhapelo and Themba Motaung at the Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication (SCIHDC), for providing me with the Soul Buddyz episodes and print material. I am also grateful to my supervisor, Loes Keyzers, for her insight, encouragement, and guidance; and to my second reader, Linda Herrera, for providing valuable feedback at key junctures in the development of this paper. I would also like to thank Bridget O’Laughlin, who was of great help in the early stages of my research; as well as Auma Okwany and Des Gasper, who both provided constructive feedback concerning my research design. I also could not have written this paper without the support of my friends, both in The Hague and back at home; or the support of my family, particularly my parents, and their endless encouragement and willingness to listen.

This paper is dedicated to Alan and Sheila Henriksen, who are among both my greatest supporters, and sources of inspiration.

² Though the term “cross-gender” could be used in reference to other forms of relations, such as transsexual ones, in this paper it referred to those between boys and girls.

Apartheid legacies, moreover, have hindered legislative, constitutional, and ideological efforts to improve cross-gender relations in the post-apartheid era. The communities of many black South Africans continue to be marked by economic inequality, unemployment, inadequate housing, poor schools, substandard health, and violence. With limited options for gaining social standing, cross-gender relations continue to serve for many men and male youth as an important arena in which to assert themselves, leading to strong investments in them. Cross-gender relations have also served as arenas for strong social investments for many female youth, in order to access positions of influence among their peers. Furthermore, normative understandings of male dominance/female submission in relationships complicate the negotiation of safer sex, and increase the likelihood of sexual violence. These interrelated factors of historical legacies, socioeconomic contexts, and understood norms have contributed to the aforementioned characterizations of many cross-gender relations among youth, and many youth's engagement in HIV/AIDS risk behaviour ((Barbarin and Richter 2001: 41; Butler 2004: 69; Boonzaier 2005: 100; Campbell 1992; Moffett 2006; Petersen et al. 2005; Reddy and Dunne 2007; Strebel et al. 2006: 518-519; Walker 2005: 165; Wood et al. 1998; Wood and Jewkes 2001).³

In light of the above complexities, there has been an increasing number of initiatives working on gender issues in order to address attitudes, behaviours and social norms surrounding cross-gender relations that put youth at risk of HIV/AIDS. As constructs surrounding cross-gender relations are formulated and internalized early on in life, and young people may become sexually active at a much earlier age than adults acknowledge, greater attention has been given to targeting younger, pre-adolescent age groups (Chong 2006; Laub et al. 1999: 193; le Grange 2004: 107). The implementation of such programmes, however, has often been subject to numerous constraints. School-based HIV/AIDS prevention programmes often take place in overcrowded classrooms, and are implemented through didactic teaching methods, with limited space for participation and reflective dialogue (Boler and Aggleton 2004; Campbell and MacPhail 2002). The societal taboo of intergenerational communication about sex also affects teachers' willingness to discuss matters of sexuality with their students, due to personal discomfort and/or a fear of community disapproval (Campbell and MacPhail 2002: 339; Gallant and Maticka-Tyndale 2004: 1349). Moreover, despite policies that promote gender equity in education, many schools may inadvertently facilitate aggressive masculinities, as female students may experience sexual harassment and/or violence at the hands of male students and teachers (Bhana 2005; Boler and Aggleton 2004; Mitchell and Smith 2001; Morrell et al. 2001; Unterhalter 2003). Peer-led prevention programmes also face constraints, such as teacher control, non-participatory methods, gender inequality among peer educators, limited opportunities for discussion outside of peer-led programmes, and poor adult role models, among

³ Social structures such as gender, race, and class, however, intersect to form various groups of youth who engage in HIV/AIDS risk behaviour to different extents (Yun et al 2001: 75-77). Not all youth, moreover, may abide by the gender constructs with which they are faced (Bhana 2005: 207, 214-217; MacPhail and Campbell 2001: 1620-1621; Morrell et al 2001: 94).

others (Campbell and MacPhail 2002). Given the challenges facing school-based and peer-led HIV/AIDS prevention programmes, there is a need to raise questions about additional means of addressing cross-gender relations and associated constructs.

1.2 Considered Initiative, Objectives and Research Question

One of the means used to address cross-gender relations and associated constructs in South Africa, and considered to have had a degree of success, is “edutainment,” also known as entertainment-education (E-E). E-E “is the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members’ knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behaviour” (Singhal and Rogers 2004: 5). One of the most well-known E-E figures in South Africa is the Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication (SCIHDC), a non-governmental organization (NGO) established in 1992 to “harness the mass media for promoting health” (Singhal and Rogers 2003: 305). Towards the end of the 1990s, the SCIHDC launched “Soul Buddyz,” a children’s multimedia edutainment series, of which the television series first aired in 2000 (World Bank 2003: 116). The series is described as primarily geared towards 8-12 year-old South Africans of all races, languages, and socio-economic groups, and secondarily towards their parents and caregivers (World Bank 2003: 117). Among the topics dealt with in the first season is HIV/AIDS and sexuality, the objective being to reach children with “important messages about AIDS, youth sexuality, and gender” (Goldstein et al. 2002: 2). According to key figures at the SCIHDC, “the power of edutainment rests in its ability to role-model positive attitudes and behaviours through characters with whom the audience bonds” (Goldstein et al. 2002: 4).⁴ Moreover, one of the SCIHDC’s endeavours is the promotion of “positive role modelling of both boys and girls who do not conform to gender stereotyping” (SCIHDCa, n.d.: 33). My objectives were thus as follows:

- To explore the content of an edutainment initiative in South Africa geared towards children and very young adolescents (VYAs), of which one of the intended purposes is to role model “positive” attitudes and behaviours for boys and girls (Goldstein et al. 2001; 2002; SCIHDCa, n.d.: 33).
- In particular, to explore representations of “positive” cross-gender relations and associated constructs surrounding masculinity/femininity and youth sexuality, within the Soul Buddyz television series and print material pertaining to youth sexuality and relationships.

⁴ Goldstein et al. (2001; 2002; 2004) are predominant figures at SCIHDC: S. Goldstein the Soul City Research Manager and Soul Buddyz Project Manager; G. Japhet the Soul City Executive Director; S. Usdin the Soul City Series and Advocacy Project Manager; E. Scheepers the Regional Programme Research Manager; and Aadielah Anderson the Project Coordinator on Soul Buddyz I and Manager of Soul Buddyz II (Goldstein et al 2001; SCIHDCe, n.d.).

These objectives were in line with a greater aim of my paper, namely, to raise questions concerning HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives dealing with cross-gender relations and associated constructs, in order to consider important issues in terms of potentially strengthening prevention efforts. In order to delve into such an undertaking, I first had to consider what representations there are within the pertinent material, which could then serve as a basis for further reflection. My research question was thus as follows:

1. How are 'positive' cross-gender relations among youth presented in the Soul Buddyz material pertaining to youth sexuality and relationships?

1.3 Scope and Limitations

The scope of my research was limited in several ways.

Though it would be interesting to consider Soul Buddyz's transformative potential for behavioural change, such a focus would require a considerable degree of local cultural knowledge, which, as an outsider not doing fieldwork, would be difficult to ascertain. Moreover, because of my positionality, my ability to understand how South African children and VYAs may perceive the Soul Buddyz material is limited. Thus, my research focused on how cross-gender relations and associated constructs are presented in the Soul Buddyz material, and not how these presentations are received by South African children and VYAs. My research, in effect, was of a more exploratory than interpretive nature, in that I critically considered the representations of cross-gender relations and associated constructs in the Soul Buddyz material; the "givens" in terms of the formative research upon which the Soul Buddyz material is based; and what is effectively promoted within the material.

The Soul Buddyz initiative, moreover, is described as being oriented towards a considerably heterogeneous audience: all South African children and VYAs between the ages of 8-12, and secondarily their parents. Different social groups, however, may interpret the messages of HIV/AIDS communication campaigns in various ways (Yun et al. 2001). Problematizing Soul Buddyz's orientation, and considering how it accounts for social, cultural, and economic differences among its targeted viewers, could be of use in exploring the initiative's transformative potential, and understanding how to carry out HIV/AIDS initiatives geared towards more than one social group. Such a problematization, however, was beyond my scope, not only because of the challenges associated with assessing transformative potential, but for reasons of space. For this paper, I thus took the declared orientation of Soul Buddyz as "given," and focused on the representations themselves.

The use of E-E itself as a behavioural change strategy is also important to reflect upon. Though highly praised, the implementation of E-E is not without challenges. There may be forms of resistance to E-E at the reception end, such as audience members undertaking selective exposure, perception, recollection, and use of edutainment messages (Singhal and Rogers 2004: 14). Also, E-E "is only one of many competing, and conflicting, discourses that exist in a given message environment" (Singhal and Rogers 2004: 14). This paper, however, was not intended to, nor capable of giving a final say on edutainment as a communication and development strategy. Rather, the focus was on a given set

of representations surrounding cross-gender relations among youth, within the context of an edutainment programme. Similarly, a more evaluative consideration of Soul Buddyz, involving reflection on the role of SCIHDC funders, and on the SCIHDC's summative evaluation research of Soul Buddyz, could also be of use in terms of assessing the programme as an HIV/AIDS prevention initiative. Evaluation, however, was not the purpose of this paper. Rather, this paper was intended to ask questions about what is presented as “positive” to South African children and VYAs, using the case of Soul Buddyz as a platform from which to ask such questions.

The structure of the paper is as follows: a chapter situating the Soul Buddyz material within the context of the SCIHDC and its formative research; followed by an outline of my analytical framework, and the methodology used to explore the Soul Buddyz material. There is then a chapter pertaining to an analysis of my findings, succeeded by a chapter consisting of a meta-analysis. In this last chapter, I situate my findings within a broader framework, making reference to both the SCIHDC formative research and other conducted studies, and I provide some conclusions.

2 STRATEGY OF EDUTAINMENT AND CONTEXT OF SOUL BUDDYZ

2.1 Strategy of Edutainment

The edutainment strategy has received increasing recognition in the communication, health, and development fields, in terms of achieving behavioural and social change (Singhal and Rogers 2004: 18). The “power” of edutainment is described as stemming from its ability to rouse emotions, role-model “positive” attitudes and behaviours, bring taboo topics like HIV/AIDS and sexuality into the public eye, stimulate discussion, and illustrate the consequences of healthy and unhealthy behaviour (Goldstein et al. 2001: 165; 2002: 4; Piotrow and de Fossard 2004: 39; Singhal and Rogers 2003: 72). Edutainment programmes are also considered able to reach larger audiences than solely educational programmes, the entertainment dimension allowing health promoters to obtain prime-time mass media slots (World Bank 2003: 115). Moreover, in the specific case of South Africa, the extent of the media is considerable, with television reaching 74 percent of the population, radio 93 percent, and newspapers 40 percent (World Bank 2003: 115). Media access by South African children and VYAs is particularly increasing, with greater access through friends, schools, and/or community centres (Goldstein et al. 2001: 165), entailing the salience of edutainment as a pedagogical influence with this age group.

This paper will focus on the educational dimension of E-E, as it is concerned with what representations are modelled for children and VYAs. Edutainment messages are designed largely on the basis of behaviour change communication theories, at the heart of which is Albert Bandura's social learning theory. This theory holds that the use of media role models can result in vicarious learning among audience members, and encourage self- and collective efficacy, potentially resulting in behaviour change (Bandura 2004: 77-

80; Singhal and Rogers 2003: 296). Three behavioural models may be found within an edutainment drama: “positive” models demonstrating beneficial lifestyles; “negative” models portraying detrimental views and lifestyles; and “transitional” models, i.e. characters who are shown “transforming their lives by moving from uncertainty or discarding adverse styles of behaviour in favour of beneficial ones” (Bandura 2004: 83).

2.2 Context of Soul Buddyz

2.2.1 Development of Soul Buddyz

The SCIHDC is mainly a research and management organization, the listed aim being to “harness the power of media for social change” (Goldstein et al. 2004: 114). The SCIHDC uses five principles in defining the scope and context of its communication interventions: “1) promoting healthy public policy, 2) creating supportive environments, 3) supporting community action for health, 4) developing personal skills, and 5) reorienting health services” (Goldstein et al. 2002: 5). The SCIHDC began its efforts with Soul City, a popular, prime-time, weekly television series, “accompanied by a daily radio drama, health booklets, and intensive advertising, marketing, and advocacy work” (World Bank 2003: 115-116). According to Goldstein et al. (2002: 7), evaluations revealed the show’s popularity with South Africans under the age of 16. The SCIHDC thus developed Soul Buddyz, the program aim being “to improve the quality of life of young South Africans through improved health literacy” (World Bank 2003: 117). The first television series consisted of 26 half-hour episodes, airing at 6:30 p.m. from August 2000 until February 2001, later accompanied by a radio programme, life skills book, and parenting booklet (Goldstein et al. 2001; World Bank 2003: 116). According to Goldstein et al. (2002: 8), the SCIHDC developed Soul Buddyz with SABC Educational Television, the educational branch of the broadcaster; other NGOS; and children. The initiative is described as based on the South African constitution, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Goldstein et al. 2001: 167). A set of messages pertaining to respect, equality, communication, and responsibility were considered to “capture what the Soul Buddyz series was all about” (World Bank 2003: 136-137).⁵

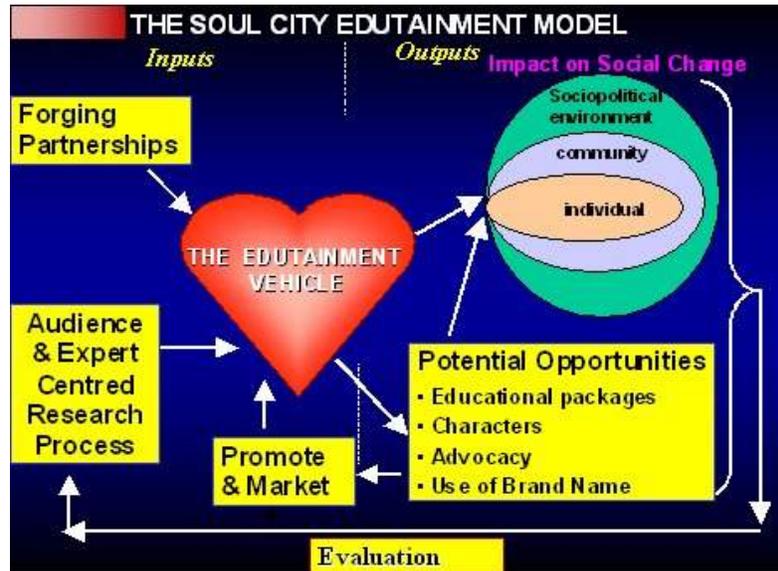
Since its inception, the SCIHDC developed a programming model (Figure 1) that “informs an understanding of how edutainment can be developed and used for social change” (Goldstein et al. 2004: 117). The model is divided into ‘inputs’ and ‘outputs’:

For this paper, the key elements to be considered are two inputs. Firstly, the edutainment vehicle itself, or “core” of the strategy; secondly, the audience and expert centred research process, described as “extensive and central to the edutainment approach,” whereby the initiative’s content is developed with target audience members and field experts (Goldstein et al. 2004: 117). The formative research available for consideration consisted of the first series’

⁵ For a list of these messages, see Appendix I.

target audience research undertaken by the education consultants Clacherty et al. (1998), with groups of children across South Africa.

FIGURE 1
The Soul City Edutainment Model



Source: SCIHDCd (n.d.)

2.2.2 Formative Research

Participatory research groups were assembled largely through the school system, with efforts made to “ensure a reasonable spread of topics, school types, provinces and languages across the country” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 3, 5). For the topic of HIV/AIDS and sexuality, research was undertaken with six groups of 6-8 children aged 8-10, and ten groups of 6-8 children aged 11-12 (Clacherty et al. 1998: 5, 9-10, 24-25). Pertinent for my purposes is the research to understand both genders’ sense of self, perceptions of and relations with the opposite sex; and their attitudes towards the appropriate age of having sex.

According to Clacherty et al. (1998: 11-13, 26), both girls and boys generally perceived girls to be more vulnerable than boys, particularly in their risks for assault, with 11-12 year-old girls evincing a heightened sense of vulnerability, and some groups directly reporting stories about rape and sexual abuse. Clacherty et al. (1998: 3, 26) considered the research to reveal girls’ tendency “to have a negative sense of being a girl,” particularly concerning aspects of their relationships with boys. In turn, both boys and girls considered boys to be “aggressive,” “troublemakers,” “potentially dangerous,” and more

“powerful” and “free” than girls, with some groups evincing a sense that “boys perceive themselves as superior to girls” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 12-13, 26-29).⁶

Concerning relationships with the opposite sex, 8-10 year-old girls and boys appeared “to have mostly innocent, childlike contact with the opposite sex,” with most contact between 11-12 year-olds also being “childlike” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 14, 42). However, three of the 8-10 year-old groups “mentioned contact of a more sexual nature,” with one group making “particular mention of more unwanted sexual contact,” and some 11-12 year-olds appeared to be “regularly involved in sexual encounters” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 14, 42). Clacherty et al. (1998: 14, 42) thus concluded that though 8-10 year-old South African children generally were not “voluntarily, fully sexually active,” “some dating and exploratory sexual contact seems to be starting at this age,” and that 11-12 year-olds were beginning or on the fringes of sexual activity, entailing their being “an age group in transition.” Among 11-12 year-olds, sexual activity was largely reported by boys and not girls, with boys evincing greater interest, initiative, and boldness in talking about it, and girls expressing “negative attitudes towards sex because it was usually associated with being powerless, abused or exploited” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 30, 42).⁷ Girls, in effect, “although they are attracted to boys and enjoy the romance and exploratory experiences of a ‘dating’ relationship (e.g. kissing, holding hands and hugging),” were found to be “learning that sex is not a good thing” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 30, 42). 11-12 year-olds were also asked questions surrounding the appropriate age to start having sex. While what age was considered “appropriate” generally varied from child to child, Clacherty et al. (1998: 33) took the overall responses to indicate that this age group felt they “should be a lot older before having sex.”

Among the resulting recommendations was the need for “gender empowerment issues” to be dealt with in the edutainment initiative, as well as the presentation of “positive alternative roles for boys and girls” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 22, 42). Clacherty et al. (1998: 22, 42-43) also called for the presentation of “accurate and age-appropriate information about sex,” and, particularly for 11-12 year-olds, the need to “acknowledge that children at this age are exploring their sexuality and many are already sexually active.” This

⁶ The degree of these perceptions differed. Three of the girls’ groups, from the Western Cape, Free State, and Gauteng evinced “a sense of boys inevitably being violent and delinquent,” responses considered to be indicative of their “volatile and marginalized communities” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 27). In contrast, among the group of 11-12 year-old white Afrikaans-speaking girls from an affluent community in the Northern Province, “no sense of violence and delinquent behaviour were mentioned as this is obviously not what they are exposed to in their community” (Clacherty et al. 1998: 27). Likewise, while there was a noted “sense of increased power of the male position” among the 11-12 year-old boys in general, Clacherty et al. (1998: 29) considered the extent of it to be influenced by the given cultural environment. Thus, in the Soul Buddyz formative research, there is a sense that not all young South Africans uphold the same gender constructs. Further consideration, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

⁷ Again, Clacherty et al. (1998: 29-30) considered the boys’ cultural environments to mediate their attitudes towards girls and sex.

formative research will be considered as informing the representations in the Soul Buddyz material, and drawn upon in the meta-analysis.

2.3 Soul Buddyz Material

2.3.1 Choices Made

Parts of the Soul Buddyz multimedia effort that I considered are the first season's television series, and the Soul Buddyz Tomorrow is Ours: Grade 7 Life Orientation Learning Resource (Clacherty 2000), which is illustrated with the Soul Buddyz characters, and is linked to the topics in the television series (Goldstein et al. 2001: 166). The first season deals with the specific issues of HIV/AIDS and sexuality, trauma, and disability (Goldstein et al. 2001: 168). I focused on the first season, as it is the only one where the episode synopses depict an ongoing youth love story between two of the main characters (SCIHDCb, n.d.). The series, moreover, is characterized by multiple storylines carrying over into different episodes, entailing possible representations of "positive" cross-gender relations in reference to youth sexuality and relationships in numerous episodes. For reasons of space, however, and because my research is about exploration and not evaluation, I focused on the episodes explicitly pertaining to sexuality and/or relationships. I took episodes 11 (SCIHDC 2000b), 19 (SCIHDC 2000c), and 20 (SCIHDC 2000d) as such, since listed as dealing with "puberty, bodily changes and relationships;" "relationships and sex;" and "sex education, responsibilities and consequences" (SCIHDCc, n.d.: 39-40), and described as following the youth love story (SCIHDCb, n.d.). For the print material, in turn, I took unit 6, entitled "Zandi & All Star's Story: Growing Up Can Be Fun!" (Clacherty 2000: 51-64), as explicitly pertaining to relationships and sexuality, for it is presented as centring around Zandi and All Star, the two characters who "fall in love" (Clacherty 2000: iv).⁸

2.3.2 Episode Material

The television series centres around the "Soul Buddyz," a group of South African children, "as they address issues that confront them in their everyday life" (Goldstein et al. 2001: 166). According to Goldstein et al. (2002: 12), the eight Soul Buddyz "are of mixed race, socioeconomic class, and gender." A fantasy sequence is included in each episode, intended to portray the characters' hopes and fears. Also incorporated into each storyline is a "rap" song intended to underline the main message. While each episode is

⁸ There is also a storyline pertaining to one of the Soul Buddyz, Avril, who was sexually abused by her uncle. I chose not to consider this storyline, firstly because in contrast to Zandi and All Star's story, it was not listed as falling under the rubric of the HIV/AIDS and sexuality topic (Goldstein et al 2001). Moreover, whereas Zandi and All Star's story explicitly concerns an intimate cross-gender relation between a male and female youth, Avril's story does not (SCIHDCa, n.d.). It thus did not quite relate to what I wanted to consider: namely, "positive" models of cross-gender relations among youth.

predominantly conducted in English, each character uses his or her own language while at home, talking with family members, or using the voiceover technique to convey inner thoughts. When used, the local languages are subtitled (Goldstein et al. 2002: 12). “At the end of each episode, real children from all over the country are filmed commenting on the issues raised,” in the form of a “buddy buzz” (Goldstein et al. 2001: 166). In the episodes explicitly pertaining to relationships and sexuality, episode 11 (SCIHDC 2000b) focuses on a storyline surrounding puberty and associated changes, while in episodes 19 (SCIHDC 2000c) and 20 (SCIHDC 2000d) runs a continuing storyline dealing with communicating about sex. As all three episodes largely centre around the love story between Zandi and All Star, below are plot summaries with specific reference to their story, pertinent events, and the conflict resolution.⁹

For episode 11, the SCIHDC synopsis is “Zandi begins menstruating while All Star also has body changes. This makes them even more awkward in developing their relationship. The message is about changes and myths about puberty” (SCIHDCb, n.d.). At the beginning of the episode, their mutual attraction is shown through the voiceover technique, as well as their desire to go to another Soul Buddy’s, Avril’s, party, in order to spend time together (SCIHDC 2000b: 00:58-1:13). Their bodily changes, however, and the “myths” surrounding them, are presented as potential obstacles to attending the party. All Star confides in his friend Mpho about having had a wet dream, and is told that it is a sign that his body is ready to have sex, and to do it soon in order to not “go crazy” (SCIHDC 2000b: 5:55-6:44). Zandi, in turn, confides in her friend Tammy about having started her period, and is advised to “lie down, and try not to do anything” (SCIHDC 2000b: 7:35-9:00). Later on, both All Star and Zandi confide in their parents about their bodily changes, and their resulting decision to not attend the party (SCIHDC 2000b: 13:30-15:13, 16:40-18:35). Both All Star’s father and Zandi’s mother then correct the information All Star and Zandi received from their friends, All Star’s father explaining how wet dreams do not mean a man has to have sex, and Zandi’s mother explaining that menstruation does not mean “you can’t do everything you want to do” (SCIHDC 2000b: 14:12-14:41, 17:38-18:02). In the end, both Zandi and All Star attend the party, and slow dance together, and through the voiceover technique reveal their contentment to be doing so (SCIHDC 2000b: 21:00-22:23).

For episode 19, the SCIHDC synopsis is that “Zandi and All Star miscommunicate about sex and things go very wrong. The message is that it is important to communicate about relationships and sex” (SCIHDCb, n.d.). The miscommunication between Zandi and All Star stems from a conversation All Star partly overhears between Zandi, Tammy, and Avril, where Zandi reads aloud from a magazine another girl’s questions about having sex with her boyfriend. All Star assumes Zandi is talking about him, and wants to sleep with him (SCIHDC 2000c: 5:17-6:07). All Star then confides in Mpho, who counsels that when it comes to girls, “you’ve got to read between the lines,”

⁹ For more detailed notes on the considered episode and print material, including the rap songs and “buddy buzzes,” see Appendices II and III.

and that All Star should try to sleep with Zandi (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:52-7:45). Meanwhile, in the conversation among the girls, Tammy reveals that she has unprotected sex with her boyfriend Zack, and both Avril and Zandi voice the importance of using condoms, and how they want to abstain until they are “much older” (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:07-6:52, 7:46-8:29). Later, following Mpho’s advice, All Star invites Zandi over to his house to keep him company in his father’s absence (SCIHDC 2000c: 9:22-10:26). That evening at All Star’s, however, when All Star insinuates that they will have sex, Zandi becomes angry over All Star’s assumption. All Star apologizes and tries to explain, but Zandi leaves. The episode ends with All Star being confused over what happened, thinking he “messed everything up,” and Zandi thinking that All Star is “just like all the others,” and that she hates him (SCIHDC 2000c: 18:10-21:49).

The SCIHDC synopsis for episode 20 is that “Tammy, Zandi’s friend thinks she may be pregnant, all the Soul Buddyz get a lesson in sex education, Sister Bettina shows them an animated video telling it like it is” (SCIHDCb, n.d.). Zandi, still upset over what happened with All Star, accompanies Tammy to the clinic for a pregnancy test (SCIHDC 2000d: 1:41-2:10, 3:06-4:52). All Star, meanwhile, looks around for Zandi in order to talk to her, and upon learning of her being at the clinic, goes there to speak with her (SCIHDC 2000d: 4:53-5:07, 6:59-7:43, 9:24-9:32, 10:34-11:28, 12:06-12:39). The rest of the Soul Buddyz, in turn, having noticed All Star’s and Zandi’s strange behaviour, assumes that Zandi is pregnant. Disputing the means of conception, they go to the clinic to talk to Sister Bettina, a nurse, who shows all the Soul Buddyz and Tammy an animated sex video entitled “Know the Facts” (SCIHDC 2000d: 9:24-10:33, 11:28-12:05, 12:39-20:12).¹⁰ All Star and Zandi then talk about what happened, and realize the miscommunication that took place. In the end, both apologize, and agree that “if either of us wants to have sex, we’ll talk about it to each other” (SCIHDC 2000d: 20:33-21:41). Tammy, in turn, finds out that she is not pregnant, and decides that she is “never going to have sex again, not until I’m married” (SCIHDC 2000d: 21:41-22:10). Both Zandi and All Star are presented as relieved about the resolution that occurred (SCIHDC 2000d: 22:10-22:37).

2.3.3 Print Material

At the beginning of unit 6, there are two comic strips representing abbreviated versions of Zandi and All Star’s trials in the puberty storyline, with Zandi starting to menstruate, and All Star starting to shave. There are then two pages entitled “What’s Happening to Me?” with descriptions of changes that happen during puberty. Two pages entitled “Here’s Straight Talk About You!” follow, with explanations surrounding male and female sex organs, conception, and masturbation. Succeeding that is a section labelled ‘Eeek! Periods and Wet Dreams’, with information about both phenomena, and ‘true’ stories. There is then a section on ‘Falling in Love’, with statements pertaining to love, sex,

¹⁰ Roughly three minutes of this video (SCIHDC 2000d: 14:00-17:08) were unwatchable. I do not, however, think that this seriously affected my analysis, which largely concerned broad trends within the considered material, and exploration, not evaluation.

abstinence, and relationships, and three testimonies of older youth deciding to abstain. There is then one page entitled 'Not Ready For Sex and That's Ok!' about abstinence and peer pressure, followed by one page on 'Being Assertive', largely consisting of an activity on how to give an 'assertive message'. Throughout the unit are classroom activities accompanying a given topic (Clacherty 2000: 51-64).

3 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines my analytical framework and methodological approach to the Soul Buddyz material, beginning with an explanation of the key analytical concepts used in this paper.

3.1 Analytical Concepts

3.1.1 Gender, Cross-Gender Relations, and Masculinity/Femininity

'Gender' was taken to refer to the way "people are socially constructed to behave and experience themselves as 'women' or 'men'" (Crowley and Himmelweit 1992: 58). Cross-gender relations, in turn, were understood as shaped by ideas surrounding what constitutes 'masculinity' and 'femininity', which in turn influence an understanding of what it is to be a (proper) 'man' or 'woman'. Ideas surrounding what is 'masculine' and what is 'feminine' were considered not as fixed but dynamic products of social and cultural processes, continually contested and renegotiated within a given structure of relationships (Connell 2005: 81; Silberschmidt 2001: 658). These understandings were considered as meaningful for individuals' lives and identities, in that they are stamped with social value (Silberschmidt 2001: 659). It was also recognized how in patriarchal societies, constructs surrounding masculinity and femininity are inherently relational and interdependent (Connell 2005: 68; Silberschmidt 2004: 242). They are also often oppositional or "polarized," entailing that in order to be 'masculine', one cannot adopt the traits associated with being 'feminine'.

Though it could not be adequately dealt with in this paper, gender was taken to intersect with race and class (Connell 2005: 75-76). Gender was thus understood in its plural form, where a multiplicity of masculinities (and associated femininities) can exist at any given time (Morrell 2001; 1998: 607). These constructs, however, may not all be valued in the same way, but imbued with different levels of social value (Silberschmidt 2001: 659). This is important to consider in respect to an environment as diverse as post-apartheid South Africa, where different groups of individuals may face different pressures surrounding what it is to be 'masculine' or 'feminine'.

3.1.2 Sexuality

Sexuality was understood as a more comprehensive concept than sexual behaviour, "that encompasses the physical capacity for sexual arousal and

pleasure (libido) as well as personalized and shared social meanings attached both to sexual behaviour and the formation of sexual and gender identities” (Dixon-Mueller 1993: 273). Gittins (1998: 175) rightly considers sexuality to consist of different aspects:

First, the biological, physical aspects, which include the body and its sensations, its ability to reproduce, and sexual acts; second, the social and political aspects, which include sexual identity and sexual relationships; third, the psychological aspects which include fantasies and desire, both conscious and unconscious.

Sexuality was also understood as associated with both pleasure and danger, where it may serve as both a source of enjoyment and distress for individuals (Dixon-Mueller 1993: 269, 271).

Like gender, sexuality was taken as socially constructed, understood as “a non-linear, multifaceted, complex, contradictory and unstable social relationship that can vary across cultures and over historical periods of time” (Robinson 2005: 67). Ideas about sexuality are thus subject to change (Foucault 1990: 105; Kehily and Montgomery 2004: 58). Sexuality, moreover, was understood as a “transfer point for relations of power,” particularly those between men and women, adults and children (Foucault 1990: 103). It was also recognized how sexuality is often conceptualized as the preserve of adults, with children considered as asexual (Gittins 1998).

As with gender, sexuality was understood as imbued with social value. Recognition was also given to there being a multiplicity of sexualities, though some may have more social value than others (Silberschmidt 2001: 659). This imbuelement with regards to sexuality has been argued to have resulted in heteronormativity, where heterosexuality is understood as the “norm” (Miriam 2007: 210; Rich 2003; 2004: 10). Heteronormativity, in turn, has often framed a conceptualization of various aspects of sexuality, such as sexual activity itself, and associated pleasures and dangers, resulting in an emphasis placed on heterosexual, procreative forms.

3.1.3. Connections Between Sex, Gender, and Sexuality

The concepts of gender and sexuality are interrelated with a third, that of sex, often understood as referring to a biological difference between human beings (Crowley and Himmelweit 1992: 58). Crowley and Himmelweit (1992: 60) rightly consider there to be a mediated relation between sex and gender, where ‘society in some sense “makes” gender out of sex.’ Thus, on the basis of one’s sex, one is socialized into a ‘gender-appropriate’ role, and into having certain ideas surrounding ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity.’ Similarly, though sexuality is socially constructed, it ‘cannot be divorced from the body’ (MacPhail and Campbell 2001: 1614). There is thus a need to balance between an anti-essentialist standpoint, and a recognition of the materiality of the body (McNay 1992: 28). Sex effectively serves as a base for both gender and sexuality.

Sexuality and gender are further interlinked in that sexuality “intersects with and is shaped by the experience of gender” (Dixon-Mueller 1993: 273). Likewise, sexuality serves as an important part of gender identity, as sexual norms and ideologies can serve as means of expressing ideas about what is

masculine/unmasculine, feminine/unfeminine (Dixon Mueller 1993: 275; Silberschmidt 2001: 659). Thus, sexuality was understood as an arena where masculinity/femininity can be demonstrated. As noted by Dixon-Mueller (1993: 275), 'the social construction of sexuality is inevitably linked with cultural concepts of masculinity and femininity. They are interlocking domains.'

3.1.4 *Childhood*

Childhood is often conceived of as an empirical concept, referring to a period of one's life, though definitions of its duration may differ. In this sense, I considered Soul Buddyz's target audience of 8-12 year-olds as in a period of their life known as 'childhood.' Childhood was also, however, understood as socially constructed, with recognition given to how conceptualizations of childhood are influenced by context, and differs over time and space (Ansell 2005: 9; Robinson 2005: 67). This paper was also influenced by a balance between a present- and future-oriented understanding of childhood, where childhood was taken as a period of both 'being' and 'becoming.' Soul Buddyz's target audience of 8-12 year-olds was thus thought of not only in terms of the adults they will become, but also in terms of the individuals they already are (Ansell 2005: 21).

Despite the popularity the above conceptualizations of childhood have gained within largely academic circles, Ansell (2005: 9, 23) notes how Western conceptualizations of childhood and youth have contributed to a 'global model of childhood.' She holds that such ideas 'have shaped policies and practices, not only in the West, but also in former colonies of the West, in the international arena and in development interventions' (Ansell 2005: 10). Among these conceptualizations is one that considers childhood principally as a stage leading up to adulthood, which in turn is considered as 'the culmination and goal of development' (Archard 2004: 44). Further compounding this view is the idea of childhood as a period of innocence, where children require protection, both from themselves and their surrounding environment (Ansell 2005: 10-11). As a result, childhood is often understood as a time both different and apart from adulthood, with children seen as incomplete, and effectively 'othered' from the world of adults (Ansell 2005: 11; Robinson 2005: 67).

3.2 Standpoint as the Researcher, and Approach to the Research Question

3.2.1 *Standpoint*

As mentioned, my standpoint as an outsider shaped the kind of questions I could ask, and the methods I could use. It is also important to note that a degree of subjectivity in my research was inevitable. Being an outsider, however, had some advantages, for while an insider may have more difficulty problematizing what is culturally familiar, an outsider is arguably able to offer a differently situated perspective, thereby potentially raising alternative issues to

consider. I thus intended to be reflexive about my outsider standpoint, and carry out a critical analysis as such.

As alluded to, the above analytical concepts were understood from a moderate social constructionist perspective, which considers there not to be an “essential” but social basis for the majority of knowledge claims, seeing them as marked by their social context (Sayer 1997: 466; Wooffitt 2005: 147). For this paper, I looked at the “discourses” surrounding gender, sexuality, and childhood in the Soul Buddyz “texts,” from a position informed by theoretical tenets of Michel Foucault concerning discourses and critical reflection. From this standpoint, the term “text” was used loosely to refer not only to written documents, but to “‘delimited tissues of meaning reproduced in any form that can be given an interpretive gloss.’ This means that anything can be analyzed as a text” (Wooffitt 2005: 148). Discourses, in turn, were considered to inhabit texts, and as able to “facilitate and limit, enable and constrain what can be said” (Wooffitt 2005: 148). One of the “Foucauldian” tenets which informed my standpoint is the importance Foucault assigned to “radical scepticism” (Mills 2003: 112). Scepticism, however, is not to be confused with cynicism. Rather, it is intended to suspend judgment, not take “self-evidences” lightly, and avoid merely “assuming that a particular analysis of events is ‘true’ and therefore marshalling a series of ‘facts’ to back up an argument” (Mills 2003: 66; 112-113). This tenet of Foucault’s was important for my attempt to be critically reflexive, both upon my own views and the material at hand. A similar tenet is a Foucauldian emphasis on considering contingencies rather than causes, which entails an acknowledgement of the possibility of situations being different, and of events as having the potential to unfold in different ways (Mills 2003: 114).

Another idea derived from Foucault is that “discourses shape and constitute our identities, and legitimate certain kinds of relationships between those identities, thus locking people into particular kinds of social arrangements” (Wooffitt 2005: 151). Discourses are thus one of the means through which a society can exercise power (Crowley and Himmelweit 1992: 64). Foucault termed this connection between power relations and the production of knowledge as “power/knowledge,” considering some discourses to be valued over others and presented as “true” because of a given configuration of power relations, and in turn, to uphold such power relations (McNay 1992: 25-27). Fully considering the discourses in the Soul Buddyz material surrounding gender, sexuality, and childhood in this way was beyond my scope, for as an outsider, it would have been difficult to ascertain how the discourses reflect and/or challenge which set of power relations in present-day South Africa. While I did not principally consider how the discourses within the Soul Buddyz material reflect/reinforce/challenge certain power structures, however, such an understanding of discourses guided my approach to the material, and informed my “radical scepticism” and consideration of contingencies and causes. It also justified the importance I assigned to considering the content of such an initiative, effectively intended to model certain ways of being over others.

Just as there is a need to situate myself, there is a need to situate my use of Foucault, who is effectively a “Western” theorist, having used “Western”

history as the predominant basis for his research. Thus, at first glance, it may seem inappropriate to have used a “Western” theorist in regards to “Southern” material, namely the Soul Buddyz episodes and print material. For my purposes, however, what was useful about his work was not the conclusions he drew on the basis of “Western” examples in his study on sexuality (Foucault 1990), but the theoretical tenets with which he approached the material in the first place. As noted by Mills (2003: 66), among the uses of Foucault’s work is the way in which it helps theorists to reflect on how “we know what we know,” and how it may be possible to think differently. Thus, rather than use his conclusions to support any findings I came across, I used Foucauldian theoretical tenets to guide my inquiry and analysis.

3.2.2 Approach to Research Question

Given the analytical conceptualizations above, I approached my research question (How is “positive” cross-gender relations among youth presented in the Soul Buddyz material pertaining to youth sexuality and relationships?) by breaking it into four parts:

- 1a) In the episodes and print material, how are “positive” male and female role models presented, specifically regarding sexuality and relationships?
- 1b) How are constructs surrounding and the relation between masculinity/femininity addressed?
- 1c) How is youth sexuality presented?
- 1d) Are there continuums/contradictions in the above representations?

As an edutainment initiative, Soul Buddyz is intended to provide “positive” role models, i.e. something to aspire to, or emulate. “Modelling,” however, effectively entails promoting certain ways of being, and presenting some attitudes and behaviours as more “positive” than others. Question 1.a) was thus intended to help me explore what attitudes and behaviours in particular, on the part of both boys and girls, are associated with “positive” models of cross-gender relations. Question 1.a), moreover, and also 1.c), were meant to account for the aforementioned plurality of constructs surrounding gender and sexuality, and the resulting importance of considering what is presented as “positive” regarding both concepts. Question 1.b), though it overlaps with question 1.a), was intended to consider what kind of understanding there is in the Soul Buddyz material about how masculinity and femininity are related, and how this then informs cross-gender relations. Question 1.c) was also developed to explore the relation between the concepts of “childhood” and “sexuality” in the Soul Buddyz material. “Youth sexuality” is a term put forward by Goldstein et al. (2002: 2), listed as one of the topics about which Soul Buddyz is meant to deliver relevant messages. Though I did not intend to take the concepts of “youth” and “childhood” to be the same per se, I wanted to explore the presentation of “youth sexuality,” to use it as a platform for considering the relationship between childhood and sexuality, and in turn the “positive” models for an audience of 8-12 year-olds. Question 1.d) was intended to consider whether there were themes and/or discrepancies within the Soul Buddyz material, so as to help avoid making unwarranted generalizations about the representations.

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 *Episodes*

As mentioned, the storylines surrounding puberty changes and communicating about sex in relationships centre around two of the main characters, Zandi and All Star. I thus focused on how they are portrayed, as well as the fellow youth characters playing a major role in their storyline, particularly in reference to the stated subject matter of the episodes. In both of the puberty and communicating-about-sex storylines, these fellow characters are Zandi's friend Tammy, and All Star's friend Mpho. I therefore largely focused on the above characters, in terms of their choices, what happens to them, and the viewpoints they have/adopt/discard, so as to determine who could be considered as what type of model ("positive," "negative," and/or "transitional"), and how. In order to do so, I used a combination of methods from narrative and frame analysis. Broadly put, the former consists of an "analysis of a chronologically told story" (Garson 2008), the latter an analysis of what aspects of a communicating text are framed as more "salient" than others (Entman 1993: 52).

For my purposes, I considered a given character to be a "positive," "negative," or "transitional" model on the basis of whether he/she is presented as happy/rewarded in the end (and why), and whether he/she is shown learning a lesson (and how). Though characters may not be explicitly described as positive/negative/transitional, an analysis of "who talks and what is said" (Cavender et al. 1999: 656), and a consideration of a character's actions, can allow for an inference of character even if there is no explicit character traiting (Franzosi 1998: 535). In order to state who could be viewed as a positive/negative/transitional model, one of the methods of analysis consisted of considering the sequence of events (Garson 2008). As noted by Franzosi (1998: 533), "it makes a great difference whether things happen because of one another, or only after one another." The way that events are structured into a story thus assigns meaning to those events (Elliott 2005: 12). Undertaking an implicit causal reading of a story may therefore provide clues on how to interpret the story and its intentions – the "story point" (Franzosi 1998: 534). Thus, in addition to considering the content of a given episode, I explored how the story elements are sequenced, and the (causal) order of events. I also considered the ending of each episode, in terms of the resolution, and what the end results are for the different characters. Endings are particularly important to consider, because "it is the ending that determines the meaning of the actions and events within the narrative" (Elliott 2005: 11). I also considered the "explicit" evaluation within each storyline, and a given character's depicted stance in relation to it, as this dimension of a narrative conveys to an audience how the meanings of the narrative's constitutive elements are intended to be understood (Elliott 2005: 9). The manner in which certain elements are evaluated in a given story was thus taken as indicative of what representations were intended to come across. I took the explicit forms of evaluation to be the rap song included in each storyline, described as emphasizing the main educational message (Goldstein et al. 2002: 12), and the buddy buzz filmed at the end of each episode.

In addition to using methods of narrative analysis, I also undertook a form of frame analysis in order to deepen my exploration of the Soul Buddyz storylines and characters, and in turn my consideration of how cross-gender relations and youth sexuality are presented in the material. In particular, I considered what is (not) included and how within a given “frame” (Gasper and Apthorpe 1996: 8; Zarkov 1997), in this case the representation of “positive” gender roles and health behaviours in Soul Buddyz. According to Entman (1993: 54), “frames select and call attention to particular aspects of the reality described, which logically means that frames simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects. Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include,” with the omissions being potentially as important as the inclusions in terms of what is presented. What I undertook as frame analysis, moreover, developed out of Foucault’s tenet concerning contingencies and causes, where in addition to considering the given representations within the Soul Buddyz material, I raised questions about other forms the representations could have taken.

3.3.2 Print Material

Though more thorough consideration could have been given to the print material alone, for reasons of space I largely considered the print material in terms of how it reinforced/challenged the findings I drew from the episodes. I considered it justifiable to do so, seeing as how the print material is described as linked to the topics in the television series (Goldstein et al. 2001: 166), and is therefore arguably intended to reinforce the series’ messages. Thus, as with the episodes, I used principles of frame analysis in reference to the print material, so as to explore what is included/excluded and how, in comparison to what is included/excluded in the episodes

After using these methods of analysis, I decided that the most suitable way of ordering my findings was in the form of themes and sub-themes, presented in the following chapter.

4 ANALYSIS OF THE SOUL BUDDYZ MATERIAL

The following themes relate to subparts of my research question. Theme 4.1 (“Positive” Boys, “Positive” Girls, and Their (Un)Polarization) pertains to questions 1.a) (How are “positive” male and female role models presented, specifically regarding sexuality and relationships?) and 1.b) (How are constructs surrounding masculinity/femininity addressed?). Themes 4.2 (Youth Sexuality: A Process of Becoming) and 4.3 (Youth Sexuality: Emphasizing Associated Dangers Within a Heteronormative Frame) pertain to question 1.c) (How is youth sexuality presented?). Given my interlinked understanding of gender and sexuality, there is some overlap among the themes. Question 1d, concerning continuums and contradictions, is considered within all three themes.

4.1 “Positive” Boys, “Positive” Girls, and Their (Un)Polarization

As will be shown, neither Zandi nor All Star in either of the storylines are “negative” role models. They are either “positive” or “transitional,” in that at the end of both storylines, they are happy, have their conflicts resolved, and/or learn a lesson, thus the importance of considering the traits with which they are endowed.

4.1.1 “Positive” (and “Transitional”) Boy Role Models

Among the aspects of a “positive”/“transitional” boy role model is the lack of a need to have sex in order to be a man. In his conversation with his father about wet dreams in episode 11, All Star is told Mpho’s stance on boys going crazy if they do not have sex is “nonsense,” and that wet dreams, though a sign of “becoming a man,” do not entail the need to have sex (SCIHDC 2000b: 14:12-14:55). Likewise, Mpho’s position in episode 19 on All Star having to have sex with Zandi in order to prove his manhood (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:52-7:20) is refuted multiple times. It is first implicitly refuted in episode 19’s sequence of events, as following Mpho’s counsel causes All Star trouble in his relationship (SCIHDC 2000c: 18:10-20:55). It is then explicitly refuted in episode 20, both in All Star’s confrontation with Mpho, where he accuses Mpho of having “messed up my relationship with Zandi” and calls his advice “stupid” (SCIHDC 2000d: 2:11-2:52), and at the end in All Star and Zandi’s reconciliatory conversation. When All Star mentions, “Mpho told me you wouldn’t think I was a man. I thought you’d look down at me. That I had to prove myself,” Zandi responds: “I like you for who you are. You didn’t have to prove anything to me” (SCIHDC 2000d: 20:33-21:41). Moreover, this message surrounding the relationship between sex and manhood is underscored in the evaluation of the episodes, where in the buddy buzz of episode 19, one of the comments is, “Boys can say no to sex if they don’t want to do it” (SCIHDC 2000c: 22:59-23:03). Also, in the rap song of episode 20, one of the lines is: “Having sex does not make you a man” (SCIHDC 2000d: 6:34-6:37). This representation is also underlined at various points in the print material (Clacherty 2000: 58, 60-61).

A “positive” boy role model is also reactive towards and respectful of what a girl wants. This is presented in episodes 19 and 20, where in the sequence of events, the basis for All Star’s attempt at having sex with Zandi is the idea that she wanted to herself. Though part of his initial thought reaction is, “I’d love to – I mean, I’ve thought about it enough,” thinking that Zandi wants to have sex is presented as a major factor in his decision, and one of the reasons for taking Mpho’s advice (SCIHDC 2000c: 5:57-6:07, 7:37-7:45). This sequence is reinforced towards the end of episode 19 (SCIHDC 2000c: 18:10-20:35), and in episode 20’s reconciliatory conversation, where All Star explains, “I thought that was what you wanted” (SCIHDC 2000d: 20:33-21:41). Moreover, when Zandi says no to sex, All Star does not pressure her, and although upset, does not become coercive or violent with Zandi (SCIHDC 2000c: 18:58-19:39). This reaction resonates with one of the lyrics of the storyline’s rap song: “Listen to her when she says ‘no’” (SCIHDC 2000d: 6:52-

6:54). Not using coercion or force in sexual relationships is also mentioned in the print material (Clacherty 2000: 62).

Furthermore, a “positive” boy role model communicates with his partner. A lack of communication is what causes the fallout between Zandi and All Star, and it is through communicating directly that their conflict is resolved (SCIHDC 2000d: 20:33-21:41). This depiction is also reiterated in the buddy buzz section of episode 19, where two comments stress the importance of talking to one’s partner (SCIHDC 2000c: 22:08-22:30). Communicating with one’s partner is again underlined in the print material, with an illustration of Zandi and All Star sitting side by side, looking at each other, with Zandi saying, “I don’t want to have sex with you – I want to wait till I’m older” (Clacherty 2000: 62). A “positive” boy role model, in effect, particularly within a relationship, does not have sex for the sake of “being a man,” and is reactive, respectful, and communicative with his partner.

4.1.2 “Positive” (and “Transitional”) Girl Role Models

A “positive” girl role model, in turn, is presented as making certain decisions, namely those surrounding sex, because she wants to. This can be seen through a contrast of Zandi and Tammy in the communicating-about-sex storyline, where Tammy serves as a “transitional” role model. In episode 19, Tammy explains to Zandi and Avril that she tried talking to her boyfriend Zack about having sex, “and he just said, ‘I love you baby, I need you,’ and that was that” (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:25-6:31). Likewise, Tammy and Zack do not use condoms because “he doesn’t want to” and “doesn’t like it” (SCIHDC 2000c: 7:46-7:48). Tammy thus has unprotected sex with her boyfriend because it is what he wants. When All Star tries to have sex with Zandi, however, she refuses, thereby upholding her earlier declaration favouring abstinence (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:34-6:40, 8:15-8:20, 18:58-19:15). The importance of girls making decisions on the basis of what they want is shown through the unfolding of the two girls’ relationships. Whereas Tammy cautions Zandi to be “careful,” and hopes All Star will still like Zandi if she does not sleep with him (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:39-6:46, 8:20-8:23), Zandi and All Star resolve their issues, despite Zandi’s decision to not have sex (SCIHDC 2000d: 20:33-21:41). Though Zandi stands by what she wants (SCIHDC 2000c: 19:10-19:15; SCIHDC 2000d: 12:06-12:39), her relationship does not end.

Tammy’s relationship with Zack, in contrast, is not further secured because of her acquiescence. Zack, who according to Tammy “said that I should sleep with him or else he’d break up with me,” does not stay with her during her pregnancy scare (SCIHDC 2000d: 3:06-4:52). Thus, whereas Zandi and All Star’s relationship (in which Zandi is assertive) prevails, Tammy and Zack’s relationship (in which Tammy acquiesces) fails. Tammy’s submission, moreover, has undesired results, in the form of dealing with the possibility of being pregnant without her boyfriend. The importance of girls standing by what they want is reinforced at various points in the print material. In the section entitled “Falling in Love,” for example, is the statement: “If your boyfriend loves you he will respect your decision” not to have sex (Clacherty 2000: 60). Moreover, among the testimonies of older youth deciding to abstain are two girls, who both have boyfriends they do not have sex with, because

they do not yet “feel comfortable” or “ready for sex” (Clacherty 2000: 61). The importance of being assertive is further reiterated through the aforementioned illustration of Zandi telling All Star that she wants to abstain, and in the section on “Being Assertive” (Clacherty 2000: 62-63). It is also reinforced in the buddy buzz of episode 19: “If he loves me he will understand if I don’t want to have sex” (SCIHDC 2000c: 22:34-22:47). Assertiveness on the part of girls is thus presented as a positive attribute, particularly in their relationships with boys.

4.1.3 Boys, Girls, and Their (Un)Polarization

In considering the modelling of the main characters, one of the striking features is how in some ways, Zandi and All Star are relatively “un-polarized.” Towards the beginning of the puberty storyline, All Star and Zandi are effectively shown as undergoing similar experiences, in that they are both confused about their bodies. Zandi, about to get her period, notes how her “body really feels weird,” and is not sure why, while All Star, when cleaning his sheets, thinks he “can’t believe it! What’s going on with me?” (SCIHDC 2000b: 4:01-4:41, 6:45-6:50). And as mentioned, both of them first confide in their friends, and then their parents. In episode 19, moreover, they are both presented as fantasizing about their time alone together, and as initially uncomfortable in All Star’s house (SCIHDC 2000c: 13:37-15:14, 16:37-18:02). Both characters, moreover, learn similar lessons: that their puberty changes are normal (SCIHDC 2000b: 13:30-15:13, 16:40-18:35), and the importance of communicating about sex (SCIHDC 2000d: 20:33-21:41). Both Zandi and All Star also evince uncertainty about whether they are ready to have sex (SCIHDC 2000b: 8:15-8:21, 14:03-14:57; SCIHDC 2000c: 5:57-6:07; SCIHDC 2000d: 20:33-21:41). This similarity is reinforced in the print material, where in the section entitled “Falling in Love,” consideration is given to how both girls and boys may be pressured into having sex (Clacherty 2000: 60). More generally, though my analysis focused on Zandi and All Star’s storylines and related events, I also noted the dynamics of the Soul Buddyz group as a whole. The group of friends is composed of both boys and girls, and there are some scenes where they are shown confiding in each other, laughing, and joking together (SCIHDC 2000b: 1:40-3:29).

There are, however, some significant ways in which the polarization of boys and girls is perpetuated, the first concerning sexual desire/interest. Take, for example, All Star’s immediate voiceover reaction to the idea that Zandi wants to sleep with him in episode 19: “I’d love to. I mean, I’ve thought about it enough. But am I ready?” (SCIHDC 2000c: 5:57-6:07). Sex is thus presented as something that interests him. Zandi, in contrast, when asked by Tammy as to whether she sleeps with All Star, responds, “No, I don’t want to; not yet” (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:33-6:40). While All Star’s interest in sex is revealed, no such interest or curiosity is revealed on Zandi’s part. Similarly, Tammy, who initially decides not to wait to have sex, is presented as doing so not because of her own desire, but that of her boyfriend (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:25-6:34; 2000d: 3:59-4:09). Moreover, in the scene of them kissing at All Star’s house, while Zandi thinks that All Star’s kisses are “amazing,” she also thinks at one point that “his hands are all over the place,” and eventually that it is “too much,” and “time to stop” (SCIHDC 2000c: 18:10-18:58). Zandi is thus presented as satisfied with

kissing, and is the one to slow things down. This is not to say that there is no reference made concerning female sexual arousal/desire in the considered Soul Buddyz material. In the animated sex video in episode 20, there is a physiological description of female arousal (SCIHDC 2000d: 13:33-19:38). Likewise, in the print material section entitled “Here’s Straight Talk About You!,” mention is made of the clitoris being “important for sexual pleasure” (Clacherty 2000: 56). Moreover, the section on “Falling in Love” mentions how girls may pressure boys for sex (Clacherty 2000: 60), thereby arguably alluding to female sexual desire. Overall, however, reference to girls having sexual desire is notably limited.

Having sex, moreover, is presented as riskier for girls than for boys. Tammy confides in Zandi that Zack was “so horrible” when she told him about her fear of being pregnant, and that although he said she should sleep with him without using a condom, it was now her “problem” (SCIHDC 2000d: 3:06-4:52). This danger for girls is again alluded to when Zandi is in the clinic, thinking, “It’s not fair. Boys and girls have sex but only girls get pregnant” (SCIHDC 2000d: 6:10-6:20). Moreover, at the clinic, Zandi has a fantasy sequence about what could have happened if she slept with All Star, which centres around having a baby, and struggling by herself, entailing a portrayal of teenage parenting as something she would deal with on her own. Furthermore, whereas in episode 19, both Zandi and All Star have fantasy sequences about spending time alone together (SCIHDC 2000c: 13:37-15:14), in episode 20 only Zandi has a fantasy sequence about the potential risk of sleeping together (SCIHDC 2000d: 8:15-9:04). The consequences of having sex are thus portrayed as greater for girls than for boys.

Boys and girls are also arguably polarized through the lack of explicit attention given to the constructs/pressures surrounding being a woman, and the comparatively substantial attention given to the constructs/pressures surrounding being a man, particularly in relation to sexual activity. For example, in the parental discussions in episode 11, the relationship between being a man and having sex comes up in All Star and his father’s discussion about wet dreams. Zandi’s mother, however, though she associates womanhood with menarche, does not address the relationship between being a woman and having sex (SCIHDC 2000b: 13:30-15:13, 16:40-18:35). Moreover, though Tammy advises Zandi that having her period does not mean she has to have sex (SCIHDC 2000b: 8:10-8:23), there is no reference to becoming a woman and not having sex in the way that there is for All Star. The relationship between sex, periods, and womanhood is slightly more pronounced in the print material, where in the section “Eek! Periods and Wet Dreams,” the statement that “you only get your period when you’ve slept with a boy” is stamped as “not true!,” and menstruation is described as “part of being a woman” (Clacherty 2000: 59). There is also an implicit referral to the pressures surrounding girls and sex in episode 19, when Tammy mentions, “If guys don’t get what they want, they’ll go and get it somewhere else” (SCIHDC 2000c: 6:40-6:46), and at one point in the print material, where a similar statement is dealt with (Clacherty 2000: 60). There are notably more explicit referrals to the association of manhood with sex, however. Mpho’s reasoning for All Star having to initiate sex with Zandi is that “you must show her that you’re a man” (SCIHDC 2000c: 7:15-7:17). All Star, in turn, is shown as

struggling with the relationship between having sex and being a man (SCIHDC 2000b: 13:30-14:57; SCIHDC 2000c: 7:08-7:20, 20:20-20:35). Likewise, the relationship between manhood and having sex is explicitly referred to in the rap song of episode 20, and a couple of times in the print material (Clacherty 2000: 60, 62; SCIHDC 2000d: 6:34-6:37). In contrast, the relationship between womanhood and having sex is not dealt with to the same degree, or as explicitly.

4.2 Youth Sexuality: A Process of Becoming

I found youth sexuality to be overly presented as a process of becoming rather than a state of being. I came to this view first through noting how youth characters' peers are effectively presented as "wrong," while adults are presented as "right." This is most strongly evinced in the puberty storyline's sequence of events, where if All Star and Zandi had followed their friends' counsel, neither of them would have gone to Avril's party (SCIHDC 2000b: 13:30-15:13, 16:40-18:35). Following their parents' advice is what allows for them to go to the party, and creates the conditions for their contentment in the end. The buddy buzz of episode 11 further underscores this representation, where a number of comments stress talking to parents about puberty changes, a couple of which mention talking to parents instead of friends (SCIHDC 2000b: 22:24-23:47). Likewise, in both of the comic strips about Zandi and All Star's puberty changes, their parents are again presented as giving the "right" advice (Clacherty 2000: 52-53). Also, though some youth characters in the print material put forward the "right" ideas surrounding puberty and sex, it is only youth and not adult characters who put forward the "wrong" ideas, in addition to there being mention of asking someone older for information (Clacherty 2000: 55-62). Similarly, in the communicating-about-sex storyline, both Mpho and Tammy are again presented as "wrong," as following Mpho's advice gets All Star into trouble and Tammy's stance on unprotected sex causes problems for herself. In episode 20, moreover, it is Sister Bettina who is presented as having the "right" answers concerning sex (SCIHDC 2000d: 11:29-12:05, 19:39-20:12). Adults, in effect, are presented as correct, arguably alluding to an idea of how the older one is, the more one will know.

Youth sexuality as a process of becoming is further reinforced through a depiction of sex, though "special," as "dangerous" if one is "too young and not prepared" (SCIHDC 2000d: 19:05-19:09). In the episodes, it is only in the animated sex video where sex is alluded to as pleasurable, with orgasms described as "a special feeling" (SCIHDC 2000d: 18:02-18:31). The dangers of sex, in turn, are illustrated through Tammy's experience. When Tammy confides in Zandi about how she might be pregnant, she describes herself as "so scared," and how if she is pregnant, "I don't know what I'll do. I'd have to leave school and my parents would freak" (SCIHDC 2000d: 3:06-4:52). The representation of youth sexuality as a process of becoming is also reinforced through an emphasis on abstinence. Zandi mentions at different points in both storylines that she is not ready for sex, and wants to wait until she is older (SCIHDC 2000b: 8:15-8:21; SCIHDC 2000c: 6:31-6:40, 8:15-8:20; SCIHDC 2000d: 9:05-9:23, 12:06-12:39). Tammy, likewise, describes herself at the end of episode 20 as having been "stupid," stating, "I thought [sex] was no big deal.

But I realize now that I'm just too young" (SCIHDC 2000d: 21:46-22:10). All Star, moreover, questions at several points in both storylines whether he is ready for sex, and is also told by his father that he should only have sex when he is married, and if he "can handle the responsibility that goes with it" (SCIHDC 2000b: 14:44-15:05; SCIHDC 2000c: 5:57-6:07; SCIHDC 2000d: 20:59-21:01). Abstaining until older is also underscored in the buddy buzz for episodes 11 and 19 (SCIHDC 2000b: 23:10-23:17; SCIHDC 2000c: 21:50-23:03). The rap song for episode 20, moreover, lists the "ABCs" of "safe sex," the first principle of which is "A: Abstain – don't have sex, wait til you're ready, even til you're married" (SCIHDC 2000d: 6:20-6:58). Abstinence first is also stressed at several points in the animated video (SCIHDC 2000d: 13:33-19:38), and in the print material (Clacherty 2000: 60-62).

Likewise, older models than 8-12 year-olds are shown to be dealing with these issues, and to be favouring abstinence. Zandi and All Star themselves are 14 and almost 16 respectively (SCIHDC 2000b: 8:17-8:19; SCIHDC 2000c: 3:44-4:10). Also, the article which Zandi reads aloud and serves as the basis for All Star's mistaken assumption was submitted by a 19-year-old girl, a characteristic Zandi reiterates in their reconciliatory conversation (SCIHDC 2000c: 5:15-6:24; SCIHDC 2000d: 20:33-20:53). Similarly, in the animated sex video, which centres around a younger couple and an older, married couple, the former are the ones who decide to abstain, whereas the latter decide to have sex (SCIHDC 2000d: 13:33-19:38). Also, in the print material section on "Falling in Love," the personal testimonies surrounding decisions to abstain are attributed to youth between the ages of 17-20 (Clacherty 2000: 60-61). The emphasis on "becoming" can also be seen in the same section, where right underneath the title, it is written: "As you grow up one of the nicest things that happens is that you fall in love," arguably implying that "love" and relationships are for older people. Sex, though considered "special," is presented as something "worth waiting for" (SCIHDC 2000d: 13:33-19:38), and something that an individual is not "ready for" until he/she is a "young adult" (Clacherty 2000: 60). For me, such a strong depiction of youth sexuality as a process of becoming insinuates an even stronger understanding of childhood sexuality as such.

4.3 Youth Sexuality: Emphasizing Associated Dangers Within a Heteronormative Frame

As mentioned, in the considered Soul Buddyz material there is a substantial emphasis placed on the risks of having sex if "too young." Moreover, I found there to be an effectively heteronormative portrayal of the dangers of having sex, in that there is a stronger emphasis on the risk of pregnancy than on other risks like HIV/AIDS. For example, in episode 19, when Zandi and Avril insist that Tammy has to use condoms, Tammy's initial reaction is, "There are ways you can do it without falling pregnant." Zandi and Avril then each provide an example of someone they know becoming pregnant after having unprotected sex, after which Zandi asks, "And what about AIDS?" The issue of HIV/AIDS is not further addressed; both Avril and Zandi go on to voice their desire to abstain until "much older" (SCIHDC 2000c: 7:46-8:20). Similarly, in episode 20, Tammy's main fear of having had unprotected sex does not

concern HIV/AIDS, but how she may be pregnant (SCIHDC 2000d: 3:06-4:52). Moreover, Zandi's aforementioned fantasy sequence in episode 20 centres on teenage motherhood, not other risks of unprotected sex, after which she thinks, "I've got my whole life to have babies. I don't want sex now, especially after what Sol told us about HIV and AIDS" (SCIHDC 2000d: 8:15-9:23).¹¹ The threat of pregnancy is arguably overemphasized at the end of the storyline as well, where both Tammy and Zandi express relief for Tammy's negative pregnancy test, after which both make mention of waiting for Tammy's HIV test results (SCIHDC 2000d: 21:46-22:22). The resolution is arguably more about whether or not Tammy is pregnant, than about whether she is HIV positive. It is only in the animated video in episode 20 that the risk of "many diseases like HIV/AIDS" is mentioned first, and pregnancy second, in reference to having sex (SCIHDC 2000d: 13:33-19:38). Thus, in the considered episodes, HIV/AIDS is arguably presented as an afterthought, a concern that comes second to pregnancy. This can also be seen in the buddy buzz for episodes 19 and 20, where pregnancy and the importance of condom use is mentioned, but not HIV/AIDS (SCIHDC 2000c: 21:50-23:03; SCIHDC 2000d: 22:37-23:36).

The first series of *Soul Buddyz* does have an HIV/AIDS story, centring around one of the *Soul Buddyz*, Andre, and his HIV positive mother. In one of these episodes, the means of HIV/AIDS transmission is addressed, one of them being unprotected sex (SCIHDC 2000a: 16:18-17:35). I, however, find it noteworthy that in the episodes explicitly pertaining to sexuality and relationships, little attention is given to the interlinks between HIV/AIDS and sexuality, despite being presented as constitutive parts of the same series topic (Goldstein et al. 2001: 168; 2002: 2). Similarly, in the print material, the relation between having sex and contracting HIV/AIDS is more explicitly addressed in unit 7 entitled "Andre's Story: Living with HIV/AIDS" (Clacherty 2000: 68-69), a unit that is not explicitly about youth sexuality and relationships. Only in this unit is HIV/AIDS referred to in and of itself as a consequence of unprotected sex, without mention of pregnancy, or being presented as subsidiary to it.

In the material explicitly pertaining to sexuality and relationships, moreover, not only were the dangers of having sex presented within a heteronormative frame, so was sexual activity itself. In both the episodes and the print material, the focus is on heterosexual, penetrative acts, with little reference to other forms of sexual activity (SCIHDC 2000c: 18:10-19:15; SCIHDC 2000d: 13:33-19:38; Clacherty 2000: 56-57, 61-62). Moreover, both young couples who deal with issues surrounding relationships and sex consist of a boy and a girl. Likewise, the animated video centers around two male-female couples (SCIHDC 2000d: 13:33-19:38). Homosexuality, moreover, is only briefly referred to in the print material section on "Falling in Love": "Some people fall in love with people of the same sex. Everyone has a right to

¹¹ In episode 6, pertaining to Andre's story about living with HIV/AIDS, the *Soul Buddyz* see an HIV/AIDS counsellor, Sol, to get more information on HIV/AIDS and its transmission. In Sol's explanation, he lists the three ways the HIV virus can enter the body: "unsafe sex," intravenous drugs, and from mother to child during pregnancy, birthing, or breastfeeding (SCIHDC 2000a: 16:18-17:35).

be different and we need to respect this difference” (Clacherty 2000: 61). Homosexuality is thus mentioned, but not further dealt with.

To sum up, “positive” cross-gender relations, concerning relationships and sexuality, are ones where: boys are communicative, reactive towards and respectful of girls; girls are assertive in their relationships with boys; and both boys and girls wait until they are older and ready to have sex, with boys not having to prove themselves. In some ways, “positive” boy and girl role models are presented as having some common ground. However, there is a relative polarization of boys and girls concerning sexual desire, the risks of having sex, and the pressures surrounding masculinity/femininity in relation to sexual activity. Youth sexuality, in turn, is strongly presented as a process of becoming, where the associated dangers (particularly for girls) are emphasized, within a heteronormative frame. The next chapter will consider these representations in relation to the SCIHDC formative research, and to other studies of children and youth in South Africa and elsewhere, raising questions to take into account.

5 META-ANALYSIS, REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS ON MODELLING CROSS-GENDER AND SEXUAL RELATIONS

The following subsections expand upon the themes outlined in the previous chapter, providing reflection in reference to HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives that are geared towards children and VYAs, and aimed at addressing cross-gender relations and associated constructs.

5.1 “Positive” Boys, “Positive” Girls, and (Un)Polarization

5.1.1 Sympathetic “Positive” Boys and Powerful “Positive” Girls

As mentioned, All Star is presented as reactive towards and respectful of girls, and learns the importance of communicating with one’s partner, and how one does not have to have sex in order to be a man. All Star is thus arguably portrayed not as the “enemy,” but in a sympathetic light. The importance of such a consideration of boys/men has been underlined by a number of figures (Baylies 2000; Morrell 2001; Mehta et al. 2004; Pattman 2005). Constructing boys as the “enemy” may be counterproductive, resulting in more hostile relations between boys and girls, and/or boys tuning out the messages directed at them (Pattman 2005: 513). Such a portrayal also does not account for how some men oppose violent and exploitative gender relations, and work towards positive sexual and reproductive health outcomes for themselves and their partners (Mehta et al. 2004: 89; Morrell 2001: 33; O’Sullivan et al. 2006). In effect, ideas surrounding masculinity/femininity, rather than individuals themselves, may be at the root of the problem, as was the case in All Star and Zandi’s story. Rather than presenting boys and men as obstructions, accounting for their ability to adopt constructive attitudes may increase chances of improving cross-gender relations.

Zandi, in turn, by being presented as able to make her own choices, is effectively portrayed as powerful. In a way, such a depiction is important, for strong social investments in having a boyfriend, achieving love, and avoiding rejection may constrain the ability of some girls to be assertive about what they themselves want (Eaton et al. 2003: 159; Reddy and Dunne 2007). In their study of South African youth in a school from KwaZulu Natal, Reddy and Dunne (2007: 165) noted how for young females, “to be conventionally feminine was to aspire always to an ideal relationship, to trust and to love and to make men happy.” Such an understanding of “femininity” could potentially result in girls engaging in unsafe sexual behaviour, in order to please their partner, and uphold an identity as “feminine.” There is thus something to be said for presenting a “positive” female role model who puts what she wants first (and does not lose her relationship over it).

Presenting a “positive” female role model as powerful, however, also raises some important issues to contemplate. As aforementioned, one of the formative research conclusions Clacherty et al. (1998: 3, 22) reached was how girls between the ages of 8-12 tend to have a negative sense of being a girl, and the resulting importance of incorporating “gender empowerment issues” into the edutainment initiative’s characters. Thus, to portray a “positive” female role model like Zandi, who asserts what she wants, and does not simply acquiesce to her boyfriend, and a “transitional” model like Tammy who learns the importance of adopting such a stance, is arguably understandable. Yet, though Zandi is presented as able to say no, and get out of an undesired situation (namely, having sex in All Star’s house), she does not meet any resistance – All Star does pressure or coerce her (SCIHDC 2000c: 18:10-20:17). I therefore wonder if there could be something gained from portraying a situation characterized by greater opposition, with the female struggling for what she wants. As many girls’ relationships may be guided by their boyfriends’ desires (Eaton et al. 1993; Reddy and Dunne 2007; Wood et al. 1998), portraying a female role model standing by what she wants in such a relationship, and the opposition she could face, may be worth considering. While Tammy and Zack’s relationship is presented as inequitable, in that Zack determined the nature of their sexual activity, only the consequences of Tammy’s decision to acquiesce are illustrated, i.e. she is left alone with the possibility of being pregnant. Rather than only demonstrating the consequences, I think acknowledging the constraints girls may face in their relationships, and exemplifying what can be done in spite of them, is something important to consider. As argued by Mitchell and Smith (2001: 59), images within HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives need to “take account of the relative powerlessness of young girls and women.” Thus, in addition to portraying powerful female role models, there may be a need for models who meet resistance to what they want, but still manage to power through. Having both models may allow for a more holistic representation of the kinds of relationships girls may find themselves in, and demonstrate different ways of dealing with adversity.

5.1.2 (Un)Polarization

In a UNICEF-funded study of hundreds of youth between the ages of 6-18 from various African countries, among them South Africa, interviewed youth tended to position girls and boys as opposites, often expressing revulsion at the thought of changing sex for a day (Pattman 2005: 500; Pattman and Chege 2003: 37). Likewise, Bhana (2007: 312) observed strong investments in constructing boys and girls as polarized in her study of 7-8 year-old South African children. As noted by Pattman (2005: 512-513), oppositional constructs surrounding boys and girls inhibit cross-gender interaction and socialization, thereby hindering the development of a “good basis for developing safe, trusting heterosexual relations.” Presenting some form of common ground between boys and girls, as in the case of All Star and Zandi, may therefore be worthwhile. Though ideas surrounding masculinity and femininity in patriarchal societies are often upheld in opposition to each other, addressing this understanding may be integral to strengthening HIV/AIDS initiatives intended to challenge gender constructs. Promoting cross-gender friendships, moreover, as found in the makeup and dynamics of the Soul Buddyz group as a whole, could not only help to undermine the polarization of masculinity and femininity, but also serve as a basis for greater mutual respect in intimate cross-gender relationships. In effect, “sex and HIV/AIDS education must raise possibilities of boys and girls relating to each other not as stereotypical opposites, but as potential equals and friends” (Pattman 2005: 514).

Integral to addressing the polarization inimical to healthy relationships, however, is addressing the construct of boys as subjects and girls as objects of sexual desire (Pattman 2005: 512-513). Given the gravity of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, a more complex account of sexuality is urgent (Reid and Walker 2005: 5). In Reddy and Dunne (2007: 164-165)’s study, girls tended to frame their sexual satisfaction in terms of whether their partner was sexually satisfied, and meeting their partners’ needs and desires rather than their own. Such a prioritization could lead to females compromising more in their relationship than males, thereby increasing their likelihood of engaging in unsafe sexual behaviour. In light of this, serious thought has to be given to how HIV/AIDS initiatives could focus on female sexual desire, “and the costs to girls of being constructed as lacking sexual agency and desire” (Pattman 2005: 512). Similarly, it is important to re-consider the representation of the consequences of sexual activity as more dire for girls, given the prevalent construction of girls as “sexual gatekeepers” (Harrison 2008; van Roosmalen 2000). Such a representation may inadvertently feed the construction of boys as not responsible for their actions. It may also compromise and continue to ignore female sexual desire, or portray it in a negative and dangerous light, which could be inimical to addressing the polarization between boys and girls.

Just as it is important to address the polarization of masculine and feminine identities, so it is important to address their interrelation. In order to do so, however, it is not enough to consider only one set of constructs, such as those surrounding masculinity. Ideas surrounding femininity can arguably be just as influential in terms of creating constraints/pressures within relationships. It is thus questionable as to whether, when addressing cross-

gender relations, it is enough to deal with representations of “men” without equally dealing with representations of “women,” or pressures surrounding femininity. Rather, if there are explicit referrals to “manhood” within a given initiative, it is important to consider also including explicit referrals to “womanhood,” particularly in the context of relationships and sexuality. As constructions surrounding masculinity and femininity may be interrelated (Petersen et al. 2005; Wood and Jewkes 2001), “an emphasis on the relational aspects of gender and in making both femininity and masculinity problematic, are essential in addressing gender reform” (Reddy and Dunne 2007: 160). Gender relations, rather than masculinity or femininity exclusively, are what are pivotal to consider (Baylies 2000: 23).

5.2 Overemphasizing Youth Sexuality as a Process of Becoming

In the considered Soul Buddyz material, particularly that concerning puberty, youth characters are effectively constructed as needing advice in order to solve their problems (Schneider 2008: 143). In particular, they are presented as in need of adult advice, as that from their peers may misguide them. Caution needs to be exerted in this respect. For, to construct adults as “right,” and youth (and by extension, children and VYAs) as “wrong,” arguably implies that the latter will “become” right as they get older, rather than “being” right at the present time. Thus, considering children, VYAs, and youth as in need of (adult) advice could potentially devalue what they have to say now. Though, as one of the factors contributing to HIV/AIDS risk behaviour is a lack of intergenerational communication surrounding sex (Eaton et al. 2003: 160; Visser 2007: 679), presenting trusted adults as the “go-to” source for information may have its merits in terms of increasing discussion about sex, thereby decreasing its taboo status. There may thus be a need for a portrayal that is more nuanced than presenting either adults or children/VYAs/youth as being wrong or right. Rather, emphasizing intergenerational communication in and of itself may be more worthwhile.

Moreover, older models than 8-12 year-olds are used in the Soul Buddyz episodes, who also largely promote abstinence. This portrayal resonated with one of the findings in the formative research, where when asked about the appropriate age to have sex, the general results from the 11-12 year-old groups indicated that they felt they should be “much older” before having sex (Clacherty et al. 1998: 33). It is important to note, however, that Clacherty et al. (1998: 33) considered it likely that these groups may have “learnt these values from their parents and environment, yet not fully internalized the meaning behind what they are saying.” Likewise, Bhana (2007: 314-315, 319-320, 322) found the children in her study, while taking “delight and pleasure” in talking about sexuality, to also be well aware of what adults thought children should and should not be like, thus situating themselves as such. Similarly, in Harrison (2008)’s study of school-going South African youth, both males and females stressed the moral value of abstaining and projected a view of having sex as “wrong,” even if sexually active themselves. Christian beliefs have been noted to influence understood norms surrounding abstinence and sexuality in South Africa (Harrison 2008; O’Sullivan et al. 2006). For me, what is also important

to consider is how there are certain pressures surrounding the construct of sexuality in relation to children, VYAs, and youth.

Such pressures can be seen in the form of a disconnect between one of the conclusions Clacherty et al. (1998) reached, and the form taken by the representations in the Soul Buddyz material. While one of the conclusions drawn for 11-12 year-olds was the need to “acknowledge that children at this age are exploring their sexuality and many are already sexually active” (Clacherty 1998: 43), this age group is not presented as dealing with these issues in the Soul Buddyz material. It has often been difficult, however, both in South Africa and elsewhere, to associate the construct of sexuality with youth, VYAs, and particularly children. The innocence commonly associated with childhood is often conflated with asexuality and sexual ignorance, whereas sexuality is often associated with adulthood (Corteen and Scraton 1997; Kehily and Montgomery 2004; Pattman 2005). Moreover, as noted by Robinson (2005: 68), the development of one’s sexuality is often considered to coincide with going through puberty, and mature in adulthood, thereby compounding childhood’s association with asexuality. Treating children and VYAs as sexual may thus be viewed as “wrong,” in that it might a) deny them their childhood, and/or b) expose them to something “adult” which they are not yet ready for, and require protection from (Corteen and Scraton 1997). Moreover, because of the common conflation of childhood innocence with asexuality, there is little research to date on the “normal” sexual development of children and VYAs, particularly under the age of 12, with studies often focusing on the sexual abuse of this age group (Bancroft 2003; Bhana 2008; Friedrich 2003; Rademakers et al. 2003). Such constructs, however, work to overemphasize children and VYAs’ process of becoming adults, denying their state of being “persons within their own rights” (Robinson 2005: 71). As noted in Bhana’s (2007) study, children and VYAs may exhibit interest in sex, sexuality, and the opposite sex before they go through the physiological changes associated with puberty. Bhana (2007: 322) thus concludes that “the image of children as innocent and asexual is not one which stands up to scrutiny when children are given the opportunity and space to talk about HIV and AIDS, their sexual desires, concerns, and pleasures.” Sexuality, though often constructed as a marker of adult identity, “is not something that becomes meaningful and significant only as we approach adulthood” (Pattman 2005: 498).

Furthermore, the health and well-being of 8-12 year-olds is often overlooked worldwide, as health initiatives tend to focus on children under the age of five, or on the reproductive health of adolescents (Ansell 2005: 124). I find it important to consider whether overemphasizing the “becoming” aspect of 8-12 year-olds’ sexuality perpetuates this trend, as it overlooks how 8-12 year-olds are affected in the here-and-now in terms of their sexuality. It is also important to consider what this overemphasis may mean for HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives. Dr. Klaus Minde (personal communication, 11 August 2008), professor of psychiatry and pediatrics at McGill University, notes that preventive counselling tends to have the greatest effect when the subject him/herself is concerned. The subject matter has to be relevant to the target audience for them to take it in. Thus, in addition, to using older “positive” role models, who could serve as a source of inspiration for children and VYAs, showing younger models grappling with these issues could also be of use, in

terms of recognizing children and VYAs as in a state of being concerning their sexuality, and potentially increasing the impact of HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives with this age group.

It is important here to clarify a few points. In this paper, I have been using three categories of young people: children, VYAs, and youth, where youth are the presented role models in the Soul Buddyz material, and 8-12 year-old children and VYAs are the intended audience. These categories cover a wide age range of individuals, whom are often physically, psychologically, and socially at different points in their lives. It may thus be perceived as contentious and potentially harmful to argue for an understanding of children, VYAs and youth as all sexual beings, not least because of the risks of biologically immature bodies engaging in sexual activity, such as early childbearing (UNFPA 2005). Yet, as mentioned, I conceptualize sexuality as broader than sexual behaviour and activity. Thus, when I argue for an understanding of children and VYAs (in addition to youth) as sexual, I am not arguing for an understanding of children, VYAs, and youth as fully developed, sexually active beings. Rather, I am arguing for a broader, less stigmatized conceptualization of what is “sexual,” and a more flexible understanding of what is “innocent.” Though some may argue that considering children in particular as sexual may increase their susceptibility to unwanted sexual advances and abuse, the association of childhood innocence with asexuality may lead them to a similar risk, as the “notion of childhood innocence is itself a source of titillation for abusers” (Kitzinger 1997: 168). Moreover, as argued by Kitzinger (1997: 169), the ideology of innocence “denies children access to knowledge and power and hence actually increases their vulnerability to abuse.” The argument in this paper, in effect, is not intended to deny an understanding of youth and childhood sexuality as a process of becoming; rather, it is intended to take issue with an overemphasis of such a conceptualization. Considering children, VYAs, and youth as both “beings” and “becomings” is arguably integral for a holistic understanding of such individuals, and for the realization of their safe and happy well-being in terms of their cross-gender relations and sexuality.

The conflation of childhood innocence with asexuality is a view that I have held myself, making it difficult to think of children and VYAs as “sexual.” It is often arguably easier to think of youth as such, as they are closer to adulthood. A social constructionist approach, however, as undertaken in this paper, allows for greater reflection on “taken-for-granted meanings” (Jenks 2004: 89), such as why the idea of VYAs and particularly children being sexual is often considered “wrong,” and why sexuality is often thought to begin with puberty. Why is sexuality associated with adulthood, and not thought of as a lifelong process, starting from birth?

Drawing on Foucault (1990)’s position concerning how power relations inform understandings of what is “right”/“wrong” is useful here. Such a standpoint entails an acknowledgment of how what is understood as sexual/non-sexual may not necessarily be because of an “essential” reason, but because of an existing set of power relations within a given time that inform such an understanding. As mentioned, sexuality may serve as an arena for power relations, one set being between adults and children. It is in this way

that adult perceptions surrounding childhood and sexuality may say more about how adults perceive childhood, than childhood itself (Kehily and Montgomery 2004: 70, 74). Yet, it seems to me that recognizing children and VYAs as both beings and becomings entails an acknowledgement of their sexuality, an integral component of identity formation, and thus meaningful for their lives. Developing a more capacious view of children and VYAs as not only gendered but sexual individuals (Bhana 2007) may be fundamental for HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives geared towards such an age group, and is something worth reflecting upon.

5.3 Further Reflections on Youth Sexuality: Accounting for Pleasure in Addition to Danger, and Multiple Forms of Sexuality

As noted in the previous chapter, in the Soul Buddyz material there is considerable emphasis placed on the consequences and dangers of having sex if “too young,” particularly that of pregnancy, largely illustrated through Tammy’s experience, and her being “so scared.” Though it is arguably important to outline the consequences of having sex in an initiative geared towards 8-12 year-olds, so as to illustrate what this age group may not be aware of, especially emphasizing pregnancy as a consequence is problematic. It may contribute to an understanding of sex as more dangerous for girls, thereby exacerbating the aforementioned construct of them as sexual gatekeepers, and also increasing the chances of boys engaging in unprotected sexual intercourse, as they are not the ones at risk of becoming pregnant. Overemphasizing pregnancy could also potentially lead to youth experimenting with other forms of sexual engagement, such as anal sex, presuming that since there is no risk of pregnancy, the sex is not “unsafe.” Though, the singling out of HIV/AIDS as a risk in public health campaigns has also often been unhelpful, given its association with illness and death, and the resulting apathy, fatalism, and disinterest it may incur among target audiences, and increased stigmatization of the disease (Niehaus 2007). Something to consider, however, may be offering a more detailed account of the risks of other STIs in addition to HIV/AIDS, at the same time as not overemphasizing the risk of pregnancy. Such an approach may better target both boys and girls, account for multiple forms of sexual engagement, and not necessarily incur apathetic responses, or increased stigmatization.

More generally, stressing the dangers of having sex is problematic not only in terms of overemphasizing children and VYAs’ process of becoming, but also in terms of potentially impeding a model of “healthy sexuality” (Harrison 2008), which in turn can hinder HIV/AIDS prevention. As noted by Martinson (1994: 113), “emphasizing mainly abstinence and the negative outcomes of sexual activity – pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, and STDs – [may give] children an unbalanced perspective on human sexuality.” Moreover, stressing the dangers of having sex, and not accounting for sexual desires and pleasures, may further compound the depiction of sexual desire as “wrong,” potentially driving sexual activity further underground (Pattman and Chege 2003: 56). In HIV/AIDS prevention, in effect, it is important to account for pleasure and

desire in addition to the need for protection (Higgins and Hirsch 2007; Philpott et al. 2006). Overly presenting sexual activity as “dangerous” if too young arguably runs the risk of losing the nuances of a more complex understanding of youth (and childhood) sexuality, at a time when, as aforementioned, simplistic understandings of sexuality are problematic.

Likewise, though the main means of HIV/AIDS transmission in South Africa is unprotected sexual intercourse (Morrell 2005: x), I find it questionable as to whether this entails using a heteronormative frame, largely excluding other forms of sexuality. Focusing on some forms of sexual engagement and not others could potentially drive other sexual practices underground, rendering them more unsafe. Moreover, despite constitutional provisions against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, homophobia in South Africa is still considerable (Walker 2005: 166). Homosexuality is also something often not talked about – in the study undertaken by Pattman and Chege (2003), many boys and girls simply did not speak about it, and often presumed sexual desire to be heterosexual (Pattman 2005: 510; Pattman and Chege 2003: 155). Similarly, only one quote was included in Clacherty et al. (1998: 32)’s research that pertained to homosexuality, where one of the boys from an 11-12 year-old group said, “some children say that boys who play with girls are homosexuals.” Leaving homosexuality out of the frame, however, or referring to it in a one-off manner, could compound current tendencies towards homophobia, which in turn could limit the possibility of boys befriending girls, for fear of them being labelled “not masculine.” In their study, Pattman and Chege (2003: 37) found that in South Africa, homophobia effectively policed boys’ behaviour, limiting their interactions with girls. Addressing homophobia may be integral for addressing constructs surrounding cross-gender relations, and in order to do so, multiple forms of sexuality have to be recognized and legitimized.

5.4 Accounting for the Sexual Rights of Children and VYAs

According to Goldstein et al. (2001: 163), Soul Buddyz is a “children’s rights mass media campaign.” While subjecting this description to a thorough and critical consideration is beyond the scope of this paper, it does raise interesting points in reference to children and VYAs’ sexual health. Important for the matter at hand is the understanding of how one of the constituents of an individual’s human rights is his/her sexual rights (Corrêa 1997; Sen and Batliwala 2000). One’s sexual rights, moreover, go beyond the right to information, services, and protection, to the right for individual sexual practice to be pleasurable, non-discrimination, and the freedom of individual sexual expression (Corrêa 1997). As noted by Archard (2004: 39), however, viewing childhood as a stage and adulthood as an end state has often entailed that children and adults are accorded different rights and responsibilities. An advocacy for children’s sexual rights that goes beyond the right to protection from sexual abuse and HIV/AIDS, to also account for the right to express sexual desire, has therefore often been muted because of “longstanding tropes of sexual innocence [which] position the child as an object of concern” (Bhana 2007: 310). Valuing children and VYAs as both beings and becomings, however, requires an acknowledgement of them as holders of sexual rights that

go beyond protection, and the delivery of HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives in the form of “scare tactics.” Such an acknowledgement is arguably integral, particularly in the context of HIV/AIDS, for the development of healthy, happy, mutually respectful cross-gender relations among children and VYAs, and safe, pleasurable sexual activity when they do begin.

5.5 Conclusion

In this paper, I explored the modelling of “positive” cross-gender relations and associated constructs within a South African edutainment initiative, with specific reference to material regarding relationships and youth sexuality. I did so in order to ask questions about HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives oriented towards children and VYAs and intended to address gender-related issues, in the aim of raising salient points to consider in terms of potentially strengthening HIV/AIDS prevention efforts. In so doing, I first asked a “how” question concerning the depiction of “positive” cross-gender relations and associated constructs within the material. I then further reflected on the found representations, drawing attention not only to the manner in which “positive” boys and girls are presented, but also to a consideration of their (un)polarization, and the interrelation of masculinity/femininity. I also reflected on the representations of youth (and by extension, childhood) sexuality, in terms of the overemphasis placed on it as a process of becoming, the focus on associated dangers, and the situation of youth sexuality within a heteronormative frame. Overall, just as this paper was intended to be about exploration rather than evaluation, so it was intended to ask questions rather than pass judgment. This purpose stemmed from an understanding of the importance of critical reflection, given the gravity of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

As can be seen, the analysis and meta-analysis in this paper touched on a number of points in relation to representing “positive” cross-gender relations, and associated constructs surrounding masculinity/femininity and youth sexuality. I think it is possible, however, to consider the majority of the points raised as pertaining to the development of a more nuanced understanding of both gender and sexuality, in the form of a continuum rather than a binary format (Rich 2003). Doing so may account for a greater range of experiences and kinds of existence, and decrease the likelihood of some being more valued than others. In terms of gender, this would entail questioning the boy/girl, masculine/feminine binary. Instead of considering them as polarized, they would be conceptualized as different points on a range of experience/being, not entirely separate and distinct, but connected and interrelated, thereby creating the potential for greater common ground between boys and girls. In terms of sexuality, this continuum would be of two kinds. The first would be in the form of acknowledging different sexualities, where heterosexuality would be situated as one among many, and not entirely disconnected from other types, again to account for the possibility and legitimization of different kinds of existence (Rich 2003), and multiple forms of associated pleasures and dangers. The second would be in the form of considering childhood and adulthood as part of a continuum, rather than as two entirely separate stages (Archard 2004: 44). Doing so may allow for a more nuanced understanding of childhood sexuality, in the form of recognizing children and VYAs as both

sexual beings and becomings. For, if childhood and adulthood were to be seen as different points on a range of experience rather than entirely separate, the sexuality commonly associated with adulthood would not entirely be the preserve of adults. Rather, sexuality would potentially be understood as a broader, lifelong process.

In effect, the way in which gender and sexuality are thought of, matters. Continuum rather than binary conceptualizations may allow for a more holistic understanding of the complexities surrounding gender and sexuality, which, given the nature of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, is crucial. Serious attention needs to be given to how the above issues are conceptualized within HIV/AIDS prevention initiatives; as such understandings have considerable implications for practice, and lived realities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Soul Buddyz Series' Messages

Soul Buddyz series' messages (World Bank 2003: 136-137):

1. I am unique and have my own strengths and weaknesses – we are all different and special in our own way. All people are deserving of respect, irrespective of age, gender, religion, race, or state of health or impairment. They have strengths and weaknesses just like you.
2. It is important to serve the community to which one belongs and recognize that my actions or lack of actions influence and affect others.
3. Boys and girls are equal and deserve equal respect. Girls can do anything, though it may sometimes be difficult. Boys are allowed to “feel” and be sensitive.
4. I need to identify my feelings and learn to express them in an appropriate way.
5. Life is about choices. It is important to realize that your choices will influence your future and can affect others.
6. It is important to communicate about AIDS and sex. It is often difficult to get information about sensitive issues, but it is important to keep trying to get accurate information. Friends and adults are not always right, so cross-check your information with other resources.
7. My body is my own. It is normal to feel uncomfortable with the changes that happen to one's body at the time of puberty. Children have the right to say no to sex and abuse.
8. All people are deserving of respect, no matter what race, gender, or religion they are, or whether they have HIV or AIDS.

Detailed explanations accompany these messages in World Bank (2003).

Appendix 2

Episode Notes

Youth Characters:

Soul Buddyz: boys – Andre, All Star, Hamilton, Jerome; girls – Avril, Karabo, Siya, Zandi

Pertinent non-Soul Buddyz youth characters: Mpho (boy), Tammy (girl)

Episode 11 (SCIHDC 2000b)

Plot Summary

- At the park after school: when All Star asks Zandi about whether she will be going to Avril's party, Zandi and All Star's feelings for each other are revealed through the voiceover technique; Zandi leaves to visit Jerome in the hospital, All Star walks past Avril and fellow rappers singing the chorus of the episode's rap song ("Everyday we grow up, it's natural, so don't you worry, we all go through puberty") (0:55-1:40)
- Zandi visits Jerome in hospital; the two are playing a board game; Jerome confides in Zandi about not being ready to go to the party; gives international convention forms to Zandi (the Soul Buddyz are applying to attend a children's rights convention) (1:40-2:05, 2:59-3:29)
- At the "Zola bus" (a hangout): Hamilton takes song requests from Karabo, Andre, Avril and All Star for the party; group smiling and chuckling when they find out All Star requested a Celine Dion song; Hamilton: "Celine Dion? Yuck!"; All Star: "It's like romantic. You can move smooth and slow."; Andre describes himself as "allergic" to slow dancing, joking with Avril (2:07-2:58)
- At Zandi's home: Zandi bickering with brother Siya about party; Zandi asks mother for permission to go; Zandi shown choosing an outfit in her room, excited to go the party and that mother gave her permission (voiceover), but "tummy feels strange"; "I can't get sick, not now. I have to go to the party. All Star will be there."; "My body really feels weird." (3:30-4:22)
- Next morning: All-Star rushes out to wash his sheets, voiceover: "Can't believe it! What's going on with me?" (father watches from window) (4:23-4:48)
- At Zandi's: she is shown thinking that she is not feeling well, and is afraid to tell her mother for fear that she won't be allowed go to the party; bickers with Siya, gives him the convention forms to post (4:49-5:44)
- At school: All-Star asks Mpho for advice over what happened to him, learns he had a wet dream, is told it means that his body is telling him to have sex; is told by Mpho to do it soon or he'll go "crazy" (5:45-6:44)
- In class: Zandi is shown thinking that she feels "so different. Something is not right."; asks to be excused to the bathroom (6:45-7:04)
- Tammy is shown going to the bathroom to check up on Zandi; Zandi confides in Tammy that she got her period for the first time; Zandi talks with Tammy over why they have to have it (to have babies "someday"), how the first time can be embarrassing; Zandi says she doesn't think she's ready to have sex ("I'm only 14"); Tammy says "I didn't say you have to have sex.";

Zandi told by Tammy she's going to "notice some changes" in her body, that sometimes a period is a "real hassle"; tells Zandi she "should lie down, and try not to do anything. Sometimes when I've got my period I stay home for a few days. I think it's better."; gives Zandi her sweater to hide the back of her dress; Zandi asking why this had to happen on the day of Avril's party, and where to go for pads (7:05-9:32)

- After school: Zandi goes to drugstore for pads; has a fantasy sequence centering around males having their periods instead of females; Zandi shown as confused over what kind of pads to buy; runs into a male classmate, Peter; Zandi shown as embarrassed when the chemist asks about sanitary pads in front of Peter; Zandi leaves drugstore without buying pads (9:32-10:59)
- Full length of rap song; Zandi at home, soaking her uniform and then crawling into bed while rap song is playing (11:00-11:38)
- Siya shown getting distracted from posting convention forms; playing soccer instead (11:38-12:03)
- At Zola bus: Andre and Hamilton talking, Andre confiding that he hasn't been to a dance party before, and doesn't know how to dance; Hamilton shown teaching Andre how to dance, Avril comes to the bus, asking if either of them have seen Zandi (who was supposed to meet her in the park after school); boys reply that they haven't seen her (12:03-13:17)
- At park: Siya shown forgetting convention forms behind when he leaves (13:18-13:28)
- At All Star's home: All Star shown playing basketball outside; father comes out to ask him about getting ready for his party; All Star says he doesn't feel like going; All-Star taken aside by his father to talk about the party, and what happened in the morning; All Star confides in his father about having had a wet dream; father tells All Star he shouldn't be embarrassed, wet dreams are "a part of growing up," and "happen to every man"; All Star shares that he is scared, and that his friend at school told him he has to have sex; father explains that his friend has his facts "a little mixed up," and that "these dreams are your body's way of telling you that you are becoming a man, that you are able to make children. Your voice will get deeper soon, you'll get more hairy, you'll maybe even have to shave. But that doesn't mean you have to have sex."; father says that All Star shouldn't have sex until married, and that All Star's friend is "really talking nonsense" - going without sex (which every man has done) has "never caused madness"; All-Star admits he doesn't feel ready to have sex, father says he should only have sex if he can "handle the responsibility that goes with it"; All Star says, "That's a relief. Thanks, Dad."; father tells him to always ask if unsure; All Star goes inside to get ready for the party (13:30-15:13)
- At Zandi's: Zandi is in bed wondering what the party would be like, who All Star is going to dance with, and that it's "not fair" that she can't go; "but what if I bleed on my clothes there? It's better not to do anything when you've got your period." (15:14-15:30)
- At Avril's: Avril shown decorating for the party (15:31-15:41)
- At All Star's: All Star shows his father the beginning of a moustache, asks for permission to shave, cuts himself; told by his father to not be embar-

rassed and that he can still go to the party, and that his friends will be impressed (15:42-16:39)

- At Zandi's: mother arrives home and talks to Zandi, asks why she isn't at the party; Zandi confides that she is not well and has started her period; mother tells Zandi that her period is "not a problem. It shows that you are growing up."; Zandi says that she "hates" it, tells her mother about Tammy's advice to "lie down for a few days and not do too much," that she didn't know which pads to get, and that a boy from school came into the chemist, which was "really embarrassing," and that she bled on her dress at school; she shares that "I really want to be at the party."; mother: "I should have explained to you about periods. I've been meaning to tell you. You've just grown so fast."; tells Zandi: "getting your period is strange at first, your body will feel different. There are many changes that are happening in your body. But that doesn't mean you can't do everything you want to do."; tells Zandi to go the party; gives her pads, and tells her not to worry (16:40-18:35)
- At the party: rap singers do chorus of rap song about puberty, others singing, cheering, and dancing along; Tammy invites Mpho to come dance with her, but he declines; All Star is looking around for Zandi, told by Avril and Tammy that maybe she's not coming; All Star asks Karabo to dance (18:36-20:01)
- Zandi arrives, apologizes to Avril; confides that she started her period, and thought that she had to stay at home and couldn't do anything; Avril says, "You can do anything you want to. You just have to get used to the feeling," and says that she's glad Zandi made it (Zandi agrees); both go and join the party; All Star approaches Zandi, says he's been looking for her; she explains she had some things to sort out; Zandi asks about his lip, and is impressed by his shaving; Hamilton dedicates a slow song to All Star, All Star asks Zandi to dance, she agrees, other guests slow dance as well (Mpho is alone on wall) (20:02-21:49)
- Zandi's voiceover while dancing: "I can't believe I nearly didn't come...I would have missed this dance. He smells so nice...at least now I know about periods, and it isn't scary anymore. And you don't have to stay at home. You can do whatever you want to."; All Star's voiceover: "Wow, it's not easy growing up. My first wet dream, my first shave, and my first dance with Zandi. All in one day. Now all I need to sort out is our first kiss." (21:50-22:23)

Rap Song (11:00-11:38)

Everybody goes through changes, you may get pimples, wet dreams and periods, just a sign of growing up

(Everyday we grow up, it's ok to grow up x2)

These changes mustn't stop you from doing the things you like to, it's alright it's normal, it's alright it's normal

(Everyday we grow up, it's ok to grow up x2)

You might feel unusual, uncomfortable, talk about these changes, they happen to the best of us

(Everyday we grow up, it's ok to grow up x2)

Chorus: everyday we grow up, it's natural, so don't you worry, we all go through puberty

Buddy Buzz (22:24-23:47)

- “You must tell someone if you have a problem.”
- “Don't hide your problems, tell someone, tell your parents.”
- “I think what a wet dream is, is when, that it means that a boy is changing, it means that he's now starting to grow older and it means that he's ready to face those changes in life.”
- “I would ask my mother for advice if I had my period for the first time.”
- “I will ask my mum what to do, when I have my first period.”
- “Always listen to your parents and not your friends, because your friends give the wrong advice.”
- “I'm not ready for such things like sex. I'm going to be ready to have sex when I'm married.”
- “Ask your parents first before you ask your friends.”
- “I think it's when you're going through some changes in your life, like you must have because one of these days you want to have a baby, and I think I would ask my mother how to use pads and which pads should I buy.”
- “The parents should teach their children about periods and wet dreams before it actually happens to them so when it happens to them it's not that big shock.”
- “You don't have to stay home in bed all the time because periods is something that happens to every girl.”

Episode 19 (SCIHDC 2000c)

Plot Summary

- At Zola bus: buddyz are celebrating their invitation to the international children's rights convention; begin to work out the logistics of going; plan to see each other at the pool after school tomorrow (voiceover of both Zandi and All-Star: are both looking forward to it) (0:33-3:43)
- That night at All Star's house: father congratulates him and his friends for their efforts to go to the convention; father: “There's something else we need to talk about [...] You're nearly 16, and I think it'll be ok for you to stay at home alone tomorrow night.”; his father has to go out of town for an investigation he's working on; All Star says ok, goes over the safety plan with his father; father tells him he'll leave some money in case; All Star shown thinking: “The whole house to myself on Friday night!” (3:44-4:41)
- At Zandi's: Zandi shown picking out a bathing suit for the pool the next day; through voiceover: mentions that All Star won't care if she wears her school bathing suit; “He's not that kind of guy. He's different. He's special. Must be what love feels like.” (4:42-5:07)
- At the pool the next day: Tammy reading aloud a magazine to Zandi and Avril; passes the magazine to Zandi to read aloud an article; Zandi: “Dear Auntie Agnes, my name is Daphne, and I'm 19 years old. I've been going out with my boyfriend for five years now. [All Star shown walking up be-

hind them] He's tall, dark and handsome, as well as a really nice guy. I really like him, and I feel that I'm ready to sleep with him. I'm just not sure he feels the same way." (5:08-5:57)

- All Star shown walking away; voiceover: "Wow, Zandi wants to sleep with me? Sho, I'd love to. I mean, I've thought about it enough. But am I ready?" (5:57-6:07)
- Zandi shown reading the rest of the article to Avril and Tammy: "I don't want him to think bad things about me. What should I do? Dear Daphne, You need to talk to him. Tell him how you feel. It is always important to communicate with your partner."; Tammy confides that she tried talking to her boyfriend, "and he just said, 'I love you baby, I need you,' and that was that."; both Zandi and Avril evince surprise at Tammy sleeping with Zack; Tammy responds, "Well, sure, don't you sleep with what's his name?"; Zandi replies no, "I don't want to, not yet."; Tammy: "Well you better be careful. If guys don't get what they want, they'll go and get it somewhere else. That's just the way they are."; Zandi says that All Star doesn't want to (then questions this through the voiceover) (6:07-6:52)
- Still at pool: All Star shown confiding in Mpho about what he heard Zandi say; Mpho says that girls don't come right out and say they want sex, "You've got to read between the lines," and that All Star has to sleep with Zandi, or she'll start wondering about him; All Star unsure; Mpho: "You must show her that you're a man. She's ready for you. You just have to find the right time."; All Star shares that his father is going away that night; Mpho considers this the "perfect opportunity"; counsels All Star to get some condoms, invite Zandi over to watch videos, "and there you go"; All-Star shown thinking maybe Mpho's right, and that it is time he and Zandi sleep together; "I mean, Zandi wants to. I heard her." (6:52-7:45)
- Cut back to girls' conversation: Tammy telling Avril and Zandi that she and Zack don't use condoms, because he "doesn't want to," and "doesn't like it"; Avril and Zandi insist that she has to use condoms; Tammy's reaction: "There are ways you can do it without falling pregnant."; Zandi tells her, "That's not true, there's always a chance."; shares a story of a cousin becoming pregnant without using a condom; Tammy's reaction: "Serious?"; Avril shares a similar story about an acquaintance; Zandi then asks, "And what about AIDS?"; Avril and Zandi state they both want to wait to have sex "until much older"; Tammy says she hopes All Star will still like Zandi; Zandi responds: "He likes me now and I haven't slept with him." (7:46-8:29)
- At the pool: Mpho shown bragging to All Star about latest sexual encounter; Siya catches Mpho in a lie, who gets defensive; All Star voiceover: shown doubting Mpho; "I don't know. With Mpho, sometimes I think everything is just a big story." (8:30-9:15)
- In the pool: All Star invites Zandi over to watch videos alone at his house; Zandi says, ok, but that she'll have to ask her mother first, and that she doesn't think her mother will like the idea of Zandi going to his place alone; All Star suggests bending the truth – "We might never get this chance again"; Zandi says, "Ok, I'll see what I can do. I'll phone you later"; All Star replies, "Cool!," kisses her on the cheek, swims off; Zandi voiceover: "I would love to go watch videos with him, we've never been alone

before. I could be with him for hours.”; debates lying to mother (9:16-10:26)

- Zandi, Tammy, All Star, Zack, and Avril shown swimming, playing in the pool (10:26-11:00)
- Leaving the pool: Zandi works it out to sleep over at Avril’s after going to All Star’s; Avril: “It’s really no problem.”; Zandi voiceover: “It’s just a tiny lie. I’ll just go to Avril’s much later. It’s not really a lie.” (11:01-11:45)
- At the pharmacy: All Star shown looking for condoms; confused by variety; in voiceover makes mention of should of having gone to the clinic for free condoms (11:46-12:15)
- Back at Zandi’s: Zandi helping mother put away groceries; asks for permission to go to Avril’s to watch some videos and sleep over; mother agrees; Zandi shown through voiceover technique as feeling guilty for having lied (12:16-13:21)
- All Star and Zandi shown both getting ready for their date; both have a fantasy sequence of being dressed up in a tuxedo/dress for their date, dancing together in a ball room (13:21-15:14)
- Zandi shown leaving her place, saying goodbye to mother (15:15-15:46)
- All Star shown at his house placing condoms around the bedroom and living room (where they “might end up”) (15:47-16:27)
- Zandi arrives; both shown feeling nervous, unsure what to say, and thinking that evening was a mistake (16:28-18:02)
- Later in All Star’s house: Zandi and All Star are kissing on couch in living room; through voiceover technique – different thought processes shown; All Star: “Maybe I should get the condoms out. This is surely the right time.”; Zandi: “He’s the nicest guy in the world. His hands are all over the place. At least I know he won’t try to have sex with me. His kisses are amazing. This must be love.”; All Star: “I think she wants to, I think the time is right.”; Zandi: “This is getting a bit much, maybe we should stop.”; pulls away; All Star tells her, “Don’t worry. It’s ok. I’ve got a condom so we’ll be safe.” [pulls out a condom]; Zandi confused, asks, “What?”; All Star repeats himself; Zandi: “What are you talking about – condoms?”; then understands, and with raised voice: “I don’t want to have sex! I’ve never said I wanted to have sex.”; All Star tries to explain himself; Zandi cuts him off, angry: “Have I ever said I wanted to have sex?”; All Star: “Yes, you have.”; Zandi accuses him of lying; All Star says he overheard her talking with Avril and Tammy at the pool about wanting to sleep with her boyfriend; Zandi: “I didn’t say anything like that.”; also annoyed at All Star’s “spying”; All Star: “Let’s just forget it”; Zandi: “I’d like to forget it. In fact, I’d like to forget you!”; gets up to leave; All Star apologizes, says, “There’s been a misunderstanding – I got it wrong. Please, I’m sorry!”; Zandi: “I feel like I don’t even know you.”; All Star holds that she does, and that he’s “still the same.”; Zandi shakes her head: “Tammy told me boys only want you for sex. But I thought you were different.”; All Star holds he is; Zandi: “Rubbish!”; All Star tries to explain again, Zandi cuts him off: “I don’t care what you thought, I’m going now.”; All Star, now also angry, says, “Fine! Go, I don’t care.”; Zandi leaves (18:10-20:17)
- All Star through voiceover: shown as confused – “I don’t understand it. [throws condom at wall] I thought she wanted me to. I mean, I heard her.

So why is she acting like that?"; sighs; "I was just trying to be a man." (20:18-20:35)

- Zandi walking outside to Avril's; through voiceover: "How could I be so stupid? I lied to my mom. I shouldn't have. I should have never gone there." (20:36-20:43)
- Cut back to All Star in apartment, thinking: "I wasn't even sure that I wanted to do it. And now I've messed everything up. The way she looked at me – it was like, like she hates me." (20:44-20:55)
- Zandi arrives at Avril's; is visibly upset; Avril asks, "Hey, what's wrong? What happened?"; Zandi replies: "All Star. He's just like all the others."; Avril puts her arm around Zandi; Zandi shown thinking: "I thought he was different, he's just like the others. What does he take me for?"; says aloud "I hate him." (20:56-21:49)

Buddy Buzz (21:50-23:03)

- "They are teaching us not to sleep around while we are young."
- "It's good that he bought condoms because if he'd slept with her she could get pregnant and that would be a problem."
- "Girls and boys first have to discuss having sex with each other, because maybe the one don't feels like having sex according to their age."
- "Speak to your partner so you know how they feel. Don't listen to other people."
- "I don't want to have sex now. It's wrong to have sex when you're young."
- "If he loves me he will understand if I don't want to have sex. You can get condoms at the clinic and they don't ask questions."
- "Boys can say no to sex if they don't want to do it."

Episode 20 (SCIHDC 2000c)

Plot Summary

- At All Star's apartment the next morning: All Star welcomes his dad home; shown thinking that he wishes he could talk to his father; voiceover: "How can I tell him I had Zandi here on her own? How can I tell him that I made a complete idiot of myself, and she left? If I tell him I tried to have sex with her, he'll be furious. What a mess." (1:05-1:41)
- Zandi shown walking home, carrying groceries; voiceover: "I can't believe All Star thought I wanted to have sex. Why?"; debates what to do if she sees him, remembers that she will see him at the Soul Buddyz meeting at the bus on Monday; "I don't want to see him. It's over between us." (1:41-2:10)
- After school on Monday: Mpho shown chasing after All Star, who doesn't want to talk to him; All Star explains that "You messed up my relationship with Zandi."; Mpho gets defensive; All Star elaborates: "Always telling me to be a man, you know she wants it. Well, she didn't. Zandi definitely did not want to have sex with me."; Mpho defends himself: "But you told me you heard her say she wanted to."; All Star: "Well maybe I heard wrong. Friday night was the worst night of my life. You and your big mouth, always talking to me about all the women you've been with. I haven't seen you with one woman, not one. So don't give me anymore of your stupid

- advice, ok?"; All Star turns and leaves; Mpho continues after him, "Come on man, All Star, please!", then stops (2:11-2:52)
- After school, walking through the park: Zandi shown overhearing Tammy yelling "Zack you can't just walk away from this! What are you doing? Come back!" as Zack walks away from Tammy; Zandi asks Tammy what's wrong; Tammy eventually confides that her life is "a complete mess," and that she thinks she's pregnant; confides that she's "so scared. And Zack was so horrible when I told him. He was the one who said that I should sleep with him or else he'd break up with me. He was the one who said we shouldn't use a condom. And now it's my problem."; Zandi tries to speak, Tammy cuts her off, saying, "If I'm pregnant, I don't know what I'll do. I'd have to leave school and my parents would freak."; Zandi counsels her to wait, "You don't know anything for sure. You need to have the test to be sure."; offers to go to the clinic with her, Tammy agrees (2:53-4:52)
 - Meanwhile: All Star shown running around looking for Zandi; voiceover: "Where is she? I've been everywhere. And she's not even at the park. She's probably trying to avoid me. I have to find her and sort this out. Maybe she's at the bus. Please let her be at the bus." (4:53-5:07)
 - At the clinic: Tammy and Zandi are checking in; Zandi sees Andre, who is at the clinic because he broke his arm; when asked, Zandi tells Andre she can't go to the Soul Buddyz meeting at the bus because she has "something I've got to sort out"; Andre leaves; Zandi sits with Tammy to wait, thinking at least she won't have to see All Star at the bus; Zandi tells Tammy to relax, who replies that she's "so scared"; Zandi's voiceover: "I hope she's not pregnant. She'll have to give up school. It's not fair. Boys and girls have sex but only girls get pregnant." (5:08-6:20)
 - Rap song (6:20-6:58)
 - At the bus: Andre explains how he has to have a cast on for six weeks; mentions to the group (Jerome, Hamilton, Siya, and All Star) that he saw Zandi at the clinic, who said that "she wouldn't be able to make it today"; All Star's voiceover: "I knew it. She's avoiding me."; Jerome asks why not, Andre replies, "She said she had something to do. But she seemed a bit upset."; All Star's voiceover: "The clinic? What's she doing at the clinic? Something must be wrong."; group starts to discuss the logistics of getting to the children's convention; All Star's voiceover: "I have to speak to Zandi. Why is she gone to the clinic? Something must be wrong. I have to go and find her." (6:59-7:43)
 - At the clinic: Tammy shown with nurse Bettina, providing details about her last period; Bettina mentions that she needs to take a test to be sure, and that the results won't take long; Tammy says aloud, "I don't know what I'll do if I'm pregnant."; Bettina counsels, "Lets first find out. Then we can take it from there." (7:44-8:14)
 - Zandi shown in waiting room, thinking, "If I'd slept with All Star this could be me. If I had a baby now..." Zandi then has a fantasy sequence about having a baby at her age; shown in class, at school, taking care of a baby alone, and not being able to do her work or hang out with peers; Zandi then shown thinking, "I've got my whole life to have babies. I don't want one now. I don't want sex, especially after what Sol told us about

HIV and AIDS. If All Star doesn't understand that then it's over." (8:15-9:23)

- Back at the bus: group is still working out how to get to the convention; All Star gets up to leave: "Sorry guys, I just remembered I have to go. I have to meet someone at the clinic. I'll catch up with you later."; takes off; other buddy's are puzzled; Siya tells the group "Something's going on with Zandi," and that she's "been acting weirdly all weekend. I think she went to All Star's house on Friday."; Jerome shrugs, saying that she told him she went to Avril's; Siya replies, "That was later, after she went to All Star's house."; Andre: "Aha! All Star's dad wasn't at home."; Hamilton confirms; Jerome asks what they're saying; Hamilton: "Well, think about it. She was with All Star on Friday alone. And now, Zandi's been acting funny all weekend. And now All-Star's also acting strange. And then Zandi has gone to the clinic. And then All Star said, he's going to the clinic. It's obvious."; Jerome asks, "What's obvious?"; Hamilton replies: "Zandi is pregnant!"; Siya, Andre, and Jerome are shown with shocked faces (9:24-10:33)
- At the clinic: Tammy and Zandi are still waiting for test results; All Star arrives, approaches the girls; All Star tells Zandi "I need to speak to you. Alone. Please?"; Zandi agrees, and the two go out into the hallway (10:34-11:28)
- At the bus: the buddy's are shown arguing about the means of conception; Jerome says, "And anyways, Zandi wouldn't have sex with All Star. She always said she'll wait until she's much older."; other characters continue to share hearsays over pregnancy and sex; Jerome: "Ah, come on you guys. If you don't believe me, let's go to the clinic, so Sister Bettina will give us the facts."; others agree (11:28-12:05)
- Back at the clinic: Zandi and All Star shown talking about what happened; All-Star apologizes, "I obviously misunderstood the situation."; Zandi: "You did. Tell me, did I ever give you the idea I want to have sex?" All Star: "Well-"; Zandi continues: "I've got my whole life ahead of me. Look at Tammy. Do you think what she's going through is nice?"; All Star asks if she's pregnant, to which Zandi responds that she promised she wouldn't say anything; Zandi: "I'm not ready to have sex. And I'm not ready to have a baby either. I'd have to leave school, take care of a small child when I'm still so young, and there's the risk of HIV. [other buddy's shown walking in, and overhearing conversation] I'm too young to have a baby, All Star."; Hamilton speaks out: "You see? I told you!"; Zandi asks what they're doing at the clinic; buddy's share that they thought Zandi must be pregnant; again start arguing over the means of conception; Sister Bettina overhears and interrupts, and orders everyone plus Tammy into the conference room (12:06-13:17)
- In the conference room: Sister Bettina: "We are going to talk about sex."; starts animated sex video (13:18-13:32)
- Sex video entitled "Know the Facts": two young characters, a boy and a girl, appear; girl: "My friends talk about sex all the time. Except, my friends don't even know what they're talking about most of the time [...] There are some areas of your body that are very sensitive."; boy and girl character kiss; "When a girl gets aroused, her vagina gets wet. When a boy gets aroused, his penis gets erect."; ... (unwatchable); Boy character: "It is

never harmful for boys or girls to stop after feeling aroused”; (Bettina pauses the video, asks if everyone’s understanding so far; everyone nods, so she continues the video); boy character: “Lydia and I both want to stop here. We aren’t ready for sex. We aren’t married, or old enough.”; girl character: “Sex is not something to rush into. Many people feel that sex is so important that you should only have sex once you are married. And that it’s best to have sex when you have a loving relationship. That is why sex is called making love. There are many diseases like HIV/AIDS that you can get from sex. There’s also a chance that you could get pregnant. So lots of people wait until they are much older before they have sex.”; boy character introduces older couple: “This is Sam and Rose. They’re married, and love each other very much. They’ve been kissing and touching, and now feel ready to have sex, but they don’t want to have a baby. So, they use a condom. Sam’s penis is erect, so he puts on a condom like this.” [Sam demonstrates]; girl character: “Then, Sam puts his penis inside Rose’s vagina. After some time, Sam and Rose have orgasms. It’s a special feeling. When Sam has an orgasm, he releases semen, with sperm in it. Because he was wearing a condom, the sperm and semen can’t go into Rose’s vagina. So they’re both safe from any disease, and Rose won’t fall pregnant!”; boy character: “Before his penis shrinks, Sam removes the condom carefully, and throws it away, in a rubbish bin.” [Sam demonstrates]; girl character: “If they hadn’t used a condom, the semen would go up Rose’s vagina, and try to find an egg. Then, Rose would be pregnant.”; [physiological demonstration]; boy character: “That’s why you shouldn’t take chances. Sex is special, but it is dangerous if you’re too young and not prepared.”; girl character: “Making love is worth waiting for.”; boy character: “Don’t rush into it, and don’t be persuaded into doing it by anyone else.”; girl character: “There’s so many changes when you’re young, and so much growing up to do.”; boy character: “There’s so much to learn about your body, and the opposite sex.”; girl character: “It’s exciting!”; boy character: “And a little scary.”; girl character: “Just remember though-” boy character: “It’s your body.”; girl character: “And what you do with it will be with you for the rest of your life.” (13:33-19:38)

- Video over; Bettina asks if everything’s clear (everyone nods yes); Bettina reconfirms the facts about sex and conception; asks Tammy to come with her (19:39-20:19)
- Tammy and Sister Bettina are alone, Bettina has Tammy’s test results (20:19-20:32)
- Zandi and All Star are shown walking out of the conference room together, All Star’s arm around Zandi’s shoulders; All Star: “I really did hear you say that you want to sleep with me. At the pool.”; Zandi smiles and sighs; All Star continues: “I just walked past, and I heard you.”; Zandi: “Silly, I was reading letters from a magazine. There was a 19-year-old girl who’d written in. She was in that situation. I was just reading her letter aloud.”; All Star sighs, “I thought that was you, I thought that was what you wanted.”; Zandi: “You thought wrong.”; All-Star admits, “I wasn’t even sure if I wanted to do it myself. But then I heard that, and I was confused. Then Mpho told me you wouldn’t think I was a man. I thought you’d look down at me. That I had to prove myself.”; Zandi says: “All Star,

I like you. I like you for who you are. You didn't have to prove anything to me. You could have spoken to me. You should have asked me. I thought we could talk about anything.”; All Star: “I know, I know. I was stupid.”; Zandi: “I suppose I should have spoken to you the other night instead of running out. I'm sorry too.”; All Star proposes a deal: “If either of us wants to have sex, we'll talk about it to each other.”; Zandi agrees, and the two hug (20:33-20:41)

- Tammy arrives in the waiting room, calls Zandi over; Zandi asks if Tammy got the results, Tammy, smiling, replies yes, “It's negative – I'm not pregnant!”; Zandi smiles; Tammy sighs, “I can't believe I've been so stupid. I still have to wait for the HIV results though. I am never going to have sex again, not until I'm married.”; sighs, continues: “And I thought it was no big deal. But I realize now that I'm just too young. Oh!”; Zandi and Tammy hug; Zandi voiceover: “Tammy isn't pregnant. All-Star and I made up. I just hope Tammy's HIV test is negative. Everything's going to be ok.”; All Star voiceover: “Being a teenager can be really hard. I mean me and Zandi, it was like we weren't even on the same planet. At least she doesn't hate me anymore. It helps when you talk to each other and know the facts. It's the only way to get through all of this stuff.” (21:41-22:37)

Rap Song (6:20-6:58)

A: Abstain – don't have sex, wait til you're ready, even til you're married or

B: be faithful – stick to one partner, or

C: condomize – don't compromise

Don't sleep around; love does not equal sex; not having it will not make you mad; having sex does not make you a man; so

A: Abstain – don't have sex, wait til you're ready, even til you're married or

B: be faithful – stick to one partner, or

C: condomize – don't compromise (x2)

All those who said I don't shower with a raincoat don't know what they're saying, man; Hear what I'm saying? Listen to her when she says no.

Are you listening? (x4)

Buddy Buzz (22:37-23:36)

- “Teenagers should know about pregnancy and they must communicate.”
- “It's good to know more about sex before you do it.”
- “If nurses understand teenagers, they can talk to us and not criticize us.”
- “Nurses should advise teenagers on safe sex when they go and get condoms so the teenagers can decide whether or not to have sex.”

Appendix 3

Print Material Notes

Notes on Unit 6 of Print Material

“Zandi & All Star’s Story: Growing Up Can Be Fun!” (Clacherty 2000: 51-64)

p. 51 – **cover page: “Zandi & All Star’s Story: Growing Up Can be Fun!”**

- Listed objectives for this unit: “By the end of this unit you will: know the facts about your changing body and about sex; be able to practice being assertive; value the importance of waiting until you are ready before having sex”
p. 52 – **“Zandi’s Story”**
- Short comic strip synopsis of Zandi’s story in episode 11 (about starting her period, and attending Avril’s party)
p. 53 – **“All Star’s Story”**
- Short comic strip synopsis of All Star’s story in episode 11 (about starting to shave, and attending Avril’s party)
- At end of All-Star’s story: are a set of comprehension questions about the two strips (“Why were Zandi and All Star looking forward to Avril’s party? What happened that nearly stopped Zandi going to the party? What did Zandi’s mom teach her about periods? What is happening to All Star and Zandi? Have you had any of the experiences that they have in this story?”)
p. 54 – **“What’s Happening to Me?”**
- Section on puberty changes; right underneath title: “Have you ever heard the word puberty? From when you are about 11 or younger and up to 18 or older, your body begins to change. It is no longer a child’s body, and it is becoming an adult’s body. This time of changing is called puberty. Some of you may have begun to change and some of you may not have noticed any changes yet. That’s OK, everyone grows at different times.”
- On the right hand side is a picture of Tammy and Zandi sitting and facing each other, with Zandi saying, “My body is changing. I don’t know who I am anymore.”
- Underneath is a diagram entitled “What changes?,” with an illustrated naked male and female youth, looking down at their bodies; the biological changes associated with puberty are listed, with arrows pointing to the relevant body part (e.g. “Your penis and testes get bigger”; “Pubic hair starts to grow”; “Your breasts begin to grow – sometimes they are different sizes at first!”)
- Underneath diagram, between the youths, is the statement: “Remember! Breasts and penises are lots of different shapes and sizes so what ever yours look like – that’s OK!”
p. 55 – two associated activities listed
- Activity 1 entitled “What about you?”, to “make a small book that’s for your eyes only” to document bodily changes

- Activity 2 entitled “Aaaagh this is me...!”, to draw a “FUNNY picture of yourself and label what you think are the good points and the bad points about your body.”
- On the right side of this activity is an illustration of Avril looking straight at the reader, captioned as saying, “Things are new and sometimes strange...your body doesn’t feel your own...but just remember you’ll get used to your new body.”
p. 56 – **“Here’s Straight Talk About You!”**
- Diagram and description of male sex organs; “Most of the time the penis is small and soft. When a man is stimulated blood flows to the penis and it becomes large and erect. The size of a man’s penis is not important, because when it is erect most penises are the same size.”; “Urine and sperm pass through the urethra.”; “A man has two testes. From puberty the testes produce male sex cells called sperm.”; “When a man is sexually excited blood flows to the penis and it becomes large and erect. If he has sex or masturbates then some sperm get carried up in fluid called semen. The semen is squirted out of the penis during climax (or ejaculation).”
- Diagram and description of female sex organs; “A woman has two ovaries. This is where hundreds of tiny eggs are made. The eggs are called ova.”; “After puberty, each month one egg (an ovum) travels along the fallopian tube to the uterus. The uterus is where a baby grows if an egg is fertilized.”; “The penis goes in the vagina during sex. Babies leave the mother’s body through the vagina when they are born.”; “Near the front of the vulva is the clitoris. The clitoris is very sensitive and important for sexual pleasure.”
p. 57 – Activity 3 entitled “Celebrating growing up,” about talking together in class “about the different ways your families celebrate the fact that you are growing up.”; illustration of Avril, looking at reader, captioned as saying, “People say a lot of incorrect things. It’s important to know the facts about your body and sex.”
- Underneath: an explanation of conception and menstruation; “After a woman has reached puberty, one egg is released every month from the ovary. This egg travels down the fallopian tube and then two things can happen... 1. If a man and a woman have sex without a condom then the sperm from the man are in the woman’s uterus and swim upwards looking for an egg. If a sperm meets an egg, the egg will be fertilized. This usually happens in the fallopian tube. Then the fertilized egg moves to the uterus and grows into a baby.”; “2. If a man and a woman don’t have sex or if they use a condom, there will be no sperm in the uterus. Then the egg passes through the fallopian tube and uterus and out of the body. The egg is too small to see. After two weeks the body realizes that there is no baby and so the soft lining of the uterus leaves the body. This is the blood of periods or menstruation. Menstruation happens every month (every 28-35 days). If a woman gets pregnant she stops having periods until she has the baby.”
- To the right: explanation of masturbation, what it means and falsehoods surrounding it; mention of how “It’s normal if you do it and normal if you don’t.”

- In bottom right hand corner: statement that “When you decide you are ready for sex it is important that it is safe sex [in bold]. Safe sex is protecting yourself from pregnancy and diseases like HIV/AIDS. One way of doing this is to use a condom.”
p. 58 – **“Eeek! Periods and Wet Dreams”**
- Explanation of what wet dreams are; in bold: “Wet dreams are not a sign that a boy must have sex.”
- To the left: illustration of a male friend telling Andre, “I’ve heard that if you have a wet dream your body is telling you it is time to have sex.”, stamped as “Not true!”
- Underneath explanation of wet dreams: description of “A true story!” of a boy’s experience of having a wet dream, who talked to his older cousin about it; at the end of the story are two questions: “Who did Jared talk to about sex?” and “Do you have someone you can talk to?”, followed by: “Sometimes it is hard to talk to parents, and friends don’t always give us reliable information. If you feel you cannot talk to your parents, think about someone else you can talk to. Try to find a sensible person who you can trust. Older brothers and sisters or other relatives may be good people to talk to.”
- In the bottom left corner is Activity 4 entitled “Who do you believe?” about comparing information about sex from peers and from “someone older,” so as to explore whether the information received from peers is true
p. 59 – Explanation of menstruation; in bold: “Between 11 and 16 years old girls begin to menstruate”; mention of how it is “part of being a woman – you will get used to it,” and what to do “if you are worried about menstruation” (“talk to your mom or older girls” and “buy some sanitary pads”); mention of how “When you have a period you can do all the activities you usually do.”;
- Illustration to the left of Zandi and Tammy talking together, Tammy saying, “I’ve heard that you only get your period when you’ve slept with a boy.”; stamped as “Not true!”
- Underneath illustration and explanation of periods: description of “A true story!” of a girl getting her first period; mention of how it felt “strange,” and how “You don’t know what you are anymore – whether you’re an adult or a child.”; concludes with considering menstruation as “something that can be a problem but it’s also something that is great. Because if we didn’t menstruate there wouldn’t be any babies!”
- To the right of the story is Activity 5 entitled “Growing up is fun,” to “Remind yourself of the good things about growing up. List all the things you are looking forward to and things you can do now that you could not do when you were younger.”
p. 60 – **“Falling in Love”**
- Underneath title: “As you grow up one of the nicest things that happens is that you fall in love. Being in love can be wonderful. But it can also bring confused feelings, especially about sex.”
- Right underneath: four different captions about sex; top left-hand caption – “My friend says that if I don’t have sex with my boyfriend he will not

love me anymore and will leave me.” (stamped as “Not true!”) – explanation underneath: “You can love your boyfriend and choose not to have sex with him. If your boyfriend loves you he will respect your decision”; top right-hand caption – “I’ve heard that boys can’t control their sex urges!” (stamped as “Not true!”) – explanation underneath: “Boys and girls can [in bold] control their sex urges. Many, many people do.”; bottom left-hand caption – “I need to have sex with a girl to show that I’m a man.” (stamped as “Not true!”) – explanation underneath: “Often boys pressurize girls into having sex because they think this will impress their friends. This is not a good reason to have sex.”; bottom right-hand caption – “Only girls get pressured into having sex when they are not ready.” (stamped as “Not true!”) – explanation underneath: “Boys also get pressured into sex when they aren’t ready. They can get pressured by their girlfriends and other boys. It’s not OK for friends to pressure a boy or girl to have sex.”

- Underneath the four captions is Activity 6, entitled “Sex and love?” about having a “class discussion about sex and love”
 - To the right of the activity is the statement that “You should not have sex until you are a young adult. Your body and your emotions are not ready for it. Sex is special. Don’t rush it. You should only do it when you are in a loving long-term relationship.”
- p. 61 – Top of page: “From talking to friends and watching TV it seems that everyone has sex all the time. This is not true! Lots of people wait until they are older or even married before they have sex.”
- Picture of Gugu, age 20, occupation – student; caption: “I might not wait till I’m married but I won’t do it until I feel comfortable. I’ve been going out with my boyfriend for a year. We kiss and hug and touch but we don’t have sex. There are lots of ways to get close to a boy without having sex.”
 - Picture of Andrew, age 18, occupation – “working to earn money so he can study later”; caption: “I’m a Christian so I believe in no sex before marriage. Christians use the bible as a guideline and the bible says God created sex for marriage between a husband and a wife that love each other. I think sexual feelings are natural and I have a girlfriend but if you love that person, why not commit, marry that person and then have sex within marriage.”
 - Picture of Thandiwe, age 17, occupation – learner at school; caption: “I don’t think sex when you are too young is a good idea because of pregnancy when you’re still a teenager – it stops your whole life. And AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases out there – it’s not safe with the whole thing. I have a boyfriend. You can get pleasure from things other than sex. Like sports, spending time together, watching TV going to the movies or to a club. Before you even go out, you must tell him that ‘OK, I don’t mind you doing this or doing that but I’m not ready for sex.’ You just have to talk about it. I do have other friends who feel the same as me.”
 - Statement at the bottom of page of how “Some people fall in love with people of the same sex. Everyone has a right to be different and we need to respect this difference.”

p. 62 – **“Not Ready for Sex and That’s OK!”**

- Underneath title to the right: “Zandi and All Star don’t feel ready for sex but they do like to hug and kiss and dance slow dances together. You may not feel ready for this either. That’s OK too. You don’t have to do anything until you feel ready.”
 - Underneath title to the left: picture of Zandi and All Star sitting and facing each other, with Zandi saying: “I don’t want to have sex with you – I want to wait till I’m older.”
 - To the right of the illustration is a subsection entitled “Putting on the pressure”: “What do you do if you have decided that you want to wait to have sex but you go out with someone who is pressurizing you? Sometimes it is difficult to make someone realize you are serious and do not want sex. This is when you need to be assertive. Look at the next page for ideas about being assertive.”
 - Illustration of All Star skateboarding, looking at reader, saying: “It’s not [in bold] OK to force a girl to have sex! I think a real man has respect for a girl.”
 - To the left of the illustration of All Star skating is Activity 7, entitled “A good relationship,” involving group work; “Make sure you have boys and girls in the group. Talk together about what you think makes a good relationship.”
 - In the bottom right corner of the page is the statement of “When you are older and you decide you are ready for sex, make sure you have safe sex – use a condom.”
- p. 63 – **“Being Assertive”**
- Underneath title: “If you are assertive, you stand up for your rights without being aggressive. You are confident but not pushy. You respect yourself and other people. Assertiveness is not something we all learn as we are growing up, especially if you are a girl. So you need to practice it. Activity 8 shows you how to give an assertive message to someone who is pushing you.”
 - Activity 8 entitled “Give an assertive message”; consists of role playing an outlined scenario, and also “making up an assertive message” for other listed situations