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**MASCULINITY, POWER, SEXUAL NEGOTIATION AND
AIDS:
A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.**

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ABSTRACT

This study focusses on the relationship between masculinity, power, sexuality and AIDS. It examines how discursive positioning within discourses of sexuality and masculinity affects the way heterosexual men negotiate safer sex. Four groups of sexually active men aged 17-28 were constituted to discuss masculinity, sexual negotiation and AIDS. A vignette was used to prompt discussion. The resulting audio-taped leaderless men-only group discussions were analysed, using Hollway's interpretative discourse analysis, which draws on a post-structuralist theory of discourse, especially as articulated by Foucault. In the accounts, it appeared that, firstly, the sexual drive discourse and male sexual drive discourse; and secondly, the discourses of sexual performance and potency, are the discourses offering subject positions which most directly impede the practice of safer sex. Negotiating safer sex interrupts the impetus of the "passion" of the sexual drive. Further, it threatens the imperatives of successful "performance" which entail erection, penetration, ejaculation, and responsibility for the woman's orgasm. Rationalisations for avoiding negotiating safer sex were also offered within the discourses of mood-breaking, trust/mistrust, and stigma. Discourses present tended to embody an ideology of male dominance within the sexual sphere, reinforcing theories which suggest that gendered power relations in society present a major stumbling block to safer sex. Although discourses were similar across the groups, there were contradictory discourses within the groups which were voiced by particular individuals. It is suggested that core requirements of HIV education for men would be, firstly, depictions of alternative versions of masculinity and images of sexual practice which incorporated shared responsibility and questioned the "naturalness" of dominant constructions of heterosexuality; and secondly, the provision of safe spaces in which men may be able to reflexively explore their own sexuality and begin to imagine new ways of experiencing sexual relationships.

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What makes you a man...

First of all my penis... [laughter]

That one is given. [laughter] (Group Two)

[section left out] ... makes a man. Is it man, man because we have a penis, or MAN like Camel Man, you know? (Group Four)

I'm happy I've got a prick, basically. (Group Three)

The individual body should be seen as the most immediate. the proximate terrain where social truths and social contradictions are played out, as well as a locus of personal and social resistance, creativity and struggle (Scheper-Hughes and Lock, 1988, p. 31).

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study is placed in the area of gender, sexuality, and the negotiation of intimacy in heterosexuality. The context of this is the need for “safer sex” in a rapidly growing AIDS epidemic in South Africa (Schoub et al, 1990). More specifically, it asks the question whether the social construction of masculinity operates as a stumbling block to negotiation of safer sex within heterosexual relationships. The study is an extension of an earlier study (Miles, 1991, Miles, 1993), in which the author examined questions of how the social construction of sexuality, and gendered discourses of sexuality, impact on practices of safer sex. That study was done from the perspective of women, using women in women-only groups as research informants. The present study examines these questions from the perspective of men, using four groups of male discussants as research participants.

1.1 Rationale

The rationale for the study is, in the light of the rapidly rising and predominantly heterosexual transmission of HIV infection in South Africa (Schoub et al, 1990; Abdool Karim et al, 1992; Epidemiological Comments, 1995), the pressing need to encourage long term change in sexual behaviour among heterosexual adults towards the incorporation of safer sex practices.¹ Human sexual behaviour is not easily amenable to change. In particular, it appears that heterosexual

¹See Strebel (1993) for a summary of patterns of the AIDS epidemic, with special reference to Africa and South Africa.

resistant to practicing safer sex than women (Holland et al, 1990). Men may feel that using a condom, or practising forms of sex other than penetrative intercourse, goes against their sense of masculine identity (Kimmel and Levine, 1992; Miles, 1993). The study aims to explore some of the elements of the social construction of masculinities in the South African context, with a view to making visible some of those which appear to impede the consistent use of safer sex practices among young men. The broader aim would be to bring a greater sensitivity to strategies for developing appropriate HIV education and prevention in various South African contexts. An underlying question (or rather, quest), would be to explore the possibilities of alternative forms of masculinity, which would allow men to be more open to negotiation with their sexual partners for safer sex, and to different forms of sexual relationships with women.

1.2 Gender and sexuality

A fundamental assumption of this study is that gender is socially and culturally constructed, and thus located within specific cultural, historical and class contexts (Tiefer, 1987; Weeks, 1986). Inequalities based on gender pervade every aspect of the society. These inequalities have to do with the ways in which the society differentially reproduces gendered subjectivities of masculinity and femininity, which perpetuate existing power structures in society. Sexuality is one of the fields in which gendered power relations are played out. Sexual practice—what people actually do in sex—is, in the light of this study, not biologically determined, as has often been assumed in the past, but strongly influenced by the social construction of sexuality, and thus the power relations which are part of this (Segal, 1987; Tiefer, 1987; Weeks, 1986).

At the heart of the social construction of gender, and of sexuality, is the polarisation in western culture between masculinity and femininity. Men's sexuality is seen as essentially different from women's, indeed "...heterosexual masculinity hinges on demonstrable sexual orientation and distancing from perceived femininity" (Kimmel, 1987, p. 19; Segal, 1990). Masculine sexuality is informed by a range of imperatives, which are continually reinforced in the popular media, in pornography, in education about sexuality, and in the biomedical discourses of sexuality (Brittan, 1989; Segal, 1987; Segal, 1990). Heterosexuality is institutionalised as the only form of "normal" sexuality, and "real" sex as "penetration of the vagina by the penis" (Holland et al, 1990, p. 340),

with other forms of sexuality usually relegated to the field of “foreplay”. Heterosexual men are expected to “perform” sexually. This usually means getting and maintaining an erection in order to “satisfy” their sexual partner. While male sexuality is assumed to be an uncontrollable, biologically driven force essentially unconnected with emotions, which women are expected to yield to, or to keep at bay, female sexuality is constructed in a variety of contradictory ways. On the one hand, it is seen as passive, submissive, receptive, and tied up with romantic love; or connected with reproduction; or, on the other hand, feared as a dangerously insatiable force (Bland, 1983; Coveney et al, 1984). Women are expected to be the keepers of sexual morality. Men are expected to take the initiative in sexuality, to be more easily and quickly aroused than women, and more easily satisfied. Men’s sense of themselves as “men” is bound up very tightly with their sexuality (Segal, 1990; Tiefer, 1992), while, as Holland et al. (1990) note, there is a “lack of a clear female heterosexual identity” (p. 340). Homosexuality is seen as deviant, and sexuality itself is informed by underlying associations of guilt and shame inherited from the Judeo-Christian tradition. As Wilton and Aggleton (1991) observe, “the dominant heterosexual culture is predicated not only on homophobia, but erotophobia” (p. 152).

1.3 Masculinity

A large body of literature on masculinity has appeared with the new “men’s studies”, a field which has developed in the past two decades as an adjunct to feminist and gender studies (Kimmel, 1987). It is beyond the scope of this project to review this literature here. However, a few comments about the concept of “masculinity” are appropriate.

Drawing on feminist post-structuralist philosophy (Gavey, 1989; Weedon, 1987), central to this study is the notion that “masculinity” is not unitary or fixed. Rather, it is multiple and shifting through class, context, and period (Kimmel, 1987). Hearn and Morgan (1990) argue that assuming “taken-for-granted” understandings of masculinity may lead to reification of the concept of masculinity, and they argue for the use of the term “masculinities” (p. 9), as do Brittan (1989), and Segal (1990). Thus, although broadly speaking, a dominant ideal of masculinity, which Connell (1990) calls “*hegemonic masculinity*, the culturally idealized form of masculine character” (p. 8) may be described, a plurality of “masculinities” exists, which “stand in com-

plex relations of dominance over and subordination to each other" (p. 8). These relations of power are informed by variables such as class, race, and age.

Roper and Tosh (1990) emphasise that "...masculinity (like femininity) is a *relational construct*, incomprehensible apart from the totality of gender relations; and that it is shaped in relation to men's social power" (p. 2). Kimmel (1987) suggests that "...masculinity is constructed in part by differentiating it from femininity" (p. 16), and that "...definitions of masculinity are historically reactive to changing definitions of femininity" (p. 14). In confirmation, Segal (1990), argues that the force of dominant ideals of masculinity derives, not from inherent characteristics of individual men, but from "the social meanings which accrue to these ideals from their supposed superiority to that which they are not" (Preface, p. x). Masculinity is defined in opposition to that which is seen as "other", and inferior, for example, femininity, homosexuality and ethnic difference. Further, central to hegemonic forms of masculinity is the institutional entrenchment of male power. Segal (1990) states that

'Masculinity'...is best understood as transcending the personal, as a heterogeneous set of ideas, constructed around assumptions of social *power* which are lived out and reinforced, or perhaps denied and challenged, in multiple and diverse ways within a whole social system in which relations of authority, work and domestic life are organised, in the main, along hierarchical gender lines. (p. 288)

From the point of view of social constructionism, sexual identities are not fixed, therefore may be reconstructed, hence the possibility of alternative forms of masculinity. Vance (1984), however, cautions against a simplistic interpretation of social construction theory in which sexuality is thought to be easily constructed or deconstructed at the social or personal level. As Segal (1990) points out, the gendered economic, social and political structures of contemporary society render change difficult. However, she suggests that it is understanding the differences between "masculinities" which is crucial to attempts to change the dominant forms of masculinity; and, in her view, change is possible.

1.4 AIDS, stigma and the Other

The social construction of AIDS is an important factor within the complicated picture of sexuality and sexual practices. AIDS has accrued a set of associations of contamination and pollution, marking the difference between "those" people or groups who are supposedly susceptible to HIV infection because of their behaviour, and the "general public" who are not. These negative associations have become bound up with the traditional notion of sex itself as evil and polluting, and certain practices as especially stigmatic (Retief, 1992). Gilman (1988) and Showalter (1992) analyse the history of the iconographic links between the construction of AIDS as a sexually transmitted disease and syphilis. The phenomenon of AIDS, as a "symbolic sexual disease" (Showalter, 1992, p. 190) has given rise to a discourse of "Other" in the HIV/AIDS context, in which so-called "high-risk" groups, usually marginalised groups with less power such as homosexuals, IV drug users and prostitutes, are thought to be more likely to be infected and infectious than the "general public". The Other is by definition contaminated and thus stigmatised. AIDS as a cultural metaphor has become the focus for multiple sexual and moral anxieties around stigma and contamination (Churchill, 1990). These anxieties inform the discourses present in the conversations of the men in this study.

1.5 AIDS, gender and power

Gendered power relations are fundamental to the negotiation of safer sex. The social construction of gender and sexuality inevitably informs sexual practice with regard to AIDS, in itself, as discussed above, the site of a nexus of sexual and social meanings (Watney, 1989; Aggleton and Homans, 1988; Gilman, 1988, Sontag 1988). Because women are in a subordinate position with relation to men, in many social contexts it may be difficult or impossible for a woman to insist on safer sex with a man who is, for whatever reason, unwilling to practise it (Holland et al, 1990, 1991; Richardson, 1990; Patton, 1989). It is often difficult, for example, for a woman to suggest the use of a condom to a man for a range of reasons connected with the power relations of gender. For instance, the woman may fear being seen as "easy" if she carries condoms (Richardson, 1990; Wight, 1992). Economic dependence also constrains women's ability to

enforce safer sex practices (Richardson, 1990; Miles et al, 1992). The man may react to the suggestion of condom use with hostility or even violence, thinking that the woman is implying that he has AIDS, thus imputing a lack of control that goes against his sense of his masculinity (Miles, 1993; Wilton and Aggleton, 1991). Furthermore, condoms are in some contexts seen as a threat to masculinity because they are contraceptives and as such go against a desire on the part of men to prove their fertility (Barrett et al, 1985). They also go against the experience of "flesh-to-flesh" which is seen as an essential part of "real" sex (Miles, 1991). And because masculine sexual identity is so bound up with sexual "performance", forms of sexual pleasure alternative to penetrative intercourse would also tend to be seen as not sufficient to constitute "real sex" and therefore might not be considered by men (Wilton and Aggleton, 1991).

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Subjectivity, discourse and positioning

The methodology is based on Hollway's (1984, 1989) "interpretative discourse analysis", which can be placed in the broad category of the postmodern paradigm of research. This methodology draws on a post-structuralist theory of discourse, especially as articulated by Foucault. Post-structuralist theories share a critique of the unitary individual of liberal humanism, the subject traditionally at the heart of psychology. In a poststructuralist view, subjectivity is discursively produced through language in specific historical and cultural contexts. Thus what it means to be feminine or masculine will be different within different social contexts (but will evidence traces of historically earlier constructions).

In this theory, discourses are (primarily) linguistic structures of meaning, which inform the subjectivity of individuals, and enable patterns of behaviour and differential positions of power to be taken up by the individuals who have become invested in particular discourses. Discourses are multiple, contradictory, and often sites of antagonistic meaning (Macdonnell, 1986). They are intrinsically linked with power relations. The Foucauldian notion of power works as a multiply defined network of relations rather than a binary system. Foucault (1981) states that sexuality is an "especially dense transfer point for relations of power" (p. 103). Power, then, can be found in the discursive production of social relations, and a particularly contested site of power is gender relations.

In poststructuralist theory, the subject is constituted within language, rather than existing as an "author of meanings" prior to language. Individuals become positioned in discourses and these work to produce their subjectivity. Positioning in particular discourses is influenced by an individual's particular life history, but the range of possibilities of positioning is socially determined (Haug, 1987). According to Hollway, psychological needs or investments motivate positioning in specific discourses. This positioning may be contradictory, however. It is contradiction which, in Hollway's view, offers the possibility of social change in that this makes resistance to dominant discourses possible through the production of oppositional discourses or different forms of knowledge.

2.2 Data and methods

2.2.1 Participants

In this study, four groups of sexually active men were constituted to discuss issues around masculinity, sexual negotiation and HIV. Ages ranged from 17 to 28. Three of the groups were drawn from the student body at the University of Cape Town, and another consisted of a group of young men of varied occupations. One of the key criteria in the formation of the groups was that individuals should already know one another, in order that ease of discussion be facilitated. This criterion was met in all of the groups. I obtained the groups through an active process of word-of-mouth: talking to classes of students at UCT; making contact with UCT's Students' Representative Council; through an acquaintance in the faculty of science; and through talking to people whom I thought might take an interest in the study.

Group One was a group of postgraduate students from a department in the science faculty, three white and one black,¹ who were already constituted within that department as an informal friendship group; Group Two was a group of five black undergraduate students drawn from the student administration services, all of whom knew one another; Group Three (the youngest on average) a group of white men who met regularly for recreational purposes; and Group Four a group of four white undergraduate students who had known each other since primary school,

¹The term "black" here refers to the political category rather than the classification drawn from apartheid.

gone up through school together, and who had maintained their friendships.

I did not intend to split the groups “racially” but the criterion of familiarity within the groups led (with the exception of Group One), to “racial” homogeneity. Within two of the groups, language backgrounds differed. In Group One, there were two individuals whose first language was not English: they were German and Greek respectively. First languages in Group Two included Afrikaans, Tswana, Xhosa, and Zulu. In the other two groups, English was everyone’s first language, and all groups used English as a medium for discussion. In cases where English was a second language, some nuances in meaning might have been lost. However, I felt that all of the participants were fluent enough in English for this not to be a major problem in this particular study. See Appendix 1 (p. 64) for the questionnaire used for demographic information, and Table 1 (p. 68) for a summary of demographic features.

It is important to note that this analysis is not intended to be a comparison between the groups, although where comparison may be useful, it is employed. I do not analyse class and cultural backgrounds systematically in this study. As university students, the present class position of most of the participants was middle-class, although class and cultural backgrounds probably differed across and within the groups. Given the historical context of South African society, it is likely that the backgrounds of the group of black men differed more from the white groups than any of the predominantly white groups from each other.

The sample was heavily dominated by UCT students—of the total, only three out of twelve participants were not and had never been at UCT. In the past few years, there have been several initiatives in AIDS education on UCT campus, largely in the form of leaflets and posters, and gender has been a focus for debate, especially with the formation of the Equal Opportunity Research Project. These would have provided (in addition to any other exposures to HIV issues that they may have had), a discursive context for discussion of AIDS, HIV and gender.

As a qualitative, exploratory study in an area which is little researched, this study does not attempt broad generalisation. However, discourses, as patterns of meaning, are linked to broader social structures, and dominant discourses tend to be hegemonic. Thus, although discourses present might be expected to be influenced by the UCT discursive context, in particular in

terms of gender and HIV, and further, within each group there might be discourses particular to that group, it is likely that the major discourses identified will be connected with broader social practices determining what it means to be masculine in South Africa in 1995. Finally, it is important to note that this analysis is informed by my own subjectivity as a white, middle-class, feminist woman, with my particular personal history and emotional investments. This analysis, therefore, does not claim the status of "truth". It does, however, claim a legitimacy based on the interaction between my subjectivity, the literature available on the issues discussed, and verification by discussions with the supervisor of this thesis, and others.

2.2.2 Data

The discussion was facilitated by a vignette and a set of orienting questions (see Appendix 2, pp. 65–66). I used a vignette because I felt that it would be easier for participants to talk, especially initially, if they were not talking directly about themselves, but about a situation outside themselves. The vignette also presented a situation with which which I thought they would be familiar. The questions were divided into two by theme: the first half dealt with the topic of condom use and safer sex, and the second half with issues around masculinity and sexuality. I spent fifteen minutes with each group at the outset asking questions aimed at gaining a sense of the discursive context of AIDS for each individual, that is, where they had learnt about AIDS and HIV initially and more recently, and what their sense of it was in terms of its social meanings. I then left the groups to themselves. I decided not to be present as a group facilitator because I felt that as a white, middle-aged, middle-class woman I would have had an inhibitory effect on the ease of discussion in the groups. Three of the groups were held at my house, and one at an individual group member's flat. In all cases an attempt was made to create as informal and relaxed an atmosphere as possible.

When the groups met, I suggested that feedback be given after the study was completed, and all of the groups felt that this would be useful. I see feedback as, firstly, reinforcing an awareness of the issues raised in the initial groups, and secondly, as an attempt to reduce the power imbalance between researcher and researched, by making results known to the participants and inviting them to respond. Ideally, the results of such a process should be included in the study.

Unfortunately, although I plan to give feedback to the groups soon after completion of the study, the constraints of space and time preclude such inclusion.

2.2.3 Method of Analysis

The method involves transcribing audio-taped group discussions verbatim, and analysing the resulting text in detail in terms of the discourses in which individuals are positioned, and which influence their subjectivity. In this case, the focus was broadly on discourses of gender, and more specifically, discourses of masculinity. This analysis is not the micro-analysis of conversation analysis, or comprehensive discourse analysis. Rather, it looks for the broad structures of meaning in which individuals are positioned. In this study, a total of 200 pages of text was elicited from the group discussions in the period in which the groups talked on their own. As this comprised far more material than could be dealt with in this study, I have selected sections, and focussed on discourses, which seemed to be more relevant to the issues of HIV/AIDS than others. I have, however, included the full body of the transcripts with the exception of the first fifteen minutes of each (which was the time in which I was present), under the title Transcript (pp. T1-T58). The transcription conventions used can be found in Appendix 3 (p. 67).

Chapter 3

Analysis

3.1 Patterns of talk

The criterion of familiarity in constituting the groups for this study meant that individuals within each group shared to some extent a common background and/or interests. This lent to each group a particular character, style of talking, and use of terminology and slang, which was very different for each group. For example, Group One from time to time inserted a discourse drawn from mathematics to reinforce points or make jokes, while the slang used in Group Four was highly specific. For instance, this was the only group to use the word “spading” as a slang term for a sexual approach. In Group Two the term “gents” was used periodically, which served to reinforce the “maleness” of the group and the sense of group bonding.

However, there were certain broad similarities across the groups. In all groups, to a greater or lesser extent, there tended to be an argumentative, combative quality, in which interruptions, simultaneous talk, and insults were the order of the day. My reading of this was that it was an effect of gendered speech; that men are socialised to use a more argumentative style than women, and to feel freer to use the language of insult to make points (Tannen, 1990). The area of gender difference in language is, however, a complex and debated one, which cannot be pursued here.¹

On the other hand, consensus was used, particularly in Group Two, in the form of repeated

¹See Graddol and Swann (1989) for an in-depth discussion of this topic.

choruses of "Ja" by group members after individual statements. This served to create a sense of shared assumptions and meanings. Further, joking was used extensively in various ways and to various ends: for example, as an individual's habitual style, as a means to deflect pursuit of a sensitive topic, or as banter directed towards an individual. The function of joking in these groups would richly repay further study, which is also beyond the scope of this thesis.

In all groups, speaking directly about sexuality seemed difficult. Explicitness was avoided; instead, assumptions were made about common meanings which allowed for sentences to be unfinished or for euphemisms to be used. Uproarious laughter was a feature of all the groups, attesting to an uneasiness with the topic and a need to release the tension associated with it. In general, self-disclosure did not seem to come easily to individuals, except in Group One, in which one individual seemed strikingly more prepared to disclose his experiences and vulnerabilities than others. This difficulty with self-disclosure would seem to reinforce the common stereotype that men find it difficult to express themselves emotionally.² However, when I "debriefed" the groups, that is, spent some time talking to them about how they had experienced the exercise, in all cases they said that they had enjoyed the discussion and that they seldom had the opportunity to discuss such issues with their peers. The implication is that there is a unacknowledged need for safe opportunities for men to discuss and reflect upon their experiences of gender and sexuality.

In discussing the topics of HIV, masculinity and sexuality, although there were differences between groups, a number of discourses were shared across groups. The main differences tended to be whether the positioning within the discourse was more or less extreme, and whether there were any contradictory voices within the discourse, in any particular group. Similarities far outweighed differences, however, and because of the limitations in space, and the exigencies of the topic, I have chosen to focus on similarities, and refer to differences in passing.

Across the groups, sexuality was constructed as a natural, biologically based drive, necessarily expressed in heterosexual penetrative vaginal intercourse. Alternative forms of sexual pleasure such as touching, caressing, mutual masturbation, and intimate massage, were seen, within a linear process, as foreplay, and as such, a prelude to the "real thing", which was intercourse

²See Cohen's (1990) discussion of research on this topic for a challenge to this assumption. Where research suggests that men do have problems with self-expression, Cohen provides a useful reflection on underlying anxieties which might lead to these difficulties.

ending up (always) in ejaculation/orgasm on the part of the man, and (hopefully) orgasm on the part of the woman. The penis was seen as primary in terms of male sexual pleasure, and as a signifier of difference. Homosexuality was either not considered, or referred to with fear and/or distaste. A biomedical discourse of masculinity provided a frame for all the groups.

All of the groups expressed either overt or less obvious forms of sexism. In some, an underlying position of contempt towards woman was present. This was evident in comments ranging from apparently neutral ones about being physically stronger than women, to those expressing stances which were exploitative and abusive in character; for example discussions about "dumping" a woman, or about purposefully arousing a woman and then leaving her hanging, or about manipulating an under-age woman into bed. There were comments which evidenced the man in the position of holding the "male gaze" with the woman represented as sex-object (Kaplan, 1982). In at least one of the groups, violence was a subtext, for instance, a situation was mentioned in which a woman is apparently "giving it (sex) to you" then refuses, which could "possibly lead to violence ... not violence only very purposive force" (Group Two, p. T24, col. 2). Sexuality was at times represented within colloquial speech as violent, for example "thumping the hell out of each other" (Group Four, p. T53, col. 2); and "... if you just want to have a hit" (a one-night stand) (Group Three, p. T30, col. 1).

There were differences between groups and between individuals. The group of black men seemed more on the extreme end of a sexist continuum in the way in which they spoke about women. For example, this was the only group which voiced the possibility of practising violence towards women. While noting this, it is important to bear in mind that sexual violence is present across "race" and culture, as was emphasised by UCT's (1991) Final Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Sexual Harassment, published by the Equal Opportunity Research Project. The Report does, however, take a critical stance towards the use of "culture", as has been voiced by some black (African) male students, as a justification for forms of sexist behaviour such as sexual harassment and battery. This justification was not present in the group of black men in this study.

This group seemed to have most misconceptions about HIV infection. For example, when someone suggested that HIV could be contracted by "using a sink in some bathroom" the

comment went unchallenged. Because of the historical inequalities in the South African social structure, it may be assumed that most of the black participants' backgrounds and experiences differed considerably from those of the white participants, and these could easily account for differences. As I have noted above, however, dominant discourses were shared across groups, with contradictions usually voiced by particular individuals, usually one individual within each group.

3.2 Discourses

In the following, for purposes of clarity, I have distinguished discourses of sexuality from discourses of masculinity, although these are intertwined and can only be separated for the purposes of analysis. I discuss, firstly, discourses of sexuality. What I have called the "sexual drive discourse" I see as a framing discourse. This includes within it a subdominant discourse of "mood-breaking". A major "discourse of sexual difference" was also evident. This was entwined with a "discourse of stigma", pertaining to the Other, and linked to race, promiscuity and AIDS. Within the context of sexual relationships, and strongly relevant to issues of safer sex, a discourse of "trust/mistrust" was evident, which was also linked to the discourse of stigma.

Secondly, I discuss discourses of masculinity. After a brief discussion of the "biomedical discourse" and a discourse drawn from socialisation theory, I discuss, in order, "discourses of control, responsibility and achievement"; then discourses focussed on masculine sexuality, which I call "penis and potency"; and "discourses of sexual performance". Finally I include a short section on contradictory discourses.

3.2.1 Discourses of sexuality

Sexual drive discourse

There is the belief that 'sex' is an overpowering natural force, a 'biological imperative' mysteriously located in the genitals (especially the wayward male organs) that sweeps all before it (at least if you are male) like hamlets before an avalanche... (Weeks, 1986, p. 13)

In all of the groups an unquestioned, underlying assumption was that sex was a powerful, natural biological drive, that it was part of "instinct type things", and an aspect of normality: "most normal people want sex" (Group Three, p. T33, cols. 1 and 2). This "sexual drive discourse" provided a baseline for all the meanings of sexuality present in the groups. In terms of earlier historical constructions, the sexual drive discourse represents an image of male sexuality (Weeks, 1985)³, and men were seen by all of the groups as being positioned strongly within it. However, women were also described as subjects of this discourse. I have therefore drawn on the term "male sexual drive discourse" coined by Wendy Hollway (1984, 1989) in her research on gender. This constructs men in specific ways, and was evident within all the groups.

The male sexual drive discourse differs from the sexual drive discourse (as the more general term) in that within the former, women are constructed as the objects of the male sexual drive. I use the term "sexual drive discourse" when referring to the broader, framing discourse, and the term "male sexual drive discourse" when talking specifically about how men are constituted within the sexual drive discourse. In the sexual drive discourse, although women may be seen as subjects of a sexual drive, men (as male bodies) never become the objects of this "drive". The object (in the sexual drive discourse) for women, is sex as a general construct: "The woman has still got just as much sexual drive there", and "Everybody in the end wants to have sex" (Group Three, p. T34 col. 1). Indeed, women who display an autonomous sexuality with men as its object are pathologised as insatiable "multi-orgasmic monsters" (Coveney et al, 1984, p. 97).

The sexual drive discourse was one which seemed most immediately to preclude the possibility of negotiating safer sex. The act of penetrative intercourse was seen as the goal and primary imperative. The basic frame in the sexual drive discourse is the notion of desire as an insistent force or avalanche, the hydraulic model of sexuality in which "sex is like a gushing stream whose force can be given full reign, or dammed" (Weeks, 1985; p. 8). Within this discourse, the individual is thought, in the sexual situation, to become caught up in the unstoppable rush of the sexual drive, an impetus which demands spontaneity, thus supersedes consideration of HIV infection (and other sexually transmitted diseases, as well as pregnancy) and must be fulfilled in intercourse. Group Two framed this idea as follows:

³See Weeks (1986) for a discussion of the historical, political and theoretical forces which have led to present meanings of sexuality in Western society.

B: If she's apparently nice then I get there for that night I think my mind will stop thinking the moment I get excited...

A: But, I think the other thing is, B, that experiences proved, okay, either if you get a woman for the first time hey ... if you go to her room, you are both turned on ... something like ... I don't think you will consider safer sex...

[section left out]

J: ... the thing is when you get there you know what, these things happen, these things are procedural, you start brushing, you end up, you know... (p. T16, col. 2)

Group Four's response to the vignette was also to do with the inevitability of sex following physical attraction:

... something will happen obviously...

... sexual encounter...

Well they're strongly attracted to each other so the natural thing is to follow it up. (p. T38 col. 1)

Group Three had a similar initial response to the situation represented in the vignette:

G: It (sex) just sort of HAPPENS ... you go there ... whew, turn off the lights... (p. T29 col. 1)

The meanings that are present here are informed by early models of sexuality which represented sex as a "powerful energy that...must be controlled by the cultural matrix"; an "unbridled, almost uncontrollable force" (Weeks, 1985, p. 81). The sexual drive discourse is also informed by the romantic tradition, "with its characterisation of love as an overwhelming passion over which one has no control" (Davies et al, 1993, p. 49). The above comments illustrate the idea of the "sexual drive" as something essentially non-verbal, as having a life of its own, beyond individual conscious intervention. In this context, verbal communication about sex is by definition excluded, and individual choice superseded by uncontrollable passion.

Wight (1992) cites studies which show that there tends to be "very little verbal communication during the transition from sexual intercourse being a possibility to it becoming a reality", and which suggest that "ambiguity is often deliberately maintained" (p. 12). In a context which is often loaded with unacknowledged anxieties and uncertainties, the sexual drive discourse offers

a way of dealing with these uncertainties. Making intentions and/or hopes explicit (especially in a first sexual encounter) may expose painful vulnerabilities in a context where (for men), confidence and assertiveness are expected. Wight observes that talk about contraception often only takes place after first intercourse. This is likely to hold for talk about safer sex as well. Davies et al. (1993) state that most communication in sex is non-verbal, and also that within any specific context, a particular individual will have "better or worse communication skills" (Davies et al, 1993, p. 49). Gendered power relations operating in the sexual context will also influence whatever an individual is able to communicate, and how the communication takes place.

Within the sexual drive discourse, men see penetrative intercourse as an imperative, an object to be attained at all costs. In a discussion about the possibility of raising the issue of condom usage, individuals from Group Two commented:

B: If you talk about safer sex, it could mean [sometimes its] NO sex ... [Ja] [laughter, overtalk] Nothing is more important than you having, nothing is so important that it must stand in the path of you having... (sexual intercourse)

N: Ja, you see sometimes you are afraid to raise that question... (of safer sex)

Ja, because you feel you ... because you feel, eh she might refuse to sleep with you ... you might end up [Ja] in some kind of discussion in another direction you know [Ja] ... so... (p. T18 cols. 1-2) 1)

Wilton and Aggleton (1991) note that "questions of safer sex, whether involving non-penetrative activities or the use of condoms, are...inevitably problematic within heterosexuality, predicated as it is upon gendered inequality, and privileging as it does an ideal of spontaneity" (p. 153). The construction of sexuality in terms of the sexual drive discourse makes safer sex a contradiction in terms. Discussion of safer sex will break the ineluctable, and non-verbal, impetus of the sexual drive, and the use of a condom will also interrupt it. The negotiation and/or deployment of alternative methods of sexual pleasure such as mutual masturbation, massage, and intimate caressing, which are less oriented towards penetration, will also directly contradict the idea of a sexual drive with which is beyond an individual's control. While the sexual drive discourse is the dominant framework for sexuality for the majority of young people, it will be a huge obstacle to putting safe sex into practice. Further, the "sexual drive" is thought to be increased/rendered

less controllable by alcohol, drugs, or by a “party” situation, as the following comments by Group Two suggest:

N: [section left out] ... like we get that feeling and that, no, after we have smoked, we just going to have sex ... that’s all... (p. T18 col. 1)

J: [section left out] I know for one, when I’m drunk, and a woman is drunk, we’ll do the thing without saying a word. (p. T17 col. 1)

Group One on the context of condom use, stated:

P: When you’re sober ... when you’re sober ... you think ... when you’re drunk you say ... oh fuck ... who gives a shit (p. T14 col. 2)

As Cohen (1991) notes, “[i]n all stages of the HIV epidemic the use of alcohol and drugs is likely to be related to engaging in unsafe sexual practices” (p. 37). UCT’s (1991) Final Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Sexual Harassment found alcohol abuse to be a significant factor in sexual harassment occurring within university residences, and that especially during Orientation Week, social functions are associated with use of alcohol. Certainly the use of alcohol and drugs is expressed anecdotally here as a vitiating factor in the practice of safer sex, and given the apparent prevalence of use as described in the Report, it may be an important one in the UCT context.

Male sexual drive discourse

The male sexual drive discourse positions men as being particularly driven by the sexual drive. The following comments by Group Three demonstrate this positioning. They include the notion of women as subjects of the sexual drive discourse, as well as the idea of gender difference within it:

G: Men want to get into bed with a woman.

G: Ja ... men’s sexual drive is stronger than women’s...

H: Ja ... much stronger ... mmmmm...

K: Ja, it it it’s stronger, but like the woman is still got just as much

sexual drive there.

[section left out]

H: And I think females have got more of a control over their like ... sexual drive...
(p. T34 col. 1)

There are variations in the way the male sexual drive discourse is constructed. In Groups One and Four, it is constituted in terms of men always pushing to go “all the way”, the end-point of “the way” being penetration. But here the sexual drive is not necessarily an unstoppable rush, but a predatoriness seen to be intrinsic to masculine sexuality, in which women are the objects and intercourse the goal. This is stated by Group One:

P: [section left out] ...I think most of the time the woman wants to just meet and talk and the man wants to have sex. (p. T1 col. 2)

L: Women use sex to get love ... men use love to get sex. (North American accent) (p. T10 col. 2)

Although the last comment may have been said ironically, the fact that it is present in the talk confirms the presence of the discourse, and the positioning of men within it as always actively going after sex, with women positioned as wanting emotional contact rather than “just sex”. Group Four explicitly discussed what they saw as the inevitable tendency of men to try to “get sex” from women at every possible opportunity:

To what extent do you think, just as a little aside, to what extent do you think the guy will go as far as he possibly can...

Always!

No like you always go like ... you're always like ... you'll start with a chat and you go and you'll pull in for a kiss and then you like try this, try that ... try ... until she says no...

[section left out]

No once you start something, you'll definitely go as far as you can, I think. If you actually like her, and you've had enough to drink. (p. T56 col. 2)

As Holland et al. (1991) state “[i]n feminist social theory, sexual intercourse in Western societies has been identified not only as a social relationship, but also as an unequal relationship in which men exercise power over women” (p. 130). The power relations of gender here are expressed rather starkly. Masculinity is constructed as active and initiatory, as opposed to femininity,

which is passive. Men are constructed in terms of risk and exploration, women as the gatekeepers and limit-setters of sexuality. If a woman expressed a wish for safer sex in this context, it would go against the rules of the discourse as expressed here: women should not initiate, nor should they act, they should react.

Discourse of mood-breaking

At the same time as the sexual drive was thought of as powerful and overwhelming (at least for men), it also appeared in a different light, as potentially vulnerable and fragile. This contradiction appeared within all the groups. Across all of the groups, there was a discourse of "mood-breaking", within the sexual drive discourse, in which any talk or negotiation about safer sex would interrupt the passionate rush and destroy the potential sexual encounter. This was explicit in Group One:

P: ... Would you? [L: What?] Ask about her previous relationships or ask her...

L: No way ... that would completely spoil the mood...[laughter] (p. T2 col. 2)

Within the discourse of mood-breaking, the sexual drive experience is construed, as discussed above, as non-verbal. An intervention would pull the individual out of the flow of this experience. For men, this could lead to the erection being lost, a situation which, in terms of the definition of masculinity, must be avoided at all costs. For example, on the question of what a man might feel if a woman asked him to use a condom, one individual in Group Two responded:

B: Ja... if you are ... if you expect such a thing you won't feel like offended, but generally if you are not expected ... and you are very, very erect and she asks that question, you become very flaccid... [laughter]

That's right! (p. T17 col. 1)

In the same group, within a discussion about the amount of time taken between meeting someone and first intercourse, an individual commented:

B: But you can ask them (about safer sex) you put the person off, but it will remove all that fire [Ja, ja.] [laughter] (p. T18 col. 1)

In a discussion about the difficulties of negotiating safer sex, Group Four stated:

I promise you, if you ... if the topic of AIDS came up in your pre-coffee stage...
That's a definite downer.
... then your problem is she wouldn't go for it after that. (p. T45 col. 2)

and a little later:

J: I think everyone thinks about it (AIDS), but I mean it's just a bit of a downer
to raise the topic. (p. T46 col. 1)

The impetus of the sexual drive could also be interrupted by an awareness external to the actual process. The following comments from Group Two refer to a critical consciousness of the partner's physical "faults" as they are perceived by the viewer:

B: But small things can make me like that ... like if her breath is not very okay,
or even if the armpits are not very okay, I will think...

J: Do you know why?

B: ... hygiene...

J: Do you know why? I think the way I've seen it, lovemaking is, the way I know
it, it's procedural ... I mean one thing leads to the next ... but when you start
looking at, starting to look at little things, you're out of the whole process. (p. T17
col. 1)

Women participants in my earlier study (Miles, 1993) suggested that men were often more critically preoccupied with their partner's physical appearance than women were. The above comments bear this out, as do other comments made in Group Four. Although this issue may not be obviously directly involved in hindering safer sex, it is an aspect of the gendered power relations which are implicated in some of the difficulties in negotiation. Here the man is positioned as the critical viewer of the female body. This is part of a long-standing division between the construction of women as the passive objects of the male gaze, and men as subjects of the gaze and initiators of action (Berger, 1972). If a woman is concerned about her body and male perceptions of it, then suggesting safer sex is yet a further problem to be dealt with in a context in which the woman is almost always in the negative position in the discourse (Miles, 1993). These critical comments also indicate an alienated position within the sexual relationship,

a "viewing" of the woman as an object, rather than an empathic perception of the woman as an equal partner.

The discourse of mood-breaking attests to a deep identification with sexuality and sexual performance as key components of masculine identity (Weeks, 1985). This identification was reiterated constantly across the four groups. The glaring contradiction is that although the sexual drive is, on the one hand, seen as ineluctable, on the other it is experienced as extremely fragile. Talking—that is, negotiating for safer sex, whether condom use or non-penetration, and whether before or during the period of arousal—would destroy it completely, to the extent that "No sex" and a totally "flaccid" penis would result. Even being conscious of the process, and the partner's attributes, could have the effect of totally destroying the sexual impetus. This construction presents a major stumbling block to a decision to take precautions against HIV infection. Here, a conscious decision is being taken to "go with the sexual flow" because the alternative is extremely threatening. What this suggests is that masculine identity is so vulnerable that any perceived threat to the image of male "potency", that is, the erect penis and penetration, must be avoided at all costs.

There is little evidence in this construction of a trust in the sexual interaction, or in the relationship, that sexual energy will be present through and beyond "talk"; or that the body can be trusted to reassert desire in the face of verbal communication about safer sex, which is clearly perceived as a threat to the process. Only in Group One was the discourse of mood—breaking challenged, by an individual (P) who inserted quite a different discourse, one implying that intimacy and relaxation (in the sexual context) would follow a discussion of safer sex. P was asked how he had felt after he had brought up the issue of safer sex with a new partner:

E: And then how do you feel afterwards, were you still excited?

P: Better, when I found out she'd got a monogamous relationship. I was, totally ... she was, she came from... (p. T3 col. 1)

Although here it appears that his sense of feeling better is conditional on his partner's "sexual history" being acceptable to him, he later states:

P: Well according to L it'll (talking about HIV) ruin the mood, according to C it'll ruin the mood, according to ... you ... won't bring it up .. and in my opinion both people will feel relaxed because they're... (p. T3 col. 2)

Holland et al. (1991) state that “sexual intercourse entails trusting our bodies, our identities, our self-respect to others and, not uncommonly, to strangers” (p. 130). Verbal communication in this context implies a willingness not only to be vulnerable, but to go further in a relationship with someone than the definition of casual sex, as purely physical enjoyment, implies.⁴ In a society in which media images of sexuality as pleasure without commitment surround us, talking possibly represents too much commitment and too much openness. Further, it is difficult not to question the strength of the vaunted desire in these contexts, if it is so vulnerable to annihilation. Tiefer (1992) describes biomedical treatments for “impotence” as ways of “erasing...a source of anxiety dating from adolescence about failing as a man” (p. 462). In a context in which “[s]exual competence is part—some would say the *central* part—of contemporary masculinity...” the requirement to achieve the sexual act is paramount (Tiefer, 1992, p. 451).

Discourses of Sexual Difference

Gender polarisation in western culture is extremely powerful, the basic split being a binary opposition between masculinity and femininity, with masculinity the positive term. This split is fundamental to gendered discourses of sexuality, and it appeared in all of the groups, with some minor contradictions. Across all of the groups, within a larger image of sex as penetrative intercourse, characterised by “foreplay” leading up to vaginal penetration and orgasm, women’s and men’s sexuality was on the whole seen as different. Masculine sexuality was constituted within the male sexual drive discourse, that is, predatory, exploratory, always ready, always wanting to go “all the way”, quick to arousal, stronger than women’s, difficult to control once aroused, and with women as its object. Performance was also seen as a core requirement in masculine sexuality, and men were seen as more easily able to dissociate emotions from sexuality. Women’s sexuality was seen to be more ambiguous than men’s, slower to arouse, easier for women to control, “more deep” and “subtle”. This difference was unequivocally voiced by Group One:

⁴Whether or not unconscious motivations inform any one individual’s need/desire for casual sex, non-committed physical pleasure remains its explicit goal.

P: [section left out] ... I think I can I can answer this question to a certain degree and I say ... yes ... a hundred percent they are completely different. Every single woman I've been to, where a man can get an erection within 5 seconds flat, a woman takes about half an hour properly to get turned on properly...

[section left out]

E: Ja ... I think they are different, I mean, Women are kind of subtle about what turns them on ... I mean subtle things ... I mean not subtle, but I mean things that I wouldn't think about ... because it's obvious what turns men on.

P: Ja ... I know ... you touch it down there and it's throbbing... [inaudible] um I know, [section left out] I can massage a woman and she can get turned on far more than even if I touch her, um, er...

E: Yes, yes that's true...

P: And she can get so turned on by massaging her ... I know that by just stroking her back she can nearly ... nearly have an orgasm. Meanwhile if someone strokes my back ... fucking hell ... what are you doing, you know ... you're relaxing me ... please don't get me relaxed ... I'm horny, you know. They are completely different ... women ... it's this whole ... men, men I'm convinced ... men can dissociate themselves from, feelings from sexual contact. You can have sex, completely dissociate your feelings from them. The concept of a one night stand? I don't think women can do that as easily. (pp. T10 col. 2-T11 col. 1)

In contrast, a discourse appeared in some of the groups in which women's sexuality was seen as now becoming "more open" and women becoming more equal to men in the sense that it has become more acceptable for a woman to take sexual initiatives, as stated by Group Four:

Women's sexuality has become more open. And if you think about ... I mean it's something that wasn't spoken about really ... (p. T50 col. 1)

[section left out] I think we are moving towards common ground in that ... a girl can now also make, start making advances on a guy... [Ja] And the girl can start spading the guy, and a girl can phone a guy, and...

It's not sort of frowned upon if a girl [Ja ... I think] [inaudible] invites him go back to her place...

Ja, society's now like ... seeing female sexuality in much more the same light as male sexuality. (p. T50 col. 1)

In a similar vein, Group Three remarked

K: There's not much difference in the way men and women think towards sex. (p. T33 col. 2)

This idea was voiced a few times, and has its roots in what Hollway (1984, 1989) has called the "permissive discourse"; a liberatory discourse which is connected to the sixties. However, although this idea was given lip-service, in addition, a "discourse of stigma" encoding the intransigent idea of the sexually promiscuous women as bad, appeared in various forms in all of the groups.

Discourses of stigma

In Group Four, the image of a sexually available woman as "bad" and "untrustworthy" was voiced:

No, but if you can go home after one night with her ... [overtalk] ... sure but you're going home ... met her for the first time ... go back to her flat. What type of person is she? [overtalk] (p. T39 col. 2)

And also:

F: If you can get back to her flat in one night [J: That's what I'm saying] Then you should worry. (p. T39 col. 2)

In Group One, an attitude of contempt towards prostitutes reiterated the stigmatic associations of promiscuity in women:

P: Oh they get fuck all ... they feel nothing as that penis penetrates them. NOTHING. (p. T11 col. 1)

The stigmatising of promiscuity arises from the legacy of the Judeo-Christian idea of sex as sinful and guilt-ridden. Promiscuity, as Clatts and Mutchler (1989) point out, is "invariably represented as dangerous and deviant" and is "the core symbol around which much of the discourse on AIDS centres" (p. 109). It is also part of the basic split between "self" and "Other" in which the Other tends to become the repository of negative projections (Gilman, 1988). A woman who is considered to be promiscuous is seen as a whore, and by definition Other,

therefore a potential source of HIV infection. In another example, an individual from Group Two commented:

J: [section left out] ... I will tell you what happened to me ...it was last year ... this woman ... I was ... suspecting like she's ... around a lot you see, like she's had ... lots of boyfriends ... so there was this talk that she's ... she could have AIDS, she possibly had some disease or something, you know ... but this woman like she's beautiful and there was a time when I had to ... you know ... so there was a time when I was on and she was on and I was thinking, well fuck the AIDS and disease, I've got to get my, and [laughter] you know like I was wrong... (p. T17 col. 2)

The same individual felt that death was an appropriate punishment for a woman whom he saw as promiscuous:

J: [section left out] ... I know people, people that I've been brought up with like ... I know two women specifically who've died of AIDS ... one woman was younger than me ... the thing is she ... I mean ... she was socially more mature than I was you know what I mean ... like she know many things in such a short time and I think she deserved to die because she was so YOUNG and she'd already got married three times and... [Whew!] I was like, I mean this woman she was far younger than I am, you know, but you know ... if you are young ... but you get involved into all these things ... you become older than other people, you know ... so I think she had reached an extreme, that's why she had to finally oh...
... she had to pay the price. (pp. T19 col. 1-2)

In Group Two, the interlinking of race as a signifier of stigma with the stigmatic connotations of "promiscuity" produced the decision as to whether to talk about safer sex or not. In this group, B claimed that he would talk about safer sex to white women, and to "promiscuous" black women. It was unclear from what he said why he made the distinction between black and white women. One interpretation could be that as a black man, a white woman was "Other" to B, and therefore more likely to be infectious. However, if the woman, was black and "apparently nice" "one of the untouchables" then his mind would "stop thinking the moment I get excited" and he would not raise the issue of HIV. On the other hand, he commented

B: [section left out] ...but it depends if I know this black woman is very promiscuous, I will definitely talk about safer sex. (p. T16 col. 2)

Irigaray (1985) suggests that there are three positions for women in western culture: virgin, wife-mother, or whore. B's comments clearly evidence a division between virgin, "one of the untouchables" and whore. Furthermore, black women, as the group with historically least power in the society tend to carry, in the dominant white culture, the image of the stigmatised Other. This stigma is reinforced in the historically constituted linking of black women with promiscuity. Gilman (1985) has traced the history and forms of an iconography of female sexuality in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, showing the association of black women with sexuality, and in particular, deviant sexuality (Miles, 1987).

In the above remarks and in the discussions in general (with the exception of one comment in one of the groups) in not one case does the individual think of himself as a source of risk. It is always the Other who is the potential repository of disease. Waldby et al. (1993) suggest that heterosexual men tend to conceptualise themselves as the recipient of infection, rather than as an infectious agent; that they occupy the centre of an "imaginary margin of safety, a *cordon sanitaire*" (p. 31). Within this conceptual universe, a division is made between "clean" and "unclean" women, with men being able to designate into which category a specific woman falls. Moreover, "[t]he man ... never sees *himself* as an infectious agent, only as the possible recipient of infection" (p. 31). This was the case in all of the groups here. The men in the study also felt that they were able to tell whether a woman was "unclean" or not. An individual in Group Three voiced this notion:

H: ... basically I would ... if I didn't know her ... and she was just like [coughing]... if I just got the sense that she was promiscuous then I would use a condom. (p. T32 col. 1)

Exactly what the woman is "just like" and how the man is able to tell that she is "promiscuous" is not made explicit here. Yet this comment goes unquestioned in the group, which suggests an implicit assumption that the others in the group "know" what he means, and believe that it is possible to tell, in some unspecified way, someone else's character, and judge it to be threatening.

Sexual history: Discourses of trust versus mistrust

A big issue within all of the groups with regard to the question of safer sex was the notion of trust. A discourse of trust versus mistrust in the sexual context appeared. This informed the construction of gender within the dichotomy of self and Other, a dichotomy which, as we have seen above, is connected to the social construction of AIDS as stigmatic. Someone whom one cannot "trust" is someone who has potentially got "AIDS", and that person is therefore Other to oneself. Once that person has become familiar, because they are familiar they are trustworthy and by definition do not have "AIDS". Thus a sense of "trust" often seemed to lead to risk behaviour.

For example, the opinion was frequently voiced that condoms would be used with partners whom the individual did not "trust", or "know" but not with someone whom the individual felt that they could "trust" because they had known them for some time or had an idea of their "sexual history". "Trusting" someone was thus often to do with how familiar they were to the person, and a slippage between non-familiar (Other) and familiar (not-Other) could happen quite quickly. This trust, within the discourse, was based not on factual knowledge of the individual's HIV status as ascertained by, say, mutual HIV testing, but rather on an informal assessment of their "sexual history", which the individual would impressionistically judge as more or less promiscuous, and on this basis, whether the person could be "trusted" not to have HIV. Group Three at one point suggests that a direct question be put to the partner, implying that this would be unproblematic:

H: But I mean by the common ground you would inevitably ask the person is she safe. Do you want me to wear a condom or not? Err ... have you been sleeping around? (p. T30 col. 1)

and assumes that discussion of the man's own recent sexual history would be inevitable:

G: You'd discuss it. You'd discuss it. [overtalk] You'd discuss AIDS, and all that, who you've slept with in the past week, or, whatever, you know what I mean, you'd like have a chat about it. (p. T31 col. 1)

In contrast to the above comments by Group Three, the idea that questioning someone about their sexual history is easy is doubted in the almost rhetorical question from Group One quoted below. However, the question itself implies that such an enquiry would be appropriate in making decisions about safer sex:

P: Would you talk about safer sex? Would you talk about it? It's not as if you'd wear a damn condom ... Would you talk about it, would you ask her how many people she slept with? (p. T1 col. 2)

On the question in what context they would be more likely to use a condom or practise another form of safer sex, Group Three made the following comments:

T: If you didn't know anything about her basically.

K: If you didn't know anything ... if you didn't know diddlysquat about her...

[section left out]

H: ... basically I would ... if I didn't know her ... and she was just like ... if I got the sense that she was promiscuous then I would use a condom. (p. T32 col. 1)

On the other hand, the stigmatic connotations of AIDS would prevent enquiry into the sexual partner's history, thus putting the individual into a double-bind:

K: But you're not going to ask anyone that.

H: Ja but you're not gonna ask anybody that.

G: You're not going to ask them.

K: Only if you want to continue with the relationship. If, if this is just a once... (p. T30 col. 1)

In addition, even if you did ask someone about their sexual history, you might not be able to trust their reply, as Group One suggests:

E: But I mean, what's the point of asking people if they're going to lie to you anyway? (p. T2 col. 2)

and Group Three:

H: It's your first luck in the scenario—it's your first night together ... would you trust someone that you've just met, basically at a club or in the street, or from wherever, but you didn't know her from Joe Soap, so would you be prepared

K: ... to take her word that she hasn't got AIDS? (p. T31 cols. 1-2)

All of the men in this study presented themselves as more or less sexually active. At the same time, from what was said in the group discussions, it seemed that many did not always practise safer sex. However, in none of the above remarks is there the sense that the individuals themselves might pose a risk to their partners. This contradiction reinforces the notion of the *cordon sanitaire* as discussed by Waldby et al. (1993), and mentioned above, in which men see themselves as potential recipients rather than sources of infection. They are by definition "safe" while the Other is suspect. Furthermore, as several writers (Patton, 1989; Watney, 1991; Weeks, 1988) have pointed out, the question of "sexual history" is not central to the risk of HIV transmission, but whether safer sex has been practised or not.

In all of the groups, a dichotomy appeared between a "one-night stand" and "intimacy". For example, Group One commented:

L: There's that distinction. I mean a one night stand and intimate relationships.
(p. T3 col. 1)

This was usually brought up in connection with condom use. A condom would be more likely to be used with the "one night stand" (or casual sex) than in an intimate relationship. It appeared that the "one night stand" precluded the need for sexual negotiation, because as long as a condom was available, talking would be superfluous, and the difficulties associated with talking or negotiation avoided. In Group Four, it was suggested that condom use might be extended from the "one night stand" to a few months if the relationship continued. However, this might give rise to a tricky problem:

[inaudible] three months ... so you decide to sleep together ... she says don't worry I'll go on the pill. You've been going out for three months, now how do you tell her no well actually honey, I'm not worried about pregnancy, I'm worried about getting AIDS. [overtalk] (p. T42 col. 1)

Here the implication, that the partner might consider the speaker to be imputing her to be HIV positive, draws on the stigmatic connotations of AIDS, which render an open acknowledgement of shared risk impossible. The complex constraints and double binds around communication in the sexual context appear intractable, making negotiation of safer sex seem overwhelmingly difficult.

3.2.2 Discourses of masculinity

How these discourses impede the use of safer sex is not always as obvious as in some of the discourses discussed above. However, because they work within the socially structured power relations of gender, they are intrinsic to the negotiation of sexual relationships in general, and thus to safer sex. The framing assumption about masculinity made by all of the groups was that masculinity was fundamentally biological, and this was drawn from a biomedical discourse. However, springing from this was a (fragmented) discourse drawn from socialisation theory in which it was also at times seen as socially constructed. I initially briefly discuss these two discourses.

Traversing the discussions was the idea that masculinity had to do with control, responsibility and achievement in terms of self, environment and other. It was also at times seen to be derived from social status and wealth, as well as physical prowess and sportsmanship. Finally it was defined within all of the groups by sexuality and sexual performance. The notion of male superiority in various forms was present as a subtext, although this tended to be obliquely stated. Again, these ideas are intertwined with one another and separation is artificial. However, for clarity's sake, I discuss a discourse of control and responsibility in a section on its own, including mention of social status and physical prowess as signifiers of control. I then discuss discourses of sexuality and sexual performance, with reference to issues of control as appearing here.

“Man” : Biological or social?

Biomedical discourse

In all of the groups, the first question in the second section, that is, “What do you think makes a man?” was perceived as a difficult question and gave rise to extended discussions. The universal response was a biological definition: the possession of a penis/testicles, and the presence of testosterone.

Group One:

C: Lots of testosterone. (p. T9 col. 1)

[section left out]

P: Ja, ja ... what makes a man is basically he's got a set of balls. [section left out] ... what makes a man is biological, that's all. (p. T9 col. 2)

Group Two:

J: What makes you a man?

M: First of all my penis

N: That one is given... [laughter] (p. T20 col. 2)

[section left out]

N: But it must also be some sort of biological ... it must be your makeup. (p. T22 col. 1)

Group Three:

K: He's got a testicle. (p. T33 col. 1)

Group Four:

Lank testosterone and not ovum ... what else ... (p. T47 col. 1)

The biological definition of masculinity, which is drawn from a biomedical discourse, is one which was taken for granted as the baseline of masculinity. The central problem with biological

determinism is that because the framework takes for granted that there are innate, "natural", differences between men and women which will appear in predetermined ways, the social status quo, and especially the power relations of gender, are reinforced because the possibility of change is excluded (Weeks, 1985, 1986). The male sexual drive in particular is naturalised, and used as a justification for practices which are oppressive towards women, such as rape and sexual harassment (Jackson, 1984).

Socialisation discourse

Group Four asked the cogent question:

[section left out] ... makes a man. Is it man, man because we have a penis, or MAN like Camel Man, you know?
Well let's do both. (p. T46 col. 2)

In all of the groups, there appeared, to a differing extent, a distinction between a man as defined by biology, and a man as socially produced or defined. This differentiation drew more or less explicitly and/or clearly on various forms of socialisation theory to differentiate from the basic definition of masculinity as biological. For example, in Group One, men were seen to be "supposed" to behave in certain ways, such as "not cry and stuff"; "Be strong" and "Provide for their children". Group Two, in a similar vein, brought in the idea of "sex roles", and distinguished gender and sexuality. In this group "man" as defined biologically, was seen as different from "masculinity" which was put forward as a property implying power and dominance which women could also possess, thus not intrinsic to biological maleness. These ideas have the potential for displacing stereotypical notions of masculinity. However, in all of the groups there tended to be a stubborn return to a perception of men as different from women, either as essentially different by virtue of biology, or socialised to be different, with this difference seen as superiority. Group Two states:

J: And what I was thinking is like then there's times, when like, well maybe you sleep with a woman, you are more aware than she is about things.

[section left out]

B: Because we are socialised to be very, you know, men like issues more than women because... (p. T18 col. 2)

And also:

N: But you must also notice .. I think some, there's some scientific like you know, data stating that, you know ... actually given if a boy and girl were brought up in exactly the same situation in the same circumstance, more or less what would happen is that the boy will still come on stronger than the girl ... and I tend to agree with that because you know you can look at the figure, ne? the figure of a man ... you know your shape, you know you have a lot of ... I think we have a lot of advantages over women as such... (p. T20 col. 2)

An individual in Group Three, on the question of whether men ever feel vulnerable or anxious in sexual situations, replied:

K: Why should I feel more vulnerable ... I'm the more dominant person there... (p. T37 col. 1)

and another commented on the experience of masculinity:

H: Next question? Is there anything in particular that makes you feel MASCULINE or manly?

G: Well, ja ... there is actually ... I mean ... I'm stronger than a ... than women ... my age ... all women my age. I'm generally STRONG, stronger than ... I'm bigger ... I've got physically ... bigger and stronger than a... (p. T34 col. 2)

This sense of superiority based on difference, whether seen as biologically founded, or as socialised, is part of the structural divisions of the gender system. The sense of entitlement expressed above bears out the inequalities which still exist in the society, whatever gains have been made in recent years towards improving the position of women. Male authority is institutionally in place, and these ideas, among others, are used to naturalise it.

Discourses of control, responsibility and achievement

The idea of a man as someone who can control himself and his environment, and who through his achievements in the public domain has gained a certain degree of social status, was apparent

in somewhat different forms in all of the groups. A discourse of control and responsibility emerged in several areas in different groups. In Group One it was to do with integrity, morality, achievement and sexuality; in Group Two primarily to do with sexual prowess; in Group Three maturity and responsibility; and in Group Four wealth and social status, physical attributes, and individuality. I selectively discuss some of the ways in which this discourse was encoded.

Group Three was the group which cited control and responsibility most explicitly in answer to the question "What makes a man?":

G: A MAN ... when a boy matures ... when a boy actually ... when he [H: when he's older]takes responsibility and has full control of his environment ... and is mature, basically... (p. T32 col. 2)

This group saw age as automatically providing a sense of responsibility:

H: ... round about from just past your teens anywhere above that you should start like getting responsible type of thing ... and what makes a man? I think basically exactly ... he is responsible and he ... it's not a physical sort of like, uh, am a man type of thing ... it's just like he is responsible... (p. T33 col. 1)

and also:

H: Ja, I think I agree with T. When a guy can take care of himself. [G: Ja, basically] Not a matter of whether he can control what's around him...

G: No, not control what's around him but just, you know...

H: He just creates his own environment and can ... [G: Ja, ja] and can live a stable life. (p. T32 col. 2)

Another individual reiterates:

K: What makes me feel masculine? When I know, when I know I can control myself. (p. T34 col. 2)

Here responsibility seems to imply the ability to take on the mantle of adulthood and leave behind the "wild oats" of youth. Further, a man is seen as someone who individually "creates his own

environment”; rather than someone who lives within a community with shared responsibility with others. In terms of safer sex, one would expect that a discourse of responsibility and control might lead to the idea that men therefore take responsibility for safer sex. However, from the other parts of the discussion, it seemed that this was not the case. Indeed it was clear that Group Three did not feel that they had achieved the state of being “men” in terms of how they defined “man”.

K: I mean ... I’m supporting myself and everything, but I don’t believe I’m a man yet...

[section left out]

G: ... basically ... I’m only going to become a man when I’m about 30. That’s gonna be when I become a man [inaudible] [Ja but] [overtalk] I’m just saying, 34-40, whatever ... LONG time I’ll scheme I’ll become a man around then ... get a wife and have kids ... [laughter] (p. T33 col. 1)

The above comment makes it clear that becoming “reponsible” is understood within the male role of breadwinner and father, which, in the eyes of this group, was not apposite to them. Other remarks about, for example, not being worried about making a woman pregnant, or claiming that in most cases if a condom was not available, they would go ahead and have sex anyway, suggested that taking responsibility in an immediate sense in terms of either HIV or pregnancy was not a priority for most individuals in this group. Responsibility was something they saw as coming later. Indeed, perhaps their disclaiming of “maturity” was their method of disavowing taking responsibility for safer sex. However, as emerged in my earlier study (Miles, 1993) it is often women who are the “emotional workers” in the society and tend to take responsibility for relationships (Eichenbaum and Orbach, 1982, Lerner, 1985). Thus disclaiming responsibility as is done here here is congruent with one of the aspects of the gender hierarchy.

Group Four’s initial response to the question “What makes a man?” was that a “man” was made fundamentally by “societal values/Basically social standing” (p. T46 col. 1). However, in terms of social values, contradictory discourses were evident. Firstly, a discourse of conformity was manifested:

Some societies see them how it fits into the society’s norms and trends and...

Ja how he also accepts society’s impositions or whatever on him... (p. T47 col. 1)

On the other hand, a man was someone who goes against societies "norms and trends":

If like, if like society deems that we all wear dungarees and you decide not to, you'll probably ... you could be quite a MAN if you don't, you know, because you're standing up for your own rights, kind of thing. Depending on which context you look at a man...

Or, or you're not...

It's like a James Dean type...

Or you're NOT a man ... because you haven't followed the rest of the pack out there.

Ja, that's more like it ... the latter form. It's very difficult. (p. T47 col. 1)

Social status in terms of wealth and visible achievement was also seen as a core attribute of masculinity, although how this was defined would, according to this group, differ in different contexts. For example, someone in England with a title would be seen as a "man", while in South Africa, a BMW and a cellular phone would be defining features. Further, "fitting in" in South Africa was also defined in terms of sportsmanship and physical size:

Good looking, big guy ... you know ... southern suburbs, a good rugby player...

Bottom line...

A good build. (p. T47 col.2)

Although "man" in terms of social status defined by wealth, and "man" as defined by successful sportsmanship and physical attributes, convey somewhat different images, as "contemporary models of successful masculinity" (Segal, 1990, p. 123) they both suggest the idea of individual achievement. Both have attained visible success in terms defined by society as important signifiers of masculinity; both imply an active "go-getting" attitude. Reinforcing these ideas, in Group Four a man was seen as defined also by his "ego", "confidence" and "self-esteem".

How he feels about himself ... his own ego [Ja] He's ... confident with himself.

[Ja]

His super-ego...

How he is ... how he thinks he's ... how he personally believes he's...

How he portrays himself, ja.

Self-esteem. A lot of it comes down to self-esteem. (p. T48 col. 1)

These ideas reinforce the image of masculinity as being to do with social confidence, self-reliance, and toughness, and little to do with vulnerability, openness and flexibility. The social construction of masculinity in terms of control and authority is part of the gender split in western culture. Further, the construction of masculinity as evident from these comments is one in which individuality and individual achievement are important. This "commitment to individualism" (Segal, 1990, p. 295), is drawn from a discourse of liberal humanism within a capitalist ethic.

As discussed above, it might be expected that a discourse of responsibility and control could lead to a sense of responsibility for safer sex. This was not in general the case. Kimmel and Levine (1992) cite studies done in the USA which suggest that risk-taking is also part of the social construction of masculinity, along with aspects such as success, power and status, "rationality and toughness" (p. 320). Risk-taking as a sign of adventurousness and daring, as described, for example, by the comments from Group Four discussed earlier about men always trying to go "all the way" sexually with any potentially available woman, would tend to cut across the responsibility discourse. Furthermore, responsibility in this context seems more to do with being authoritative and successful in the world than taking responsibility in the sense of caring for self and others, which is a different kind of responsibility, and one which women tend to take on more readily (Chodorow, 1978, Miles, 1993).

Penis and potency: (*"I'm happy I've got a prick, basically"*)

Within all of the groups, sexuality was expressed as a primary aspect of masculine identity. Masculine sexuality was overwhelmingly defined in terms of the male sexual drive discourse, dominance, and by what I call "penis primacy". Group Two saw masculinity as defined primarily by sexuality:

B: What makes you a man?

T: I believe you lie on top! [laughter]

J: What makes you a man...

T: First of all my penis... [laughter]

N: That one is given. [laughter]

B: Because it's very important... [laughter, overtalk]

J: It's crucial, it's crucially important, because ... [overtalk]

T: Your ability ... to do it! (p. T20 col. 1)

The possession of the penis is seen as crucial because it is the signifier of the "potency" of the male, and the erection is the sign of the ability to "do it". However, as evident from the anxieties about "mood-breaking" discussed earlier, the discourse of masculine sexuality was shot through with anxieties about impotence, and these surfaced here, as elsewhere:

B: You can become impotent overnight. (p. T20 col. 2)

Group Two also associated loss of potency with ejaculation. In a rather confused discussion about sex and murder, ejaculation was constructed as "a powerful thing", but leading to loss of strength:

J: Because this other man, just yesterday ... he was saying to me you know like when you are ejaculating ... you are taking six months strength out ... you know its like ... you taking that thing ... it don't build up over a day ... it's like SIX months [inaudible] you know, that's why you can easily die... (p. T24 col. 2)

The intersection of the idea ejaculation as "powerful" with the idea that it is weakening brings together two contradictory aspects of the construction of masculinity. On the one hand, ejaculation is a sign of male power and as such associated with contemporary images of the penis as a weapon (Reynaud, 1983). On the other, it is seen as leading to weakness. This notion is drawn from ideas going back to Hippocrates, and developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that the discharge of semen, particularly in masturbation, leads to weakness and insanity (Hare, 1962; Hall, 1991).

In group Four, the idea of a "man" as a "stud" was voiced, that is, someone who could get many women to have sex with him.

But I mean how many ... girls a guy sleeps with ... is a man? Eh?
(p. T47 col. 1)

Although this idea was disputed, it emerged later again in defining the difference between men and women in terms of sexuality:

[section left out] .. if a guy has a ... sleeps with a lot of women, he's a stud ... if a woman sleeps with a lot of guys she's a slut... (p. T49 col. 1)

Within this discourse, masculinity is identified with sexual prowess and will be claimed by individuals through their recounting/boasting about sexual "achievements". Although men in the groups did not actually "boast" there was clearly a sense (to differing extents in the different groups) in which they wished to present themselves as sexually successful and potent. It was noteworthy that the question to do with vulnerability and anxiety was, in most of the groups, dealt with extremely cursorily. It seems that men do not wish to present themselves as anything but sexually potent and confident. Indeed, in Group Three, this question was construed as to do with physical vulnerability and being susceptible to coercion, and men were seen as dominant and therefore not vulnerable in the sexual context.

It is important to note that masculinity as associated with sexuality is different from the way women are defined as women in terms of their sexuality. Masculine sexual identity seems stereotypically always to be associated with action, aggression and performance—the ability "to do it". Women are defined in terms of their readiness to receive the male—as stated before, as the objects of the male sexual drive. Although women may be represented, as in pornography, as sexually aroused and desiring the male, this is still a position of passive availability, while men are represented as insatiably and tirelessly active (Segal, 1990). Segal points to the "fictions of manliness" as represented in pornography as "those of *penis size*—the bigger the better; of *erection on demand*—as often as possible; of *skilled performance*—producing female orgasm, preferably multiple" (p. 218).

Discourse of sexual performance

Sexual self-confidence is seen as one of the yard-sticks of masculinity—to such an extent that performance anxiety is a leading cause of secondary impotence. At the same time the over-emphasis on sexual success by men is clearly an indicator of a 'relative gender fragility'. Masculinity or the male identity is achieved by the constant process of warding off threats to it. (Weeks, 1985, p. 190)

Anxieties about sexual potency, as defined in terms of the erect penis, coalesced in all groups in their discussions about sexual "performance". Sexual performance was generally seen as being able to "satisfy a woman", which basically meant being able to get and sustain an erection for the needed time for the woman to get to orgasm. This was seen by most groups as being quite long. However, in most of the groups men presented themselves as going to great (at times bizarre), lengths to see that a woman had an orgasm, or at least appeared to. For example, an individual in Group Four stated:

I suppose you can rate yourself whether or not she has has an orgasm. I mean that's one way of rating it. (p. T53 col. 1)

and others reiterated this:

I'd far rather satisfy a girl than satisfy myself.

Oh ja ... I'm exactly the same ja.

I will ... I will hold on to the bitter end ... until I get a peep or squeal or a grunt or a groan or something like that ... or quite a good reaction. [Ja] I'll ... I'll think of icecream, I'll think of [inaudible/chuckle] at twelve o'clock at night, getting dropped in Antarctica in a speedo and that's all, because it's more important ... I mean we can get satisfied at the drop of a hat really, and a girl can't. (p. T53 col. 2)

Group Three's notion of performance was also to do with the need to sustain the erection:

H: Do you feel that women expect men to perform sexually and what does performance mean to you?

G: Staying power!

H: Ja ... staying power ... basically um ... staying on that train till the end ... and you...K? (p. T35 col. 1)

Here the man is positioned within a discourse of control, of himself and the other. He is responsible for the woman's satisfaction, and the prolonged erection is the way to do this. If he fails—as clear from other comments, from this group and the others—his sense of masculinity becomes severely threatened. Reynaud (1983) points out that the fear of premature ejaculation has only recently become a problem for men. In the past, rapid ejaculation was considered acceptable. He states that the "new contract of modern heterosexuality" is the woman's orgasm

(p. 66), and that this has added to men's fear of "impotence". Clearly the demand, as expressed above, to prolong the erection in order to ensure that the woman has an orgasm has been internalised by the men in these groups.

That loss of control presents a threat to masculine identity is also evident from the following sequence of comments by Group One, in response to the question "Is there anything in particular that makes you feel "masculine" or "manly"?"

P: I just don't feel masculine if I don't make a woman orgasm ... I feel like a...

E: Is that the only time you don't feel masculine?

P: I don't feel masculine when ... I don't feel masculine when I beg.

E: I suppose it's difficult to say what masculine is but you kind of know when it's not masculine.

P: Ja ... I don't feel masculine when I beg. I don't. I don't feel masculine when I degrade myself. Do something like beg someone to love me or beg ... I feel like an asshole. I don't feel masculine.

C: Ja ... I think ... that's because ... there's definitely ... that sense of control...

P: Ja ... I haven't got control ... I don't feel masculine when ...

C: Ja ... when you aren't in control. But it's not ... like kind of overt control ... it's just that you feel as though you're controlling yourself ... that nobody else is controlling you. (p. T13 col. 1)

Here P's initial response suggests that his sense of masculinity is dependent upon his control of the woman's sexual satisfaction, that is, his ability to "make a woman orgasm". The idea that a man is responsible for a woman's sexual pleasure has its roots in ideas espoused in the earlier years of the century by Marie Stopes and others (Bland, 1983). Totally absent is the idea that a woman might be responsible for her own sexual pleasure within the sexual context, or that sexual pleasure is mutually negotiated with both partner's needs being met as far as possible. P's further comments suggest that acknowledgement of emotional vulnerability to a woman brings on an intolerable sense of dependency and loss of power which directly cuts across the imperatives of masculinity.

In Group Two, the idea was voiced that if the woman appeared unimpressed by the man's efforts, violence could be the result:

B: She smokes! While you are doing, here, whatever you are doing, she smokes.
That's very...

J: You see it says you are not masculine. To her, it says this is another woman.

B: And that is bad, because it forces the bad in you to come up... [Ja] (p. T24 col. 1)

Indeed, the woman should pretend orgasm for the sake of the man's sense of potency:

B: Performance should be, she should, even if she's not feeling anything, pretend [Ja] maybe she must just pretend. (p. T24 col. 1)

Negative comments from women about a man's sexual prowess could totally destroy a man's sense of his masculinity:

B: I wanted to say like if we ... if a woman commenced like whatever, maybe she says I didn't do it in the manner she liked ... WHOO, I feel so bad, I don't ever want to do it to her again... (p. T22 col. 2)

The idea that sexual pleasure is a mutually negotiated process with both partners able to voice their needs is absent from these positions. The dominant construction is a technician one, that the man "does" things to his partner, which either are or are not successful, that is, in terms of the woman coming to orgasm.

On the other hand, a construction of mutual expectation was also voiced by Group Three:

K: ... as much as the man ... I mean as much as the woman expects from the man the man should expect from the woman. (p. T35 col. 2)

and by Group Four:

Both parties want to be satisfied. (p. T52 col. 1)

Within Group Four, there was one person who expressed strong discomfort with the notion of performance, but he was not able to come up with any alternative construction of heterosexual sex.

The question of "impotence" as connected to the need for "performance" is an issue in the negotiation of safer sex, as mentioned earlier. If potency is seen only in terms of the ability to get and sustain an erection, then any threat to this, such as interruptions to discuss safer sex, or put on a condom, will tend to be avoided. Various writers (Segal, 1990; Roper and Tosh, 1990; Weeks, 1985) have suggested that masculinity is tenuous, something that has constantly to be reasserted and renegotiated. The insistence on "performance", meaning the ability to sustain an erection long enough to penetrate a woman, have an orgasm, and as expressed above, for a woman to come to orgasm, is a precarious basis for sexual identity. Brittan (1989) in pointing to the suffusion in society of images of virility and the symbolic "power of the phallus" (p. 58) states

It is no wonder then that the penis is so overburdened by the demands put on it, and it is also no wonder that men are haunted by the spectre of impotence. In this respect impotence is not simply their inability to achieve an orgasm through penetration, it is also a measure of their loss of confidence as men. (p. 58)

Wilton and Aggleton (1991) suggest that as long as heterosexual masculinity is defined in opposition to those "other" to itself, such as lesbians, gay men and heterosexual women, "the adoption of safer sex practices, specifically those which dispense with penetration, will remain ideologically intolerable" (p. 154). While a core sense of self for men depends on erection and penetration, there will be resistance to "disempowering the act of penetration" (Wilton and Aggleton p. 154) and giving up the masculinist model of sexuality, with its demand for control and dominance, for a more open-ended and frightening exploration into male (and female) erotic potential.

3.2.3 Contradictory discourses

Although, as stated earlier, the similarities in the discourses outweighed the differences across the four groups, contradictory discourses were evident. These were voiced by particular individuals within the groups. In particular, one individual in Group One consistently stated contrasting ideas that tended to cut across agreements within the group and set up a wave of energy within the discussion. In Group Three, one individual seemed to have internalised a much more

decisively positive attitude to condom use than the others in the group; and in Group Four, there was also one individual who had clearly internalised some ideas from courses in sociology dealing with gender issues. I discuss these contradictory discourses briefly in this section. They are important, for access to alternative discourses is one way of opening up the spaces for change.

The most oppositional discourses were to be found in Group One, as voiced by P. For example, as discussed under the section "Discourses of mood-breaking" P voiced, in contrast to other group members, a position of willingness to discuss safer sex and cited the possibility of a breakthrough into a greater degree of relaxation. He described how, in one situation, he had done so. At a later stage, he stated that "I find it easy to talk about the safe sex shit". When asked whether he would put theory into practice and go for an "AIDS test", he immediately stated that he wanted to go for a test, and invited other group members to join him. In doing so, he challenges the assumption that the Other is the source of risk, and acknowledges the possibility of himself being HIV antibody positive.

He also evidenced a more open and exploratory attitude towards sexuality in general. For example, although penetration was, for him, like the others, the assumed norm of heterosexual sex, he privileged "foreplay" more, and also voiced an enthusiastic response to the idea of a woman suggesting safer sex:

P: Anyway condoms are only used for the final stage of penetration ... there's a whole, there's a whole like 35 minutes before that when you...

E: WHAT!!!

P: Oh you people, oh you people ... there's a good 45 minutes before that when you don't even get close.

E: Yes, but there's a whole couple of hours at the party as well.

P: I doubt whether that constitutes oral sex.

E: Oh ... are you talking about oral sex now?

P: Ja. I'm saying, you know ... condom isn't like the be all and end all of sex. It's not like you know ... I don't know. I don't think so ... really. How do you think a man might feel if a woman asks him to use a condom. I'd feel chuffed. I'd feel safe.
(pp. T4 col 2-T5 col. 1)

In the discussion about alternative forms of sexual pleasure, P states that

P: I never understood that, but I'm starting to understand them ... I never

understood the concept of caressing, massage all that, but I really am ... kissing ... or ... I don't know ... I think I'm just growing up [A quick massage or] ... I'm starting to understand ... you know, it's a whole learning process and I'm starting to understand that there's more to sex than bam, bam, thank you mam ... it can take three hours to get to the final stage... (p. T14 cols. 1-2)

P followed these remarks with the (stereotyped) idea that women take a long time to get to orgasm, and that this rendered to men an advantage in extending the period of foreplay, which he specified at this point as oral sex. [It was not clear whether he meant by this fellatio or cunnilingus. However, his previous remarks lead me to believe that cunnilingus is what he was referring to here.] Although his greater openness to different forms of sexual pleasure is to an extent vitiated by his adherence to the model of heterosex as penetration, nonetheless he does evidence an openness to a more mutually exploratory sexual experience.

In a discussion on masculinity, P distinguished between ejaculation and orgasm, associating orgasm with feeling, while he saw ejaculation as a physiological function, which could take place without the experience of orgasm. Reynaud (1983), while noting that that “[m]odern sexology considers ejaculation as a synonym for the male orgasm” (p. 60) cites theorists such as Kinsey and Reich who challenged this view. As noted above, he suggests that ejaculation is an image of male power, which can be triggered off without an accompanying experience of pleasure. He quotes the writer Christianne Rochefort: “It is he [the male] who, at the end of the day, is frigid, and not in imagination: ejaculation without orgasm is not unusual in his little secret garden” (p. 60).

In answer to the question “What makes a man?” P insisted that the better question should be “what makes a person”?

P: I think this statement means what makes a human being. You know ... when someone ... you get two types of people in this world ... you get losers and you get people who follow what their hearts are ... whatever. I'm being serious ... that's what I think makes a man. Okay, cross it out and put person ... what makes a person. (p. T9 col. 1)

[section left out]

P: You see what I'm saying ... makes a man, I believe you're trying to achieve something with your life and there's certain people that can achieve that ... and that's ... those are what makes the people... (T10 col. 1)

and

P: [section left out] I know out there what makes a man good and like stand up for what he believes, you know ... provide... (p. T10 col. 1)

The stance of individual achievement is usually associated with masculinity. Here it is voiced at moments as gender-neutral "what makes a human being"; "what makes the people", and at another moment as gendered: "what makes a man". This could be interpreted as this individual (P) seeing "human" as equated with "man". The idea of the "male-as-norm" is part of the gender classification system in which "the standard of the normal human being is a male one" (Spender, 1980, p. 3). This may be the subtext here. On the other hand, as described above, P was perhaps the one individual in all of the groups who seemed most willing and able to take responsibility for safer sex by being open with sexual partners. He also, as evidenced above, had the widest approach to sexual experience. Thus, although these comments are ambiguous, they may also imply that he has moved in the direction of less gender-splitting and greater gender equality in his own sexual relationships, at least. This was borne out to an extent by an individual interview which I held with P later.

Other contradictory positions were evident in Group Three, where one individual consistently claimed condom usage, especially on first intercourse:

G: I'd go with her all the way on the first night, but ... IF I had a condom ... that IS that is the time for it [inaudible] ... and I would never have sex without a condom, definitely. (p. T31 col. 1)

Although it is not clear how G sees himself practising safer sex in the later stages of a sexual relationship, his tone is much less ambivalent here about condom usage than with most other individuals in the groups. This is reiterated in later comments. In Group Four, a positive response was voiced to the idea of a woman asking a man to use a condom, and in general the men in this group felt that they would use condoms on first intercourse. This was also the group that seemed most knowledgeable about issues to do with HIV. There was one individual in the group who was a medical student, thus he was better informed on the biological aspects of HIV transmission. Another was a sociology student who had done a course on gender,

including a study on HIV. There were moments at which he voiced ideas drawn from feminist discourses, for example on issues such as battery, female circumcision and the differences in media representations of men and women in terms of sexuality. He also voiced a sense of discomfort with the concept of performance, yet seemed unable to conceive of an alternative way of thinking about heterosexual sex.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explicate the differences expressed by the above individuals, as this would require detailed exploration into their backgrounds and history. However, the information that is available suggests that all of these individuals had had some exposure to alternative discourses. P from Group One had experienced various relationships, one for example with an older woman, which had altered his approach to sexuality, allowing for it to be more open-ended and less compulsorily linear;⁵ G from Group Three had lived outside of South Africa and was at present sharing a house with a feminist woman which would very likely have influenced his ideas; and J from Group Four had done three years of study in sociology. Providing instances of alternative discourses should be part of any HIV education programme, as these open up spaces for individuals to shift towards different discursive investments.

⁵An interview which I held with P after the group discussions suggested, however, that the fact that he was able to be open to learning within these relationships was to do with his family history; for example being positioned as the youngest in the family with close relationships with his mother and with an older sister.

Chapter 4

Discussion and conclusion

4.1 Effects of discourses

An important issue to bear in mind in the following discussion is the relationship between discursive practice and social practice. Although discourses shape behaviour there is not necessarily an equivalence between discourse and practice. However, certain discourses clearly dominated across the groups, and this suggests that they do probably influence individuals' behaviour within the sexual context, with the proviso that within each situation there will be specificities related to each individual's personal history, emotional investment in the discourses, and the particular relationship context and bodily experience. Moreover, codification of dominant discourses within historical and/or present texts will tend to endorse the behaviour represented by these discourses. This would hold for both formal discourses such as (inter alia) the discourses of biomedicine and sociobiology, or informal ones, such as those codified in the discourses of the popular media.

The image of heterosexual relationships conjured up by these discussions is on the whole a bleak one. They appear antagonistic, competitive, and lonely. Open communication and a mutual acknowledgement of risk does not seem easily possible within them, nor does a mutual sharing of needs and vulnerabilities. "Failure" construed by men as sexual incompetence (a flaccid penis) looms. From the point of view of masculinity it appears that, firstly, the sexual drive discourse and the male sexual drive discourse, and secondly, the discourses of sexual performance and

potency, are the discourses offering subject positions which most directly impede the practice of safer sex. Within the terms of these discourses, masculine sexuality requires erection, penetration and ejaculation. The negotiation of safer sex threatens an uninterrupted process towards the "successful" carrying out of these. Thus it threatens an image of masculine sexual potency which is central to male identity, but is at the same time extremely vulnerable. Safer sex will tend to be avoided if a rationalisation is available. The discourse of mood-breaking offers such a rationalisation. Within this discourse, the necessity of an unbroken, smooth, ambience around the sexual event is privileged. Talking disturbs this, thus breaks the rush of the "sexual drive", and might disturb the ability to "perform" within the linear requirements of penetrative sexual intercourse.

In most of the groups, men saw themselves as dominant in the sexual situation, and therefore the decision-makers. Their reported decision, in many cases, is not to use condoms. This decision is, however, often presented as a "non-decision", as their positioning within the male sexual drive discourse means that they see themselves as not really responsible for their actions. In this context a woman raising the possibility of safer sex would not be welcomed. Theories which suggest that gendered power relations in society present a major stumbling block to safer sex are borne out by the above. The sexual drive discourse, privileging as it does an androcentric image of sexuality, reinforces an ideology of male dominance within the sexual sphere. To challenge it would be to challenge one of the aspects of patriarchal structures of power.

Other rationalisations for avoiding negotiating safer sex are offered within the discourse of sexual history and trust versus mistrust, and the discourses of stigma, which are closely connected. For example, a decision might be made not to practise safer sex, based on the idea that the partner has become known and is "trusted", and is therefore "safe". Or she is thought not to be "promiscuous" and therefore does not pose a risk of HIV infection. This sense of safety is precarious, for the partner's HIV status is impressionistically judged in terms of a sense of familiarity, and a subjective judgement of the partner's sexual history. This is problematic from a number of viewpoints: firstly because "promiscuity" is stigmatised in women, total openness about earlier sexual partners is unlikely; and secondly, as noted earlier, it is not the number of sexual partners someone has had that constitutes the risk of HIV infection, but whether safer sex

has been practised or not (Patton, 1989; Watney, 1991; Weeks, 1988). Thirdly, these discourses position the Other (always the woman) as either safe or not-safe. The question of the man's own HIV status and the risk he might pose to a partner is not considered. This is a dangerous situation for women, as there is evidence that the probability of HIV transmission is two to three times greater from men to women than the other way round (Anastos and Palleja; 1991; Anderson, May and Rowley, 1992).

An issue for further research is the extent to which, within groups, a shared male discourse of sexuality involving pressure on men to be sexual, and to be seen to be sexually successful, silenced alternative discourses, in particular discourses of vulnerability. As mentioned above, the final question from the vignette about vulnerability and anxiety was either cursorily treated, misunderstood, or ignored in all of the groups. This could be explained by the fact that it was the last question, and individuals may have been tired, therefore gave this question short shrift. However, it is likely that exposing vulnerability was simply too threatening within this particular context. A distinction between public and private discourses is useful here. It is quite possible that within the context of an private interview, or in a specific relationship, individuals may have shown more vulnerability and exposed their anxieties more, while the group context, as a public space, would encourage a self-presentation that is more authoritative and confident (Goffman, 1959). Moreover, the public discourses might appear monolithic, while individuals in a more private context may evidence access to a greater variety of discourses.

4.2 Masculine identity

It seems clear from this study that there is a preoccupation with asserting masculine identity through sexuality, especially sexual performance. This attests to an underlying anxiety about masculine identity. Segal (1990) notes that “[p]sychological studies all seem to suggest that men are more preoccupied with masculinity, and more likely to be anxious over the lack of it” (p. 290). Psychoanalytic writing has consistently pointed to masculine identity as being ambivalent and conflictual. In particular, writers within the object relations school have produced theories about what has been seen as the underlying fragility of masculine identity.¹ Feminist object

¹See Segal (1990) for an insightful review of these theories, their uses and their limitations.

relations theorists such as Chodorow (1978) and Eichenbaum and Orbach (1984) have suggested (in brief), that masculine identity is based on a defensive denial of femininity arising from the "repression of maternal identification" (Segal, 1990, p. 80) related to exclusive female mothering.

These theories are useful in that they suggest ways of understanding the gendered splits of contemporary society. The incorrigibility of gender difference, and in particular, forms of masculine identity which seem to be predicated upon the difference from and denial of an "Other", may be related to deep-seated psychological structures arising from child-rearing practices such as described by feminist object-relations theorists. However, while these theories help to understand men's fear of and distancing from the feminine, it is important to remember that gendered relations of power are institutionally and discursively entrenched at every level of society, and that, as Segal (1990) cogently argues

... 'masculinity' gains its meanings, its force and appeal, not just from internalised psychological components or roles, but from all the wider social relations in which men and women participate which simply take for granted men's authority and privileges in relation to women. (p. 284)

In addition, Segal points out that many of the feminist object relations theorists do not take into account the "symbolic power and meanings attached to 'men' and 'masculinity'" (p. 82). In her view, the valorisation of masculinity in contemporary culture is an essential part of its problematic nature:

It seems...plausible to conclude from what we know about the ambivalent construction of male sexual identity that men, although the favoured sex, with higher levels of self-confidence and self-esteem, may nevertheless experience a lack of certainty over their 'masculinity', rather than a lack of satisfaction with it. (p. 289-290)

Hollway (1983) links the psychological and the social in suggesting that, because structurally (and symbolically) power is given to men, the power of women operates on an unconscious level for men and produces feelings of being threatened. These feelings would make an easy acknowledgement of vulnerability and need within the intimacy of the sexual context difficult, if not impossible. Certainly, as noted above, the acknowledgement of vulnerability is not available within the discourses of masculinity. Rather, its silent presence is felt in the assertions of

strength, toughness and “staying power” that are reiterated time and again, as well as the desire to possess women sexually, and the anger towards women that surfaces in irruptions of discourses of violence.

Evidence of male anxiety about sexual matters is provided by Hall’s (1991) study of the letters written by men to Marie Stopes after the publication of her book *Married Love*. Although this is an historical study referring to the period 1900–1950 in England, the author points out that “the existence of the common male dysfunctions and their prevalence in the community continue to be a well-kept secret” (p. 171), and that many doctors tend to avoid facing sexual problems in the surgery. Male sexuality is seen as unproblematic, therefore tends to be ignored not only in the medical arena but also in sex education.

4.3 Recommendations: general

What is consistently expressed in the literature is the need for the power relations of gender to be substantially altered. It is crucial for shifts to be made towards deconstructing the polarisations of gender and equalizing gender relations within the society. While masculinity is defined in opposition to femininity, ...“non-penetrative sex, or even the wearing of condoms, will be seen as emasculating”. (Wilton and Aggleton, 1991, p. 155) Segal (1990) observes that “[i]t is only in a world free from gender hierarchy, where women and men participate routinely in the spheres of the home and ‘work’, that we will finally see an end to the oppressiveness of ‘masculinities’ as we have known them” (p. 317). This is a long-term and massive project, involving, as Segal (1990) notes, “change in the economy, the labour market, social policy and the state, as well as the organisation of domestic life, the nature of sexual encounters and the rhetorics of sexual difference” (p. 294). However, part of the problem is that masculinity has for so long been considered the norm—“people, humanity, mankind” (Coward, 1990, p. 132), and women as Other to men. Men need to begin to recognise themselves as gendered. As Wilton and Aggleton (1991) point out

A systematic deconstruction of masculinity is central, not merely tangential, to radical HIV/AIDS discourse. In relation to policy even a sustained survey of the literature reveals heterosexual man as the great undiscussed, a ghostly presence

made manifest by his absence. (p. 155)

Only once “masculinity” is acknowledged as a construction with its own contradictions and problems, can any shift towards different forms of sexuality and more flexible possibilities of negotiation take place, and the “social constraints on individual behaviour” become less binding (Holland et al, p. 127).

4.4 Propositions

Although the struggle for gender equality must continue at a political and social level, on a smaller scale, ways of thinking about sexuality informed by the above could be incorporated into HIV education strategies. Primarily, strategies for education around safer sex should make explicit and question the basic assumptions of heterosexual sex: namely, the sexual drive discourse and its imperatives; and the “naturalness” of the dominant constructions of heterosexuality. They should provide alternative versions of masculinity, and images of different approaches to sexual practice. Whatever the form of the HIV education message, and it should be multi-layered, the insights discussed above could be incorporated. HIV education literature could highlight, in addition to condom use, alternative forms of sexual practice than penetrative intercourse. Depictions could emphasise the notion of responsibility for safer sex shared across relationships, rather than being presented as individual or as women’s responsibility (Strebel, 1992). The above ideas could be incorporated into the mass media, for example in the type of material developed for “Soul City”, a health promotion project of the Institute of Urban Primary Health Care, which develops multi-media material, including, for example, soap operas for prime time television and radio, to convey health information to the South African public (Galloway, 1995).

However, information-giving in itself is not adequate. As Wilton and Aggleton point out, “[i]ndividuals do not simply absorb information and respond logically by modifying their health-related behaviour” (p. 149). This holds especially for an area as closely connected to masculine identity as sexuality. Crucially, safe spaces must be provided for men to begin to question and explore their own experience of sexuality and to gain access to alternative discourses of sexuality. These spaces could be in the form of same-sex or mixed sex groups, and might or might not be

be part of education packages, combining audio and video tape or other resources. The provision of non-threatening, small-group contexts in which men may be able to reflexively explore their own sexuality, expose their anxieties, and begin to imagine new ways of experiencing sexual relationships, should be a core component of any AIDS education campaign. Only by giving men these opportunities will the frightening prospect of breaking down the walls of a gendered economy of antagonism become containable, and, in terms of HIV and AIDS, a sense of mutually shared risk within an ethos of community with women be built.

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Appendix 1.

Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town
MASCULINITY, POWER AND SEXUAL NEGOTIATION

NB: CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY IN THIS STUDY ARE ASSURED.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

TAPE CODE

1st Name:

Education attained:

Home Language:

Religious orientation (if any):

Current Occupation:

If a student: Course:

Year:

Majors:

If scholar: Standard

Sexual Relationships:

Have you had sexual relationships in your life?

If so, have you had more than one?

Approximately how many?

How long have they lasted?

Are you in a sexual relationship or relationships now?

Monogamous or more than one partner?

For how long?

Appendix 2.

Note:

Please use these questions as a guide to your discussion– they don't have to be followed exactly. I'm interested centrally in two issues: AIDS and sexual negotiation: and masculinity and I'd like you to try to cover those.

Vignette

A woman and a man meet each other for the first time at a party given by mutual friends. They are strongly attracted to each other and spend most of the party dancing together, talking and getting to know each other. It is around midnight and the lights are low. They are dancing close, looking into each other's eyes. They mutually decide to leave the party and go to the woman's flat. They get into a car which is parked outside and drive off.

Questions

AIDS and sexual negotiation

1. What is this couple going to do now?
2. Do you think that the man and the woman might have different expectations about what will happen? Explain.
3. Do you think that they will or won't talk about safer sex?
4. How might the subject be raised? What will be the outcome?
5. How do you think the man might feel if the woman asked him to use a condom? How would he respond?

6. Have you ever been in a similar situation? In what context do you usually meet people you might end up having sex with? Does it happen quite quickly or do you spend time together first?
7. In such situations (and sexual relationships generally) how did (or how do) you deal with the issue of AIDS and safer sex? Is it easy or difficult?
8. In what context would you be more likely to use a condom (or another form of safer sex)?

Masculinity

9. What do you think "makes a man"?
10. When it comes to sexuality, are men and women different? If so, how? Are there ways in which they are similar?
11. Is there anything in particular that makes you feel "masculine" or manly?
12. Do you feel that women expect men to "perform" sexually? What does "performance" mean to you?
13. What do you think of "alternative" forms of sexuality such as caressing, massage, mutual masturbation etc?
14. Do you think men ever feel anxious/vulnerable about sexuality or in sexual situations? Yourself? What kind of situations?

Appendix 3

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Note: This transcript is, as far as possible, word accurate. Because of the nature of the analysis, it was not considered necessary to annotate it in detail for pause length, overlaps, and other nuances of speech. The following conventions were deemed sufficient.

1. A short pause or grammatical rupture is indicated by three dots ...
2. [Section left out] Indicates that material has been omitted from the transcript
3. Short comments, words of assent, and laughter, which are interpolated within someone else's utterance, are signalled by square brackets, for example [Ja] [laughter]
4. Emphases are indicated by upper case.
5. Editorial clarifications are indicated by round brackets, for example "... in the path of you having (sexual intercourse)"
6. Material which is inaudible is noted as follows: [inaudible]
7. Speakers are indicated by initials. Where it was difficult to identify speakers, initials have been omitted. This was largely the case for Group Four.
8. Page numbers in the transcript are denoted T1, T2 etc., and are referred to thus in the body of the analysis.

Table I.

Groups	Number	Occupation	Age	1st Language
GROUP ONE	4	Postgrad UCT students	22	English
			22	Greek
			23	English
			23	German
GROUP TWO	5	Undergrad UCT students	21	Afrik/Xhosa
			23	Tswana
			28	Afrikaans
			28	Xhosa
			28	Zulu
GROUP THREE	4	Scholar (St 9) Undergrad student Branch Manager Waiter	17	English
			19	English
			21	English
			19	English
GROUP FOUR	4	Medical Student Undergrad UCT Students	21	English
			21	English
			22	English
			22	English

Transcript

AIDS 94-95 GROUP ONE

P: A woman and a man meet to chat up for the first time at a party given by mutual friends. They are strongly attracted to each other and they spend most of the party dancing together, talking and getting to know each other. It's around midnight and the lights are low and they're dancing close. Looking into each other's eyes ... oooh this is Mills and Boons material — they mutually decide to leave the party and go to the woman's flat ... they get into her car which is parked outside and drive off...Questions: What is this couple going to do?? Find out about...

L: Are we going to go round circularly or what...

P: No, no, everyone just talk...

E: Um ... all at once... ?

P: Well in my opinion they're going to sleep together.

C: Depends on the amount of alcohol that they'd consumed. [Laughter]

P: Well, they mutually decide to go to the woman's flat ... what are they going to go for? Coffee?

C: He could pass out!

E: Ja ... whose car is this by the way? [Laughter]

P: [Laughs] You're getting off the point ... okay ... Um ... I'd say they're going to sleep together. You?

E: Ummmm ... well, not necessarily sleep together.

P: They might, they might fall in love and talk the whole night long.

E: Heavy petting...

L: That is very, very possible...

P: Ja ... okay ... but what...

L: Maybe they're going to kiss...

E: Maybe they're just going to [inaudible] ... 'cause they haven't kissed yet...

L: End of story, anyway.

P: Do you think that the man and the woman might have different expectations of what will happen?

Ja...

P: I know for sure that they probably will ... 90% of the time...

E: But why would they mutually consent to go to the

woman's flat?

P: Because ... the woman wants to get to know this guy, but doesn't necessarily want to have sex with him. Ummmm ... I doubt you can just ... I don't know ... normal people ... can't just go ... normal people.

E: Well I mean I think that lots of people have that sort of way of getting to know people...

P: What? Go the party and that's enough you know ... whatsiname...?

E: No ... Using sex as a mechanism of getting to know people.

P: Ja ... I didn't like that...

E: Why?

P: I don't know ... because you're starting at the, you know, king five, and you're supposed to start at pawn, you know, basically ... I don't know ... I think most of the time the woman wants to just meet and talk and the man wants to have sex. I'm not talking from personal experience. I hope that's noted!

L: Don't believe a word of it. [Laughter]

E: Ummmm ... I don't think they would, the woman would go to the flat if she's going to talk at 12 o'clock.

P: I've had friends go ... I'd go to a friend's place and talk till 12 o'clock.

E: Yes, but because you've both decided in some way...

C: No, no ... you see that's not after you've picked up this individual from some party... [overtalk]

E: You've got to meet with the person.

P: Ja, correct ja ok., you people got an argument. L., talk, please. [inaudible]

P: Do you think they will or won't talk about safer sex?

E: They won't.

P: I will!

E: Why would you talk about it?

P: For fucks sakes! [inaudible]

L: Maybe its a nice sort of pick up line.

P: Ja ... it's like, what do you think about safer sex?

L: Sort of feeling your way around, you know ... if she likes safer sex, then ...[inaudible] maybe she just likes sex as well ...

L: Ja, cool ... exactly.

E: Why would they, do you think they will or won't talk about safer sex ...?

P: I think we're going too quick through these questions, people. Do you think they will or won't talk about safer sex? E?

E: Mmmm ... difficult to say actually. [Laughter]

P: Why? Would you talk about safer sex?

C: Ummmm ... I'm sure it would depend on the situation.

Ja...

L: I would be careful ... I'd be careful...

P: Would you talk about safer sex? Would you talk about it? it's not as if you'd wear a damn condom ... Would you talk about it, would you ask her how many people she slept with... [overtalk]

E: Oh, no I wouldn't, I wouldn't...

P: I would.

E: I would just talk about condoms ... [P: I would] not asking about sexual history.

P: No, I would ... I would ... I would ask...

E: But WHY ... that's got nothing to do with it.

P: It has ... because if I'm going to sleep with her ... what's the rule? You sleep with a person .. you've slept with every person they've slept with before ... and that's the AIDS rule.

E: Yes, but if you're using a condom, I mean ... you don't want to know about their history necessarily.

P: Ja, if you're using a condom. What if she's on the pill?

E: Ja ... and what has people's history got to do with safe sex?

P: Oh okay ... like example, if she's had two monogamous relationships that's both lasted four, five, six years ... then you know...

E: That she hasn't died from the first one.

P: Uh ... umm, ja. She hasn't died ... well, it takes about, it takes about five years, there's a dormancy of five years ... there's another ten years um... HIV and then it goes into full-blown AIDS I think.

L: What, dormancy of seven years?

C: Depends on how old you are and...

P: Ja ... and AIDS there's so many factors and that, but still.

E: What's the oldest...

L: [inaudible] ... you're going to be dead, basically. If you catch AIDS now or at 30, it doesn't make a difference.

P: ... fortyfive, or at the age of fifteen years, ja.

E: Who's the oldest person to have gotten AIDS?

P: Whatshisname, um, the piano player.

E: Liberace.

Rock Hudson.

P: Oh, Rock Hudson.

E: Rock Hudson...[inaudible]

P: So, C, do you think they WILL or WON'T talk about safer sex?

C: Um... I'm sure they won't.

E: Well, what do you mean by safer sex?

P: Would you? [overtalk]

C: It's not a matter of you will or won't ... it's like ... you protect you own neck, I think ... but there's a lot of awkwardness going on in a situation like that, and you don't want to...

P: You've got no relationship with this woman, you're about to...

E: ... interested in an intimate relationship, you just want to spend the night together, what do you mean? [overtalk]

P: That's intimate!

L: You might just just, like fuck up... [inaudible]

E: Metaphorically speaking... [laughter, [overtalk]]

P: Metaphorically speaking, of course, E!

P: Oh ... You're scared you might strike out if you bring it up ... is that what you're saying?

C: No ... the thing is ... it's not that easy to answer. Like if if if you had a condom right, that's a different story then I wouldn't ... you would not definitely ... you would definitely not ask that question.

E: You'd definitely not?

C: No ... yeah.

P: Because you're going to use the condom?

E: Because you could use the condom, ok ja.

E: But I mean, what's the point of asking people if they're going to lie to you anyway.

P: No they won't.

C: More likely they will ... because they're going to be unsure on how they're going to end up ... sending you.

P: L?

C: Stop, stop, stop falling asleep, boy.

P: Wake up big boy. Would you?

L: What?

P: Ask about her previous relationships or ask her...

L: No way ... that would completely spoil the mood... [loud laughter]

E: Yes, no, I mean I wouldn't ask ...it's none of my

business ... think about it... [overtalk]

P: But if you're nervous ... you don't [inaudible]

L: Sounds like [inaudible] police, you know...

E: Then you don't go and have sex with her on the first night ... you get to know somebody first if you want to find out those things...

P: Ja, but you want to, like, like...

E: It's a very private...

You're making it sound like a medical procedure, you know, like... [laughter]

P: This is intimate talk, people, before the clothes come off. It's decent pillow talk.. "So what do you think about safe sex?" "Oh I practice safe sex all the time, cool, you know. Take your bra off now"... [laughter]

E: What are you asking again? There was something I wanted to say.

P: We've come to the next question ... how might the subject be raised? I say it's pillow talk. You park there, and you say "what do you think about you know..."

E: Okay ... wait ... let's say you're sitting in the lounge, you're having coffee, and you're going to ask her what was your sexual relationships...?

P: No, no no... it's not ... that's the wrong time ... You park there, you're kissing ... you're started to breathe heavily, she's starting to breathe heavily ... you pull back you say I want to make love to you so badly, but I'm scared. She says why? I say I don't know you. She says...

E: Wait ... I've never ... I can't imagine such a conversation amongst people... [laughter]

P: You can't! I've had it ... [laughter]. I've fuckin had it.

E: Okay ... um ... if you say so.

P: I have. What...

E: So did you talk about safe sex?

P: Yeah.

E: And then how do you feel afterwards, were you still excited?

P: Better, when I found out she'd got a monogamous relationship. I was, totally ... she was, she came from ...

E: She was Catholic...

P: Ja. She didn't use a condom, she was on the pill, but she was, um she'd been with one person.

E: And this person had been?

C: So what?

P: Maybe this person had been with ... I don't know ... but you'd said that ... that was a big fuck up in my...

L: ... maybe you'd want to ask her whether she'd been

for an AIDS test, you know, before you actually go...

P: You people, you people are ripping me off here ... hey? [No, no] [Laughter, overtalk]

E: Ja I mean...

L: Before you embark on the big step, you might go for an AIDS test together if you're really serious...

P: Ja okay.

L: Unless you want to just go for a one night stand ... in which case you just use a condom.

E: There's that distinction. I mean a one night stand and intimate relationships...

P: Well then, if you're keen on one night stands, just carry condoms around...

E: Ja...

P: Then it won't bring up these problems. Cause there is no issue then.

E: Okay, so you have to deal with two questions...

P: Don't be silly put a condom on your willy!

L: Okay - that's enough advertising... [laughter]

E: How might the subject be raised?

P: What will be the outcome? Well according to L it'll ruin the mood, according to C it'll ruin the mood, according to ... you ... won't bring it up ... and in my opinion both people will feel relaxed because they're...

E: Either carry it or shut up ... Wait ... let me see ... ja, that sounds right...

P: What?

E: Either you have it or you don't talk about it. Condoms.

P: Condoms are not 100% safe, hey. There is such a thing as breakages and leakages and ... da da da...

E: Yes, and you also don't get AIDs every time you have sex.

P: Ja ... okay...

E: I mean, so the probability is multiplied.

P: Ja okay, but there is still a small outcome then ... so why not try and minimize it?

E: How?

P: By making...

E: Even the safest woman has...

C: When you think about it, the conversation here ... (a) you're going to be using the condom, right? So you've got a 99% chance of it working, right [yes] and are you going to try and add an extra .05% on to those...

P: .05 ... we're talking physicist-wise now ... okay?

E: Um... what will be the outcome ... If you do ask to talk about it.

P: I think ... in my opinion...

L: What ...do you want to have sex with me? Get out of my flat, NOW...

P: Ja ... you BASTARD... [laughter]

E: Right ... whose flat is this, we're at the woman's flat ... okay...?

P: Ja, we're at the woman's flat ... um... I think, it'll make her feel more relaxed.

L: I think a woman, you know, she loves to, sort of like, I don't know, she allows you to come back to her flat and ... sort of like at it the whole night ... mutually deciding to ... leave the party and dancing close and shit, you know, I mean, she pretty much knows what's coming.

P: No, I disagree L.

C: No ... I, I agree ... this is definitely ... smacks of one night stands.

P: Ja ... But there is such a thing called a tease, ok.

E: Such a thing.

P: Such a ... a concept called a tease ... such a concept ... calls it teasing. Some people like to tease. I've never personally enjoyed it myself.

E: Being teased, or teasing?

P: You know whatever turns you on, hey? Where we? Uh ... What will be the outcome? Have we answered that?

E: Umm what will be the outcome if they do talk about it? No we haven't.

P: E?

E: What, do you won't to have sex, is that what you're saying?

P: No ... outcome ... if ... they talk about, you know, safe sex. ... Like, contraception, past experiences, da da da da hoo haa, hoo haa ... HIV documents, that type of thing ... [laughter] ... What will be the outcome? L you're convinced the mood will be ruined?

L: Ja ... that's what I just said...

P: C? I can't see you nodding...

C: Nodding? [Laughter]

C: It really depends on the person you know ... it's not an easy question to answer, I mean .. each situation has its own kind of [french word]

P: E?

E: Okay ... you've just asked how might the subject be raised. What will be the outcome? So we're not really saying if there will be a conversation, because the woman might just break it off or you might just break it off, once the subject is raised. I mean I don't understand this ... [inaudible]...

C: No ... I think ... no ... I mean it's got nothing to do with breaking off of the kind of mutual agreement ... I think L...

L: I mean, if she's into sex you know, she might just say ja, okay. But if she's not into sex then she'll say get out of here ... out of my flat. You know, it just depends completely on the person.

E: Mmmmm. Okay, so by breaking the mood you mean just like you have to leave or something?

C: Not necessarily.

P: No ... breaking the mood is basically like ... you're all romantic and suddenly you go, excuse me, have you got a condom on your willy and you go ... [sigh] ... mmmm okay.

C: What do you have to say, E? Fine?

E: Well, if the subject is raised and...

Oh it's no problem...

E: Everybody's happy about it. But it doesn't necessarily happen that the mood is broken ... is it necessarily so?

C: No, not necessarily. It's just that...

P: I think it takes something bigger ... because people feel relaxed then ... you're being honest...

E: But sex is a way of releasing tension...

P: Well E maybe for you, bud, ok, but for me you know ... it's like, I don't know ... releasing tension ... honey I've had a hard day at work. Okay, assume the position!!

E: What's the tape code?

P: Oh don't worry about the tape code. Um ... How do you think the man might feel if the woman asks him to use a condom? Okay ... How would you respond? Ok Which way we're going? We'll start with you, E.

E: Ummm... I'd ask her if she had any, if I didn't have. I wouldn't be against it.

P: And how would you respond if asked if she had any, if she didn't have?

E: What are we supposed to talk about here?

P: I think it's a personal response.

E: I mean do we talk about whether we prefer condoms or what?

P: No ... no ... it's just how do you think the man might feel if the woman asks him to use a condom. How would you feel?

E: So we talk about this man here, or men in general?

P: No ... we're talking about us ... I think.

E: Us as roles?

Ja ... we're role acting aren't we ... role playing...

L: Are we really, okay?

P: Get into it, people. Get into it.

L: Well I know some men who would say no, I want to

feel some flesh and [laughter] ... [inaudible]. Ja ... sure honey, you know ... [E: and] ... I don't like it but I'll still do it, you know.

P: Would it, ja, would it make you feel far more comfortable if someone asked you to use a condom?

E: But I mean what are the advantages of using condoms?

P: She doesn't get pregnant [inaudible]...

E: I mean physically, I mean physically.

P: Even though syphilis is curable nowadays...

C: No look, it makes you feel more comfortable, but it, ... ja ... it's ... it's not, not the ideal...

P: [inaudible] Anyway condoms are only used for the final stage of penetration ... there's a whole, there's a whole like 35 minutes before that when you...

E: WHAT!!! [Laughter]

P: Oh you people, oh you people ... there's a good 45 minutes before that when you don't even get close.

E: Yes, but there's a whole couple of hours at the party as well.

P: I doubt whether that constitutes oral sex.

E: Oh ... are you talking about oral sex now?

P: Ja. I'm saying, you know ... condom isn't like the be all and end all of sex. It's not like you know ... I don't know. I don't think so ... really. How do you think a man might feel if a woman asks him to use a condom. I'd feel chuffed. I'd feel safe.

E: If she asked you [P:sorry] like nine o'clock that night?

P: No man ... [inaudible]

E: Lo and behold I'd take her...

P: You know, what have you got, a masters degree?

P: I don't know, you need an equation here, an integral equation here ... it's a very simple process. How would you respond? How would you respond? L?

L: No ... I'd feel quite safe.

P: I'd feel chuffed.

L: I would go for it. I wouldn't say no.

E: I mean if that was a condition to having sex?

L: Pretty reassuring. Save me two bucks as well, ja...

P: Two bucks? What's two bucks? [laughter] Or whatever. ...

L: I suppose you can get them for free at the clinic.

E: Ummmm ... can I read the next question?

P: Ja, E, you can read it because I'm not going to answer it ... [laughter].

E: Have you ever been in a similar situation? Okay, we'll do that one first.

P: What, have you ever been in a similar situation?

E: Yes.

P: Yes

C: This embodies most of the situations ... [laughter] ...

P: E, it's a yes or no question.

E: Yes.

P: Approximately how many ...

E: In what context do you usually meet people you might end up having sex with?

L: Mowing the lawn [laughter]

P: ... what people do you meet...?

L: Um ... after a couple of beers...

E: So it's...

L: At night. Especially Friday and Saturday. Then it's sort of like ... ja...

E: Sort of like?

L: Like out on the town context.

E: At a party or bar or ... either?

L: Either.

P: Can I speak?

E: In what context arts festivals ...

P: Arts festivals [laughter] E we don't want to hear that story again ...I've met at ... Bar, bar, work...

E: Work? How do you...

P: Work, at work. I used to work at Spur.

C: Okay ... a famous Spur...

E: customer ... [Laughter]

E: ... the tips I get...

P: No ... it's a ... um fellow-worker ... um ... and work as well - so it was bar, work, work.

L: Most sort of ... I mean, like climbing... [Laughter]

P: Oh ... climbing!

L: No ... it's actually quite strange...

P: I thought climbing was to get out your stresses - like E said ... there's nothing left after that, eh? According to E. [overtalk]

C: Bars are pretty good as well.

P: Bars? I've only met one in a bar...

E: I've met on campus as well.

L: Campus bars?

P: Ja ... campus bars ... that's what I mean.

E: Not just campus bars that's where I've met a couple ... campus bar...

C: Because ... one thing [inaudible] relaxed these days...

P: Well ... they're closest ... ja.

E: The social aspect...

L: There's no on-campus pub...

E: Mmmmm okay, but we'll take up that matter elsewhere. Has everybody answered that question? Bar, work, campus...

P: I've had work, work, bar ...you've had campus...

C: ... every aspect of one's existence...

E: You're always looking out for it. Is that what you're saying, C? [Laughter]

C: I never said that! [Laughter]

P: Well, he's at his prime ... I hope he's always looking out for it...

P: I'm joking ... um ... does it happen quite quickly, or do you spend time together first?

E: Time meaning days, or hours and minutes?

P: Um... well [laughter] say ... whatever you ... answer the question E, and say time meaning days, hours or minutes.

E: It happens quite quickly. Hours. Um ...[inaudible] sometimes situations ... um...

P: Very quickly, you're talking hours ... fucking quickly you're talking minutes...

E: MINUTES!

P: Very long, we're talking months, and long we're talking months.

E: And what about people that you've known for a long time? Do they count? [P:Ja] that's when I'd have sex...

P: Um... you've known for a long time but you haven't been intimate, and then you suddenly ... that I reckon is months.

E: Okay ... but then are we answering the question of ... like ... um... you've always been friends and that sort of things [P:Yeah] ... ok so that's months?

P: That's months, I regard. Because you've been friends and ... well, I don't know ... ja cool. Well...

E: Anything, L?

L: Depends really. I've had both.

P: What? Months and minutes? [L: yeah] Oh well rounded off young fellow here. [laughter].

C: I must say that I prefer months though to minutes...

P: Ah ... hear, hear!

E: You much prefer months to minutes?

L: No ... sort of like in the long term aspect of it you know - but obviously ... minutes is like ... it's sort of like, it's like a gaussian curve you know that takes minutes - and it goes up and down quickly - like it goes down in minutes as well ... you know ... for months it's like a gaussian curve with a very long long, [inaudible]... with a very sigma ... very long sigma...

E: But if we're talking about one-night stands then ob-

viously we're talking about minutes?

L: Ja...

P: Well we're not necessarily talking about one night stands.

E: In what context do you usually meet people. I mean...

P: ... you might end up having sex with ... in what context? You've said ... bar, work, work or whatever ... we're off the situation and that story now. E, keep up with us.

E: No, but once you've met these people, does it happen quite quickly, or do you spend time together first?

P: Well, I told you ... two I spent some time together, two it happened quite quickly.

E: No .. but so ... okay ... so they want you to ... they want to know are you sexually attracted towards this person basically.

P: Ja ... well...

E: Okay...

P: Wait...

E: Okay. [P:wait] And then how long does it take to get [inaudible] from that stage...

P: Wait. Um, um...

E: Okay, let's answer that question. [inaudible] sexually attracted after ... [inaudible] after a while. [overtalk]

P: Okay, okay...

E: From when they become sexually attracted to when you sleep together?

P: Oh, okay, if THAT's the question - then its hours!

E: Then it's always going to be hours?

P: Ja ... because you become sexually attracted and then you, you. Ja ... that situation's been hours for me ... although you've been friends for long ... by the time you became sexually attracted...

L: Although ... I'm sorry...

P: You can't just become sexually attracted. I'm sure you were always felt sexually attracted in a sort of way E, ... even though you're friends, you think ... you know, she's cute ... or ... You can't just suddenly say oohh, she's a hottie, gasp, whoa ... you know, it doesn't just work that you become sexually attracted, although a few beers might help. [laughter]

E: Yeess...

P: In some situations, sexual relationships generally, how did or how do you deal with the issue of AIDS and safe sex? Is it easy or difficult? Umm...

C: It's very difficult.

P: I find it quite easy, personally. I find it easy to talk about the safe sex shit.

L: Easy to talk about it, but to actually do it? Go for an AIDS test and that sort of thing...?

P: I really want to go for one. Please come with me.

E: But what if we do have it?

P: Well then fuck ... then we know we've got 15 years ... so big deal ... because no ... I seriously do want to go for one, because I've done it without a condom and I've felt like shit ... it's been on my back for the past five years, so. well, not five, whatever, so. E, you're going to come, come with me boy. Someone come with me - I don't want to go alone...

E: What does vignette mean?

C: Okay ... make a date...

P: Are you keen, C? I'll phone the STD clinic tomorrow...

E: SPCA clinic? [Laughter]

P: STD clinic ... you have to just go for a talk before and they ... [yeah] and they...

E: Do they provide psychological counselling?

P: Ja ... before and after ... you have the before talk and then after you have a big whack on your hands saying you shouldn't have come here ... no I don't know how they do it, I think they're pretty professional here. I know they weren't ... I once ... this was ... I was pissed off. I once went to give blood and they asked the questions ... how many sexual relationships have you had that year ... and I'd had two ... okay ... and it was just, it was a weird question, because if they'd asked me six months later ... I would have said one ... but it was just the end and the start type of thing, you know ... so I said two ... you know what I tried ... [inaudible]

P: No, no, no ... we're talking a few, a few ... a break in-between ... okay ... but then, and so I sat there and I'd like to give blood and this woman came to me and people were standing around, and she said "Is this what you filled in on your form right?" So I looked and I blushed. I felt like an arsehole. I said yes. And she said well you can't give blood. And fuck ... people were standing around.

E: But why can't you give blood?

P: Because they won't let you give blood.

E: Won't they test it anyway?

P: Well, she took a sample to test ... okay ... but I never heard anything.

C: Ja... but that is...

P: No ... but it was so unprofessional ...it fucked me off ... first of all you don't take me aside. You take a sample. Why wouldn't I write the truth on it anyway? Why would I say I'd had two sexual relationships. She comes to me and says is this true? Not in front of other people. There were people I just didn't want them to know about it ... And people that ... they've got

nothing to do with them... friends of mine...

C: I just think that whenever you go in Hospital ... I think ... everybody should be tested.

P: Well I haven't been [C: point of]... Ja okay ... but I just wanted ... [overtalk]

E: Whenever you go to hospital you should be tested. [inaudible] [C: Ja]

P: It's quite expensive.

C: Ja ... but if you're tested for most of the extremely contagious things like Hepatitis B and so on...

E: Ja, but they don't...

C: No, they can't really test you without your consent...

E: So basically you become [inaudible] unconscious of them. [inaudible]

C: They will test you. Bottom line is they will. If you go into surgery ...it's like ... officially they haven't.

P: So E, is it a date?

C: Ja ... okay ...

P: I'll phone tomorrow. L, you keen?

L: No.

P: Der der der der ... [laughter] and T, twilight zone...

L: No, I'm, I'm negative ... I know I'm negative...

P: No, that's cool ... I just want to get this off my back.

E: But do you get a certificate?

E: No .. you have to go back in six months time.

E: What for?

P: The lapse period where they can test now and then there's a lapse period of six months. But if you've had monogamous relationships for the past six months, the first result is basically correct. Um ... okay, let's get back to the questions ... In such situations ... and sexual relationships generally, how did or do you deal with the issue of AIDS and safe sex ... is it easy or difficult?

C: I'm [inaudible] E would, would um ... E ... allow your girlfriend to have an AIDS test out of interest? Would would would, is it like, uh...

E: It's getting a bit personal... [overtalk]

P: A bit of a low blow, that...

C: A ...point...

P: A bit of a low blow [inaudible] say so myself.

E: My permanent girlfriend or ...without their consent.

P: Your permanent girlfriend...

C: Would you do it without their consent?

E: Without their knowledge? [P:uh] Once you'd had sex with them?

P: Shit, that's a fucking interesting question... because...

C: What would you do if it was positive?

C: Ja ... actually I think ... well, it's not only...

P: What must I do now ... phone B up and say ... B I'm going for an AIDS test ... after a four year relationship.

C: I think its ... ja ... shoo...

P: Oh fuck man ... I can't do that. Especially if she's up in W. God!

E: And if I knew what... [inaudible]

P: And if you knew you were positive? What?

E: There's nothing you can do.

P: There is, E. you can still lead a very productive life. It's not over.

E: No, ... what I mean is my girlfriend would have it as well...

P: Why? Unless you got her wet enough every time she probably won't. You know how you get it? ... it's on penetration, lubrication isn't too ... so this is what I've learned - I might be wrong - don't quote me. Lubrication isn't that good ... there's scratches ... if you look at your penis under the microscope afterwards, there's scratches ... and there's blood transfusions between the scratches, okay ... that's why it's easier to get it through anal penetration because it's the lubrication and it's far tighter ... lubrication is less and it's far tighter so there are far more scratches through anal penetration than there is to vaginal penetration.

P: What are you laughing at L?

E: No, but what about ... I mean ... AIDS isn't just in your blood, is it?

P: Ja... it's in your semen as well. No ... I mean that's one way ... it gets transferred by semen as well. No I mean the scratches and all that crap ... but still I don't know about that for sure, so ... Okay ... in such situations okay ... let me tell you my story ... Such situations - your sexual relationship ... how did you or how do you deal with it ... the issue of AIDS and safer sex? I spoke about monogamous relationships ... okay ... the first two it was, it was, well whatever, ... it was cool ... it was a condom ... that was more for pregnancy than anything else. The second one it was just fucking plain stupid, there was no condom, nothing. And then [inaudible] after that it was cool. It was ... after that ... speaking ... there was no condoms ... we were just speaking about monogamous relationships ... it was learning the past before ... having you know ... knowing ... who she slept with...

L: Meanwhile you might have it yourself?

P: Ja, I know.

L: Ja ... fine thing to ask her in that case?

P: Ja, but she asked me the same question.

E: Yes, but what's the point of asking if you don't have a known test, you don't have a card saying you don't...

P: you guys are making me feel like shit...

Right ... but I I answered ... I did say...

E: I mean, here in the previous questions it's basic probabilities you're going on ... asking about sexual relationships.

E: You don't. You should actually try and get a card.

C: ... Either you ask them ... do you have AIDS ... or they don't know ... and they've had sexual relationships...

E: Even if there's just one...

C: Ja ... then you're running that risk, bottom line, I mean...

E: I mean what's the point if they've had six or seven or just one or two ... and you don't have a card saying...

P: It's the probability [inaudible] monogamous relationships ... it's more on promiscuous relationships it gets transferred. Okay? And monogamous relationships ... the chances are both couple are monogamous, therefore they're not promiscuous...

C: But I mean ... it doesn't matter ... it's like ... in a serial situation or a parallel situation ... I mean ... sure...

P: We're talking circuit diagrams here.

C: Ja ... I mean I'm sure we're talking about, you know, like, it's monogamous it's serial ... for a short time ... but it doesn't mean that one of the partners wasn't serial before that...

P: Ja okay ... ja, ja ja but it does cut down ... I agree totally, logically wise it doesn't make a difference. But I think ... I don't know ... Well, that's how I dealt with two.

C: The bottom line is that you're just, you're just saving your own neck...

E: And how do you save your neck?

P: Ja but C ... it's hard sometimes ... it's hard ja but C... it's crap...

C: Look look look I'm saying...

P: Okay ... you're partying there and you're speaking to this woman and she tells you that she's had monogamous relations ... you tell her well, I've slept with x many women ... and...

E: Where x is a natural number...

P: Where x is a ... No ... x is an empty joke ... but x ... [overtalk and laughter] natural integer! And then next thing you know, you're having sex. And...

C: Fair enough ... fair enough...

P: That's what it comes down to...

E: What're you raising your eyebrows about?

P: None of your fucking business...

E: Who asked you anyway?

P: YOU asked me!

E: Wasn't talking to you. [laughter]

P: But you said what're you raising your eyebrows about?

E: Anyway, what were you were saying C?

C: Don't worry. Nothing of any consequence.

P: [inaudible]

E: Why are your eyes so clear these days?

C: Clear? [Laughter]

P: E's on LSD, that's why. In such situations, C ... have you answered this question? Is it easy or difficult?

C: I think it's a...

END OF SIDE ONE: TAPE BREAK

C: What was I saying? [overtalk]

E: You were talking about ... is it easy or difficult?

C: Exactly!

E: You were saying ... it depends on the context.

C: Yes. I agree with that, E.

E: I didn't say it, you said it. Ummm what majors?

P: Physics and maths, E. It's not very difficult

E: What, physics and maths...

P: What do you think makes a man ... L? Your profound comment...

L: Oh ... are we on the next page now?

P: The mood maketh the man, eh L? What do you think makes a man?

L: Mmmm let me think now ... a REAL man...

P: A REAL man ... you know, like the quantum physics course you're doing, for REAL men...

C: Lots of testosterone...

P: What's testosterone?

C: Male hormone.

P: Oh okay ... are you being serious?

C: Yes ... I couldn't have put it better.

P: Ja? Is it? You?

C: You know it's actually unfair...

E: On the other hand [inaudible] testosterone look look look [inaudible] that's not really defining a man.

C: That's that's that's defining the like ... rather ... the bottom base line instinctive behaviour... [inaudible]

E: No I disagree. That's not my bottom baseline instinctive behaviour.

C: Speak for yourself.

L: A man is somebody who takes the consequences for his actions.

P: Der der der der... L??

C: Well ... no ... that's like, you know, a good, bad, normal, abnormal, that's like ... rating ...on on on [inaudible] a man, that's got nothing to do with men.

E: No but I mean ... they put in "makes a man" in inverted commas.

C: That's okay...

P: Do you believe something makes a man first of all?

E: Is there such a thing?

C: Well, for for for me ... the word MAN is purely a statement of people ... like ... individual sex and that ... that is loaded with sexual preference, and that's the bottom line.

E: But makes a man?

C: Nothing really makes a man. It's like ... in that context. It's not like, something like, you know, the cliched image of a man. That that's what they're trying to infer here. I don't [inaudible] with that.

P: I think this statement means what makes a human being. You know, when someone ... you get two types of people in this world, you get losers and you get people who follow what their hearts are ... whatever. I'm being serious ... that's what I think makes a man. Okay ... cross it out and put person ... what makes a person.

E: No, no this is...

C: No, I don't think ... masculinity [overtalk]

You're dealing with such a diverse range...

P: No but I don't see ... I can't see I don't [overtalk]

E: ... masculinity...

P: Ja but if that's ... it's a stupid question to ask ... what makes a MAN. You can ask the equivalent question what makes a woman ... it's not that, it's the person.

C: No no no... [overtalk]

P: There's nothing that makes a man that is different to a person!

Oh no.

E: So you can just say man ... separates a man [inaudible]

P: Ja, ja ... what makes a man is basically he's got a set of balls. Okay.

E: But what we know about, making men is that they're supposed to not cry and stuff.

L: Be strong...

P: Provide for their children... [telephone ringing]

E: Yes, but if we talk generally...

P: We are pausing right now.

P: Ja ... what makes a man is biological, that's all. I believe that. You can't ask what makes a man if he's

like cool ... or ... if he's like...

E: Socially, then. What makes a man?

P: No, but I don't believe that crap. You asking, you asking what I think.

C: I don't think this is a good question. I don't like it. I'm sorry ... I'm not going to answer that kind of question.

P: Lo- it's a kak question!

E: Manners maketh man.

P: Ja ... what makes a man? It's like...

E: Well they say ... clothes maketh the man ... how do you make sense of that kind of statement.

C: It's an arbitrary point of view set by somebody who thinks that clothes are important.

E: [inaudible] ... by a lot of people.

P: That's not the question. I think it's personal here. I know out there what makes a man good and like stand up for what he believes, you know ... provide...

C: I don't know ... I can't even [inaudible] that's a very difficult concept. [P: Ja] Unless you have it really well defined in your own head, it doesn't work you know ... just doesn't work.

P: All those in favour of skipping this question, aye?

C: Well, I've answered it already so...

E: Ja ... I mean ... can answer what makes a person... [inaudible]

P: Ja, okay.

L: But that's not on the question .

P: Never mind if we're...

L: ... information for this survey.

C: ... fair enough, because then the question is like ... what makes a woman ... right ... then basically you're getting down to, like, what defines the feminist, blah blah ... what defines this kind of movement...

P: Ja ... what defines a person ... what makes a person, what's in your opinion a person ... someone that ... you, I don't know, you'd think it was...

E: Are all human beings persons...

P: Ja, are all human beings...

C: All the human beings that I've known and talked to are considered to be...

P: Are you being serious? I've had quite a few fucking arseholes that I've ... [inaudible] people [overtalk] 'cause they are such arseholes.

C: You see that's a subjective level. What are you dealing with, aliens? Are you dealing with aliens?

P: No - fuck ups.

C: They say ... fucked up humans...

P: you see what I'm saying ... makes a man, I believe you're trying to achieve something with your life and there's certain people that can achieve that ... and that's ... those are what makes the people...

C: Ahhh ... I think it's very very ... elitist ... [overtalk]

P: From one point of view, ja.

Ja ja ... it is kind...

P: It is elitist. But I mean, like...

E: No, we're not only elitist.

L: But then we are probably elite ... [P: ja] hey?

E: Ja ... but these goals that [inaudible] ... that are supposed to be carried through ... we're not doing them because they're goals, we're just doing them.

P: Ja, okay, fair enough, but you've got your dreams and you're following them with all your heart.

C: It's not as simple as that.

Ja ... its [inaudible] ... they had a party in res.

P: There's C, [sings] the curious little monkey. Curious H, curious F, the curious little monkey. [laughter] Carry on.

C: No ... that's part of it, goals, dreams, but it's not the whole story, you can't break down your own life into little boxes. You can in set instances ... you can at that point in time break it down into little compartments ... just to make certain points more obvious to yourself. But but they're not static. So then statements like this are very difficult to answer and they're actually loaded.

P: Ok...

E: They're more suited to the philosophy class...

P: Hey?

C: They're more suited to a philosophy class. [P:Ja]

P: When it comes to sexuality ... are men and women different? E?

E: What do you mean by sexuality? How they respond to...

P: ... ja ... sexual turn-ons, and hardons, and...

C: This, this is another question right ... ok, are you a woman? So can you actually answer that question?

P: I can ...because I've...

C: No ... you see, you can only, you can communicate...

P: Wooooo ... [laughter] ... Noooo ... fuck off, piss off man ...I'm only just saying ... well, with the women I've been to, I think I can I can answer this question to a certain degree and I say ... Yes ... a hundred percent they are completely different. Every single woman I've been to, where man can get an erection within 5 seconds flat, a woman takes about half an hour properly to get turned on properly ... it just doesn't regard...

E: Maybe that's just with you, you know...

P: No ... [laughter] well okay, okay with me ... okay ... with me ... let's contextualize, this is with me, the basic point is that going to dinner before, having champagne ... all counts to turning the woman on ... where it doesn't count to turning the man on... [inaudible]

C: No ... what I'm saying I'm sure there are differences and it's all part of the game, like learning the rules, but they're asking you for a definitive statement which you can't really give. You can only give that much you've learned by communication...

P: Ja ... that's a ...[inaudible] what you've learned.

P: Are there ... what do you say?

L: Women use sex to get love ... men use love to get sex. [North American accent]

P: Okay ... [clapping hands] Okay, that's a good opinion, you? Are they different E, come on? Or don't you want to answer that?

E: Ja ... I think they are different, I mean. Women are kind of subtle about what turns them on ... I mean subtle things ... I mean not subtle, but I mean things that I wouldn't think about ... because it's obvious what turns men on.

P: Ja ... I know ... you touch it down there and it's throbbing ...[inaudible] um I know, no I'm not you, E. Um, I don't know, I can massage a woman and she can get turned on far more than even if I touch her, um, er...

E: Yes, yes that's true...

P: And she can get so turned on by massaging her ... I know that by just stroking her back she can nearly ... nearly have an orgasm. Meanwhile if someone strokes my back ... fucking hell ... what are you doing, you know ... you're relaxing me ... please don't get me relaxed ... I'm horny, you know ... They are completely different ... women ... it's this whole ... men, men I'm convinced ... men can dissociate themselves from, feelings from sexual contact. You can have SEX, completely dissociate your feelings from them. The concept of a one night stand? I don't think women can do that as easily.

E: But I mean they can...

L: Some women...

E: Some men have difficulties...

L: What about prostitutes?

P: Well, it's a job there.

L: No ... I wouldn't be so sure.

P: Oh they get fuck all ... they feel nothing as that penis penetrates them. NOTHING.

L: I wouldn't be so sure about that.

P: You can't ... you can't L, you can't get wet thirty times a damn day, or as often as they get laid. You can't. You can't. It takes...

L: It's a percentage.

P: I don't think ... have you seen that documentary ... Whore?

No ...

E: But we can't take "Whore" as a definitive statement on prostitution

P: Ja ... okay, but it is a very good one...

E: Do male prostitutes get orgasms or what?

P: Have you ever not had an orgasm? Sorry? Can I ask something?

E: Do male prostitutes enjoy themselves as much as female prostitutes ... I think that is the issue.

P: Have you ever not had an orgasm?

E: I haven't answered your question, the question of whether...

L: Depends whether they're servicing male clients or female clients ... Obviously if they're servicing female clients they have to get some sort of ... something like...

P: Here's the question, ja ... have you ever, have you ever...

E: I mean, we've all had hard-ons that we don't want ... you know ... you know ...[inaudible] prostitutes can be the same sort of thing. They're not really turned on but they do it because it's their job.

P: E can I ask you a question? Have you EVER had sex and not orgasmed? Ejaculated and not orgasmed?

E: No...

P: No ... you?

L: Ja!

P: HAVE YOU?

L: Ja ...

P: Alright, at least I'm not the odd one out...

E: Ejaculated without having orgasm?

P: Ja ... I've ejaculated without having an orgasm...

L: No ... no, no, no...

E: You had sex without having an orgasm...

L: Yes.

E: Without ejaculating?

L: Yes.

P: Ejaculating and orgasm isn't the same thing...

L: Well...

P: Unless I'm a fucking weirdo...

E: You're a weirdo. [laughter]

P: Fucking hell! Go and see a doctor. L? will you take us for psychotherapy. I've ejaculated and not had an orgasm.

E: Hey, don't make your problems our problems.

P: No I have ... I've ejaculated and not had an orgasm...

L: OH of course, I mean...

P: An orgasm ... [all talking together] Hey?

E: I mean there can be sperm there without...

P: Uh uh ... properly ... we're talking it spurts out ... bah...

L: Are we off the subject or what?

P: NO ... it's true, it's exactly the same. Like, I think we've got...

E: Is that inside a woman or ... outside?

P: Both. I can, I can, um, where it just ... I'm talking, there's an orgasm when ... you just feel your whole back go to rivets ... and you just ejaculate ... it feels nice, eh? But it's not an orgasm.

E: Mmmmm this is a new distinction.

P: I swear and I'm convinced people [laughter] people can find ...[inaudible] all the time.

P: I think women can ... you know a woman can't have an orgasm every time, not necessarily...

C: Hold on ... say that again...

P: It's not necessary that a woman has an orgasm. It's like she might not have one. She might have sex, but not have an orgasm.

E: But men always have an orgasm?

P: No ... not ... I thought that at first, but now I'm not too sure about that ... but according to you two I'm the odd one out, C, am I the odd one out?

C: I mean it's ... what difference does it make? I mean...

P: It does, because the orgasm is so intimately involved with your feelings in my opinion ... apart from the mechanical act ... you can have some ... you can jerk off and...

C: It's it's the act ... that is most of the fun.

P: Uh uh ... how do call it? I'm convinced, if you can ... Listen to this ... here's a good question. You can...

E: Oh yes ... [laughter]. sorry! [inaudible]

P: If you masturbate, okay, but you don't think of anything. Don't think of any sexual thing. Just masturbate. Eventually you will ejaculate. It's physical. It's a pumping system.

E: Are you supposed to be thinking of something else?

P: No ... no...

E: England or something!

P: Ja... [laughter].

P: Think of the love of your country...

E: No, you have to concentrate. You can't do...

P: ... I'm interested ... Here, this is a survey. Get men not to think of ... think of ... quantum field theory while you're masturbating ... Okay ... be turned on by whatever you want, man...

L: ... think about it for a long...

P: Masturbate and I think you will eventually come ... I'm convinced about that, but you won't orgasm.

E: Like ... I don't get it ... you're saying ejaculating is like peeing. No ... ejaculating is like a woman wetting herself ... it doesn't necessarily mean orgasm. It doesn't mean just because...

C: Maybe this is like the sort of like question that answers the first question ... what do you think makes a man? Somebody who actually has an orgasm! [Loud laughter]

P: Oh fuck you all! No, I'm convinced ... I'm the decent one around here. You people have got it wrong. Fuck you! [laughter]

E: What's the difference between ejaculating and orgasm for you?

P: No, normally they're exactly the same type.

E: Exactly the same type. But for women, getting wet and having orgasm is...

P: Ja okay, okay, okay ... but SOMETIMES I can ejaculate and then I sit back and ... but I just did not orgasm ... I just ejaculated. Now ... do you think I've got a major psychological problem here?

C: Course not.

P: Thank you C. Although L doesn't think I'm a man anymore! [laughter]

L: I didn't say that at all.

P: You said maybe that's what you should take as your definition of a man.

L: Ah ... ok ... is there anything in particular that makes you feel masculine and manly...

That's what makes you... [inaudible]

P: Um... that I make a woman orgasm ... makes me feel lank cool, masculine.

E: Does it make you feel powerful, and masculine?

P: No ... masculine. Makes me feel like...

E: Like a real man.

P: [Chuckle] ... Okay - okay. You fucked me. ok... fair enough. [inaudible] You, E?

E: I don't know. I suppose ... but that's pleasure, I mean that's got nothing to do with being a man ... that's...

P: No ... Okay ... but it just makes me feel ... put it this way ... the woman ... if the woman doesn't orgasm I don't feel good. I feel as if she's been cheated or something.

E: So masturbating doesn't make you feel like a man? [Chuckle]. I suppose not.

P: Not really, you know. Sitting in the toilet and pulling wire ... [laughter]...Not my particular definition of... definition of WOW what a man! [laughter]

L: It's like the cigarette adverts, like, putting a cigarette...

P: [laughter] putting a cigarette in one hand, and your ... whatsiname in the other. [laughter] And ... Be a real man, smoke Camel today.

E: What about fantasies? Are fantasies supposed to make you feel manly?

C: Fantasies in what sense ... manly?

E: Ummm like the things that we imagine we do .. you can do ... or want to do. What does that have to do with masculine...

C: I think that's more like to convince yourself ... that you're like ... aren't damaged goods?

P: Chuckle ... No, it's [inaudible] 'cause you are fuckin damaged goods! [laughter]

E: Ummmm ... I mean it's like a check on whether you're doing ... it's a check, I mean when you're checking to see if you're doing things right ... I mean I suppose when you check that's really checking up on your masculinity.

P: I just don't feel masculine if I don't make a woman orgasm ... I feel like a...

E: Is that the only time you don't feel masculine?

P: I don't feel masculine when ... I don't feel masculine when I beg.

E: I suppose it's difficult to say what masculine is but you kind of know when it's not masculine.

P: Ja ... I don't feel masculine when I beg. I don't. I don't feel masculine when I degrade myself. Do something like beg someone to love me or beg ... I feel like an asshole. I don't feel masculine.

C: Ja ... I think ... that's because ... there's definitely ... that sense of control...

P: Ja - I haven't got control ... I don't feel masculine when...

C: Ja ... when you aren't in control. But it's not ... like kind of overt control ... it's just that you feel as though you're controlling yourself ... that nobody else is controlling you.

P: Yeah, ... ja ... that's it. Ja, maybe ... C's got a very good point there. I think ... well ... for me.

C: Ja ... I don't think it's got very much to do with whether you are or aren't in control ... or at least thinking it...

P: Ja ... Do you feel that women expect men to perform sexually? Okay ... um ... L?

L: No ... well ... not the women that I've known...

P: Shht! no personal offence here... [laughter]

L: I've had 376 women in my time...

P: You stud you, and I said, the women I've been with, and you people want went whoo, [inaudible] 376! L? I mean, um C?

C: What was the question again?

P: Do you feel that women expect men to perform sexually?

C: Depends which women?

P: In general. It's a very general stupid type of thing.. Okay, he's shrugged his head! ... E?

E: No.

P: Why do I think yes? I honestly think just...

E: I think no ... because women don't really expect to have orgasms ... I mean they're quite happy to go without.

P: BULL - SHIT ... that is the ultimate biggest load of crock I've ever heard.

E: Why?

P: Well that they don't expect it ... OF COURSE they expect to have orgasm ... so they expect you to take your time ... you know, men ... it's true ... K ... was telling me the other ... I shouldn't mention people's names, but still, she was telling me, she says, it's pathetic you know, you people ejaculate and then you don't want to carry on ... you know ... just hang in there for a bit more time ... so that we can actually get it ... or relax a bit and get it up again, so we can actually get the orgasm. It's true. It's important for a woman to have an orgasm. Why the hell should...

E: Okay, sure, sure it's true...

P: I think women...

E: Women seem to enjoy sex without orgasm ... I mean more than we do.

P: I don't think so.

E: You really think so ?

P: Ja ...they enjoy sex without orgasm more than we do okay? Because if we ... or if I ...am heated up to a situation ... very, very heated up ... and then suddenly she says no, we can't go any further ... and I am so hot I need a damn cold shower, I don't feel fulfilled. Meanwhile ... but I think, I think a woman also feels that way ... she like, you stop sort of ... and she just wants to carry on because you know she hasn't orgasmed yet ... she doesn't feel fulfilled ... it's this type of, oh...

E: Oh not you again!

P: Oh, not you again, just get it bloody up!

E: So that's what performance means to you?

P: What does performance mean to me?

E: Being able to bring a woman to orgasm?

L: I think its, it depends very much on the relationship.

P: Ja...

E: mmmm...

L: You see really if it's like a one night stand and you know, then she expects, you know...

E: Ja ... performance on the night...

L: Otherwise why would she get into it?

P: But I think it's in a relationship as well. She always expects performance.

E: Okay, but wait, hold on ... [overtalk]

P: I need a piss ... carry on without me...

P: Ja...

E: But I mean we say we perform if we give this woman an orgasm...

C: No ... you say... [laughter]

L: P says... [laughter]

E: But do we ... I mean, does it work the same way for women.

C: Ja ... it's ... mutually enjoyable...

L: I think a woman, or some women get a big kick out of giving a man an orgasm.

L: That doesn't mean you get a [inaudible] kick out of it ... Then it's...

E: Then its kind of like...

P: [Back from the toilet] Where were we?

P: So what does performance mean to you, E?

E: No ... but if we get satis... we feel ... we perform by giving an orgasm right?

P: Well I do.

L: How does the woman feel? Does she feel the same way? That if she's performing you have an orgasm? Or whatever...

P: She's performed if you turn round to her and say that was the best sex I've ever had! Aaah okay...

P: No ... that wasn't just sex ... we were making love! [falsetto]. [laughter]

P: Ok, what does performance mean to you, L?

L: That's a pretty sexist thing to say...

P: What?

C: That was the best sex I've ever had! Like, nice try, honey ... you know you did well.

P: No, no no... [overtalk]

P: I don't think so! [inaudible]

E: ... a cigarette

P: Hey I do not smoke after sex... [laughter, overtalk]

E: Sexual relationships... supposed to answer about penetrations or...

P: What can you think of ... alternative forms of sexuality ... such as ... that one?

E: No ... no ... in the questionnaire. Sexual relationships. Have you had sexual relationships.

P: Ja ... well, ja, I think it's penetration ... I think it's sex ... I don't know...Well, I think if you, like ... a woman's gone down on you ... I think you can regard that as a sexual relationship as well, you know ... why ...[inaudible].

E: Okay ... what do you think of alternative forms of sexuality?

P: Ah, ah, um ... I never understood that, but I'm starting to understand them ... I never understood the concept of caressing, massaging all that, but I really am... I never ... ah...

E: A foot massage...

P: Or kissing ... or ... I don't know ... I think I'm just growing up ... I'm starting to understand ... you know, it's a whole learning process and I'm starting to understand that there's more to sex than wham, bam, thank you mam ... it can take three hours to get to the final stage... [laughter]

P: I don't know ... I think you know, like, you know, it's over so quickly. You might as well try and make it last as long as you can. We've always got the advantage that a woman takes very long to orgasm - okay. It can take them quite long. So ... so you can have a lot of oral sex [inaudible]... A lot ... about 45 minutes you know. And then, the final stage and that .. you can make it last, otherwise you can make it three minutes flat, you know, and I've just enjoyed the one hour periods...

E: What's the shortest time it's possible to have orgasm ... I mean for a male to ejaculate...

P: Oh I think half a minute would be enough ... Oh fuck and mess up and you've got a problem, like premature ejaculation.

E: Ok, besides premature ejaculation.

P: That's the negative time [laughter]

P: I think, I think personally, if a woman goes down on me, I can do it in 30 seconds flat ... you're talking now [inaudible] causality. Okay, we're nearly finished people ... in what context would you be more likely to use a condom or other form of safer sex?

E: In what context?

P: Ja ... when I'm sleeping with someone I don't know at all. I think I'd be far more likely to use a condom.

E: Yes of course ... you don't want to get somebody pregnant. Ja the more I...

P: I think, I think the pregnancy is less of an issue than safe sex. The, the ... disease thing. [Mmm] Pregnancy ... God ... that's a responsibility for the rest of your life ... safe sex is death. [overtalk] Ja ... unless you regard being trapped as death, okay [laughter]...

L: You can of course just walk away...

P: But then, are you a MAN? [Laughter] [inaudible]

P: No, but you've just quoted that a man takes responsibilities for his actions...

C: That's my personal opinion.

E: And ... what was the question [inaudible]...

P: In what context would you be more likely to use a condom or another form of safer sex...

L: Just about AIDS really ... when you're sober.

P: That's true, you know that ... that is so bloody true.

E: Yes definitely...

P: When you're sober. When you're sober you think ... when you're drunk you say ... oh fuck who gives a shit...

E: Ja ... sober ... um...

L: Ja ... and...

P: So with women you don't know...

E: Or, a prostitute maybe...

P: Well, E, you might know about those things, but...

E: Well, since I live in Observatory Main Road...

P: Ja ... that's right, he does live in morality mile ... No, that's my area, hey.

E: Are you morality mile?

P: That's from Kenilworth - Wynberg area.

E: Why?

P: It's called morality mile because of all the hookers that are out there ... they go ... jey ... waars die meisies, ek se ... waar's daardie meisies ... they come running out ... not that I've ever done...

C: A quick disclaimer there, P?

P: I've not slept with a hooker!

E: But what is it like?

P: Oh it must be fucking kak ... it must really be - I can't think of anything more repulsive actually than sleeping with a hooker. Not because of anything, but because there's no feelings, it's just mechanical, you feel dirty...

E: The great unwashed?

P: The great unwashed, ok. [Telephone ringing]

P: Do you think men ever feel vulnerable about sexuality or in sexual situations?

C: Uh ... We're nearly there ... we're on the last question...

P: Okay ... do you think men ever feel anxious or vulnerable about sexuality or in sexual situations?

P: I do.

C: You have to. I'm sure if you don't then I think you're abnormal, because the whole thing is ... ok, the

[inaudible] whole concept of masculinity, it does hinge to a certain extent on how you handle situations ... how vulnerable you appear, how anxious you appear.

E: Ja that's true.

P: I get, I get very scared sometimes. I get so nervous.

E: About what? Getting undressed?

P: No. About actually performing ... about not maybe, maybe as I'm going, about maybe not hurting ... because I'm just going a bit too fast - as I'm kissing and I get passionate [inaudible]...

E: Ja ... and you haven't shaved.

P: And you haven't shaved and you're scratching their face, and scratching their body and that ... Ja...

E: But only afterwards, I mean ... it's kind of like I don't think about that...

P: No, I'm starting to think about it now ... during and it's scaring me ... scaring me [inaudible] ... monogamous and more than one partner...

E: What kind of situation?

[Pause]

L: [Sings] This is the end ... my friend...

AIDS 94-95 GROUP TWO

J: So I think we can just start discussing. I don't know whether want to follow question after question you know, just...

B: Ja... I definitely think this couple is going to do many things...But er ... er ... the purpose definitely would be towards ...towards sex.

J: Towards sex?

B: [Laughter] towards ... engaging each other, very meaningful...

J: Uh huh...

B: It is possible that a man and woman might have different expectations because um ... like my experience has showed ... like at times ... what like a man ... like for me as a man ... at times ... um... I will get to know a woman and then ... and like the way she responds MAY confuse a decision as meaning she also wants what I want, because...

J: Then to me...

You give a misinterpretation, sometimes, ja.

N: Sometimes, ja, misinterpretation...

Ja... [overtalk]

Ja precisely...

T: Even the question of what do you expect, gents, let me tell you this one thing mostly of how much I know that we talked about and even myself ... when you go to a room, let's say with a woman and you know you want to engage in sex, you see, definitely the first thing that you think, eh, I hope I won't find this woman very bigger than myself, you see ... [laughter] I hope I will enjoy it ... and it's since even the very same women feel also on the other side ... I hope this guy's going to satisfy me, you see...

B: So I think we all agree that definitely sexual intercourse will be the logical outcome.

J: Ja... but ...no ... what I'm thinking is okay in this situation ... in this people have just met ... it's there first day ... you see so that I'm trying to figure out how many incidents do you have when people meet during the first day and they engage in sex ... because it happened to me one time this other woman ... she say we can't have it, first day, you see, you can just sleep but no engaging in any sexual intercourse.

B: Look at this, they are dancing close ... [Laughter] looking into each other's eyes ... no really, I ... I'm...

J: Ja but the way I see it...

N: No this one is a sense of positive...

J: Jaaa, all leading to ... Bed! Action...

T: The method that you can leave other people with the party ... you see there's a lot to there enjoying the party ... so the method you can decide to go to her room privately, says it all...

J: Jaaaa ... like another thing is the, the, the man going to the woman's flat ... says ... I mean the woman is ready to...

B: Ja ... and like depending on with me now, depending WHO she is ... ummmm... I'll talk about safer sex...

J: Ja...

B: ... and like I have to be very, very honest. If she's a white woman ... I will definitely talk about safer sex ... [laughter] definitely, if she's a white woman.

T: Why specifically if she's a white woman? [inaudible]

J: Are you're saying you don't ... apply safer sex to black people? [laughter]

B: Okay, but my prejudices man, my preconceptions ... my, those things that are sometimes inexplicable about ... about women, about white women, they are different than I have about black women ... like ... um... like; but it depends if I know this black woman is very promiscuous, I will definitely talk about safer sex.

J: Ja...

B: ... but if it is the black ... if she's apparently nice...

T: ... like one of the untouchables...

B: ... if she's apparently nice then I get there for that night ... I think my mind will stop thinking the moment I get excited.

A: But , I think the other thing is, B, that experiences proved, okay, either if you get a woman for the first time hey ... if you go to her room, you are both turned on ... something like ... I don't think you will consider safer sex...

J: Oh ... I want JUST like to support that, what you say, because this conditions that you have mentioned, It says you are strongly attracted to each other, you see... [overtalk]

J: ... the thing is when you get there you know what, these things happen, these things are procedural, you start brushing, you end up, you know, talk about safer sex is talk ... the way I know it is, talk, people talk about safer sex not when they're going to have sex but at some other time. They do sit and talk about safer sex, but when you are going to do the thing...

B: But if it is the woman who first raises the topic...

J: JAAAAA...

B: Then it will have a different effect... because if it is you, like for me, perhaps subconsciously I would feel that I'm in charge and I'm determining the direction of this thing because I'll ... it's very bad ... especially after orgasm, then you have that guilt ... that, jussis, I could be ... I could have contracted AIDS or I could have given or whatever so .. you see ... so like to resolve that crisis...

J: I was thinking whether I should maybe, I don't know whether to, give some specific time to ... each and every

question, because we could be answering other questions...

B: Let's talk now...

Let's just continue...

B: What do you think the man might feel if the woman asks him to use a condom? Depending on what your expectations are...

J: Uh huh...

B: Ja ... IF you are ... or if you expect such a thing you won't feel like offended, but generally if you are not expecting ..., and you are very, very erect and she asks that question, you become very flaccid...[laughter] [overtalk]

That's right!

T: [inaudible] Sometimes you do raise it ... by yourself the issue ... of condom or ... safer sex ... IF for example it depends how the woman is ... is she beautiful, is she well structured... is she nicely dressed... [laughter] For example, for example, let's say ... you can well make love to the woman, make love now ... when it comes to sleep now ... and you just both stripped yes .. and in the process that you are stripping you notice some funny things on her [laughter]

T: He means boils!...

J: That reminds me of another guy in res [laughter] [overtalk]

B: Some sores...

J: Jaaa...

B: Sores ne? Sore or ... some things that's [overtalk]

J: This guy, he once, he did ... actually looked at the thing and I think ... it was far too big, it was like, it was FAR too big and she said no man, I can't sit down to this... [inaudible]

T: It's the question of the tits also you know ... if they are really slipping ... [laughter] ... you can...

B: But small things can make me like that ... like if her breath is not very okay, or even if the armpits are not very okay, I will think...

Do you know why?

... hygiene...

J: Do you know why? I think the way I've seen it, it's, lovemaking is, the way I know it, its, as I was saying, it's procedural ... I mean one thing leads to the next ... but when you start looking at, starting to look at little things, you're out of the whole process.

B: Jaaaa ... you can be...

J: Jaaa...you are out...

B: A little drunk, or... [overtalk]

J: Its just like kissing ...kissing only is passionate only if the two of you are outside this world ... but if you

start to like, coming into, I think it's like that, in fact. [overtalk] But like today, things like AIDS ... cross into one's mind every day in this process ... because I will tell you what happened to me ... it was last year ... this woman ... I was... suspecting like she's ... this woman ... around a lot you see, like she's had... lots of boyfriends ... so there was this talk that she's ... she could have AIDS, she possibly had some disease or something, you know ... but this woman like she's beautiful and there was a time when I had to ... you know ... so there was a time when I was on and she was on and I was thinking, well fuck the AIDS and disease, I've got to get my, and [laughter] you know like I was wrong, I know these things does exist, but...

B: Ja...

J: Ja...

B: But it's only like, especially now, with all the talk about AIDS ... one gets ... you do ... do feel ... you do get that feeling ... okay at times you do become suicidal and say ... I don't care... I can risk ... but sometimes ... so perhaps there's a mixture, there's makes one have a split personality, because...

J: Ja ...

T: The whole thing like...

J: Like today I think you've actually ... highly prejudiced by the statistics of AIDS. I think they're increasing every day like ... two years ago you wouldn't have been feeling the same way about AIDS. Now there's popular people like Magic Johnson, they have AIDS ... so you know that it really DOES kill people, but whereas two years ago, no-one I knew had died of AIDS ... I thought it was just some...

B: In what context do you usually meet people you might end up having sex with? Does it happen quite quickly or do you spend some time together first?

J: Hey, I want to respond to that one, because I know for one, when I'm drunk, and a woman is drunk, we'll do the thing without saying a word...

B: So that context is quite often...

J: Not quite often, but the thing is I've stopped drinking, but WHEN I was still drinking ... but I don't know whether I like ... we'll go to drink, ne? Met a couple of women ... and then ... I'd ... what I've been trying to say is ... before we get drunk, before we even go to drink, do we ... are we thinking that we'll get drunk and everything, or that thing happens after you are drunk you know? [Mmmm]

B: I know, I know recently, you didn't spend ANY time at all ... [laughter, overtalk] with the person with whom, with whom you did something [laughter]

J: Ja...

T: It happened quite quickly there, you did it? [laughter]

And you, T?

And you didn't considered using a condom?

J: No...

T: In a party situation, gents...

N: Ja, you know what happens...

T: It's already an abnormal situations... [Mmmm]

T: Even if you aren't drinking that night, you see a party situation...

B: You can be sober, but if you get somebody...

T: Ja...

J: Ja ... [overtalk]

T: You see like you are drunk...

J: Ja...

N: And usually when we are smoking ... you see ... we smoke mos, skif, ja, when we are at home sometimes when we smoke, we see it with some chicks around and ... Sometimes you know it just happens that you find, having, you know, you like that tendency of splitting, say maybe you are five or four men and three women ... one just drops out or you know ... it's just a mutual thing ... [laughter] and so it's like ... even if it happens like that most of the time and each for the first time ... most of the time ... that you have ... make love to that woman ... it just happens, you know [J: Ja ...] like we get that feeling and that, no, after we have smoked we just going to have sex ... that's all... [laughter] [inaudible]

Ja ... mos...

B: I was also just thinking, the woman must know [inaudible] she MUST know...

J: because... [overtalk]

B: What my intentions are...

J: From what I have experienced .. it's like ... these things you don't say them, like or, ja you DO say them...

B: but you can ask them, you put the person off, but it will remove all that fire. [Ja, ja] [laughter, overtalk]

J: Because the thing is...

B: [inaudible] it's a necessary thing ... if you want to enjoy the thing...

J: Because if the woman really wants the thing, well, because the thing is, it you want to enjoy the thing, ... if you haven't even told her that you want the thing ... just start doing things and if she's responding it means you're going to do the thing, but if she's responding negatively it's like then you need to ask her whether she wants to do the thing...

B: So at times it's difficult ne? To deal with the AIDS issue?

J: Ja ... ja it is. Because it's ... that's why ... all this sexual madness... [ja, ja]

B: If you talk about safer sex, it could mean ... [Some-

times its] ... NO sex...

Ja... [laughter, overtalk]

B: Nothing is more important than you having, nothing is so important that it must stand in the path of you having...

N: Ja, you see sometimes you are afraid to raise that question ...

Ja ... because you feel you ... because you feel, eh she might refuse now ... to sleep with you ... you might end up [Ja] in some kind of discussion in another direction you know [Ja] ... so... [overtalk]

T: You find most of the women when you raise the issue of using the condom, it's like you insult her [overtalk] it's like you suspect her of...

Ja... [overtalk]

Put her off...

J: But again there's this whole talk that goes on within, aye, having sex with a condom is liking having a shower with a raincoat [laughter] and you know, people say all these things, and there's people who believe in those things, and people who think those things are just jokes ... so at times you don't know where exactly a woman stands. You introduce a condom they think you're stupid ... you keep quiet they think you're trying to ... it's so confusing.

B: because you can never be sure about another individual's level of consciousness, [Ja, mmm hmmm, mm-hmm] how advanced the person may have been, how exposed, or how not exposed.

J: And what I was thinking is like then there's times, when like, well maybe you sleep with a woman, you are more aware than she is about things.

B: Ja, exactly...

J: ... like ... the woman... [overtalk]

B: Because we are socialised to be very, you know, men like issues more than women because...

J: Ja ... Because there's a couple of times I'm saying, this, this, I want to like do the thing with that woman, but I felt ... I, I like this woman ... I wouldn't like to ... spoil the future, so I wanted to ask her whether she was, what do you call it, ja, she did prevent, you see, because I felt I mean I had to ask her rather than just indulging in the whole process without...

T: Its like when, for example, ... we are in love, let's say ... let's say ... it's a lady but she's still very young, she's an under-age lady, but she's already well built, eh? And you know her parents are VERY strict and they KNOW you ... and you know this should be underground. The first thing it is difficult even for her to go to the clinic because she will be asked there, and her parents MIGHT know the, you see...

J: Ja, ja...

T: So ... the best thing ... you should initiate the issue of a condom, [J: Ja] ... you see, in such instances, you see...

B: But for me ... I don't know because my sexual experience has been quite short, since I am young ... but for me the issue of safer sex is only relevant to combating AIDS ... safer sex doesn't even ... it doesn't count in my mind if I'm sure this person is ... she doesn't ... she has ... in all probability that the person doesn't have AIDS...

J: Ja...

B: Like for me ... a condom is only relevant to combat AIDS really. There's NOTHING ... safer sex...

T: You don't ... fear pregnancy. [overtalk, laughter]

B: no, no not at all.

B: Safer sex is baseless without the fear of AIDS, really.

N: But there are other sexually transmitted diseases.

B: But they are containable.

N: Ja ... but er ... sometimes you know .. you wouldn't know how far that thing will go ... you know ... sometimes you know...

B: It's a risk to have sex these days you know... [Ja]

N: You won't really know sometimes how far that ... you know it's not like in the old days where you just get drunk and the doctor will hit it out with some... [inaudible]

No, it's not so like...

N: or you'll get some pink pills no...

N: Sometimes you don't even know what you'll get, you know, it's like you don't trust human nature, take for example these women indulging in a lot of ... you know a lot of sex with many men ... [Mmmmm] And then when you meet her, it's like many things come through your mind. You are not even just thinking of AIDS alone you know, when you are considering ... when you want maybe to make love to that woman .. you start thinking many things, [inaudible] you just feel out of, because I know ... [overtalk, laughter] There's another...

N: Because I saw her sleeping with these different guys, you know [inaudible] can as well masturbate ... And you feel otherwise, man.

J: Well the thing about me today is ... I, I know people, people that I've been brought up with like ... I know two women specifically who've died of AIDS ... one woman was younger than me ... the thing is she ... I mean ... she was socially more mature than I was you know what I mean ... like she knew many things in such a short time and I think she deserved to die because she was so YOUNG and she'd already got married three times and ... [Whew!] I was like, I mean this woman she was far younger than I am, you know, but you know ... if you are young ... but you get involved into all these things ... you become older than other people, you know ... so

I think she had reached an extreme, that's why she had to finally oh...

... she had to pay the price...

J: Ja .. you know ... so now I respect things like that if I have to really do something, um ... come up to my senses because I have empirical evidence...

B: Me I must say, I really fear ... contracting AIDS ... really, that's because it has to do with my instinct of self preservation, but ... sex, like safer sex generally just as an issue, okay it's very important and ... but really now ... for me the issue is really AIDS.

J: Ja , in fact, .. AIDS...

T: But the issue of AIDS also ... because it's not only ... one does not only get AIDS through sex, that's the issue ... and now we totally reduce the issue of AIDS only to sex. [Ja] And there's so many ways to get it ... for example, [Ja] even doctors are giving people AIDS by using the same - the very same needle, you see. [Ja]

N: I mean like sports, people are getting it even through sports ...when like you get a cut somewhere and someone else maybe with you gets a cut and your blood, you know, it mixes...

J: But this whole thing...

B: But but because like this ... because maybe why the emphasis is so strong on sex is because the major form of transmission is through sexual intercourse, you see [J: Is through sex] Men and women ... More than perhaps, between ... women and women and...

J: But what exactly is this thing about gays, starting ... being more ... whatever ... starting AIDS and I don't know ... because this is what I was just saying ... I don't understand why blacks have to be more ... I know you say its socio-economic but the way I understand is ... is sex is ... AIDS can be transmitted ... through other means than sex ... you know, that's why I'm saying to ME it's not black and white ... if you can contract AIDS by using say a ... sink in some bathroom that ... you can contract it any [inaudible] whether you are black, white, gay or ... you know what I mean... [overtalk]

N: Most of us...

B: Maybe I should just explain myself, [J: Ja] okay, just explain myself on that issue. The reason why I said that is because like if you like, homosexuality ne? is the exception ... the norm is heterosexuality ... between man and a woman and like ... I don't know if this is true but generally the ... the impression is that homosexuals are generally non-black, ne? Like white and so called coloured ... and those people come from a relatively higher standard of living and they have a greater consciousness of things like safer sex, you see .. that's why like ... many homosexuals are ... they are in the forefront of the safe sex campaign and the AIDS awareness thing, really. But ... with heterosexuals ... I don't know ... they didn't, cause ... that the majority of the heterosexuals are black ... because we live under different

conditions that won't permit this kind of information to be disseminated ... we ... there tends to be that greater negligence on that issue, [J:Ja] more like ... like more like we must just have sex flesh to flesh and you know that kind ... [J: Ja] ... that's the reason why I say I also heard like, the first people to be diagnosed ... diagnosed with AIDS were white homosexuals in the prison, whatever, and you know like, you have very famous people who have died ... who were homosexual ... like er... Michel Foucault and you have Freddie Mercury and ... [J: Ja] ... who was bisexual. So like ... yes ... there may be a link with homosexuality, but really the fear for me is because it is transmitted ... men ... transmitted between men and women, you see.

J: Ja, ja ...

B: And okay if, if people are to die in this country of AIDS, the majority of casualties will come from black people because they constitute 80% of the country's population as a whole and ... [Ja] and white people enjoy higher standards.

N: So we cannot really say it is a black thing...

B: Not as [inaudible] it's confined...

N: ... a sexual thing... [overtalk]

J: ja, because [overtalk] that's why, the thing is, I know it...

B: Ja It's mixed, maybe... [inaudible] [overtalk]

N: And because, ja, ... and you are right, because those things ... also the tradition .. especially among Xhosas ... no hard feelings here [laughter] ... especially what I've experienced here in the Cape is that some of these guys when they come from the bush they are very stubborn you know, to use things like condoms and those things ... they tend to be very ... I don't know how to put it ... they tend to act too ... like ... [laughter] too manly ... [laughter, overtalk] too masculine.

B: But there is scientific evidence ... that shows ... a circumcised penis is less likely to contract ... not AIDS but sexual [Ja] Because the glans is got ... is very strong ... it becomes like other parts of the skin, you see ... there was an article in the newspaper I read ... okay ... and men who are uncircumcised because the glans is so soft, the medium of transmission is very thin if you are ... where you are, you know ... where you are, you are doing the thing, you see, so they have shown like, they have conducted tests with Xhosa speaking men and the Zulu speaking men and they found there's more of a tendency for AIDS to be widespread there than amongst the Xhosa speaking men, because if you get those venereal diseases you can get AIDS very quickly because your blood - the chemistry ... the composition or whatever ...[Ja] makes it very like you get very touchable or whatever. [Ja]

B: [paper shuffling] We must consider the topic of masculinity here.

J: Okay ... let's see.

B: What makes you a man? [laughter]

T: I believe you lie on top! [laughter]

J: What makes you a man...

T: First of all my penis. [laughter]

N: That one is given. [laughter]

B: Because it's very important. [laughter, overtalk]

J: It's crucial, it's crucially important, because ... [overtalk]

T: Your ability ... To do it!

B: You can become impotent overnight...

J: [inaudible] ... a man...

B: Ja, of course, definitely, you are a half man, or a non-man...

N: I can't imagine life without one, it would be horrible. [laughter]

J: But I'm thinking, that I think maybe like...

B: But masculinity maybe [Ja] is different to manliness like, like ... people with penises are definitely men, but they are not necessarily masculine.

J: Masculine ... ja...

B: This word "masculine" has always had that connotation of being macho...

J: Robust like ... ja...

B: And using your manliness [Ja] to perhaps disadvantage other people or whatever, and being like ... try and play big [Ja]... even amongst other men or something like that. Because like, we did it in ... the issue of sexuality and gender, sexuality is reference to biological differences, penis and vagina, but gender is how we are, how socialization constructs, like different sex roles for you, you must be like this ... you ... because it's not natural that people assume these roles. Like you'll find a young girl playing cars .. these cars, because she doesn't see this toy as being for whatever ... you see...

J: Ja...

N: But you must also notice .. I think some, there's some scientific like you know, data, stating that, you know, ... actually given if a boy and a girl were brought up in exactly the same situation in the same circumstances, more or less what would happen is that the boy will still come on stronger than the girl ... and I tend to agree with that because you know you can look at the figure ne? the figure of a man .. you know your shape, you know you have a lot of ... I think we have a lot of advantages over women as such...

B: When it comes to death ne? I'm very sorry, when it comes to that thing, I'm very sorry to disagree with you, physically women, are very very strong...

J: They're POWERFUL! [overtalk] They're powerful!

B: But because we are encouraged to believe ever since

we were boys that we are more ... that we do things ... that, that enable us to be ... like these... [inaudible] so like those conditions ... historically has shown the world has been patriarchal and sexist.

Ja, sure, sure.

T: Like ... When you grow up with a sister, you see she can even be older than you, she'll always be confined in the house, and you will be sent out with a spade and all this, you see, so all these things make you to believe that now...

Ja ... sure, sure... [overtalk]

N: I agree with you, but look at maybe, let's put it this way - look at a man's breast ne? and look at the woman's breast? Hey ... you can already see, you know, that if we have to resort, let's maybe we have to build these people into athletes you know, I mean ... there, you know ... [overtalk]

J: Ja, ja.

N: Bigger buttocks, most African women have got bigger, they always...

T: It's because its...

It's because of, the food they get to eat, and the lifestyle.

J: Ja I know, there's a whole thing about buttocks, you know, like, many whites, they are always, they are born in cars, [overtalk] there's six in a car, like, ja, you never... [laughter]

B: The women here are very strong, [J: like on this masculinity] you must try and wrestle ... [J: Ja] They are strong maybe because they work harder, they carry babies and ... what ... they're strong [J: They are!] ... you think... [overtalk]

T: For example, you find that you are working both together in a ... let's say in a plantation ... for the whole day ne ... but you will be the first one to go and sleep, you are tired, that woman must make food and she must give you water to wash, and coffee and still cares about the baby's ...[inaudible] she's VERY strong, and again early in the morning four o'clock, before you can wake up, she will wake up and she will do EVERYTHING. [J: Ja ...I think that's a very ...] She can carry a VERY big load ... [overtalk] on her head.

N: It like these [inaudible] and you know...

J: Ja it's very valuable...

N: Ja they can endure a lot. [overtalk]

B: I think you can be a man and not be necessarily be like ... because you can be a man and not put down women [Ja] ... in order for you to feel you are a man .. you can... in fact a true man is a man who recognizes the rights of women...

J: Jaaa... I think so ... You know why ... I was just ... I just wanted to raise this thing of masculinity. To me the thing is I've known a number of lesbians and I've done research on lesbianism. Now the most interesting

thing ... I think it's also, there were gays, you know you find these two women, they are lesbians, right ... but ... they, they ... the research says in those two women there's one woman of the two [B: I agree]... who wants to be...

B: Who will be dominant...

J: So that's masculinity ... [B: it's true] the way I see it. Even two gays, [B: that is very true] there is one who says no way, now you are the wife...

B: Ja, its true. [overtalk, laughter]

B: ... it has been researched that homosexuals who say we are homosexuals because of the oppressive nature of heterosexual relationships, they are not speaking true ... [Ja] ... because if you look at homosexual relationship you will find a dominant and passive...

J: Ja ... and that's a... [overtalk]

B: ... so they ... look...

J: Jaa..that's masculinity, I think, but that's not manliness...

B: That's true.

B: You find a woman who's very, and she'll be gay-a lesbian [overtalk] [Laughter] and she's masculine.

J: She is...

T: Navratilova. [laughter]

J: Ja... [inaudible] masculine

B: But she's not a man.

J: Ja, ja...

J: So now I think this whole thing of masculinity...

N: So are what are we saying makes a man gents?

J: Masculinity as such?

N: What makes a man?

J: I think you what you say it's kind of ... it's hurting us too, where ... because B's saying, like, if you're a man and you realise that women are powerful ... like, there's this saying, I don't know, its a confusing saying, ... the weaker sex meaning women. The weaker sex is the stronger sex because of the weakness of the stronger sex for the weaker sex ... [overtalk, laughter] But if you listen to it is the whole truth... ... the weaker sex which is the woman is the stronger sex because of the weakness of the stronger sex, which is the man. [overtalk, inaudible] The weakness of the stronger sex. [laughter]

N: Now what is the weakness of the stronger sex? [overtalk, laughter]

B: Because the stronger sex, Adam was very weak ... [laughter] The intelligence of the supposedly fairer sex is, you see. Issues ... Samson and Delilah, you have those things, ja. Is there anything in particular that makes you feel ... I can very ... I think that make me feel manly but not masculine ... [Ja] or what is ... Masculine has got this sexist connotation ... [laughter] I

will be [inaudible] to say [laughter] I am MASCULINE, ja ... man ... ja...

J: I think masculinity maybe ... ja...

B: You must be a full man ... a full man, ja...

J: Because I'm thinking there's a possibility for one to be a full man, complete man, but not masculine ... [Ja] so what draws the line between masculinity and manliness?

B: Maybe ... how we are socialized.

J: I think so.

B: Socialization.

J: Jaaaa...

N: But it must also be some sort of biological ... it must be your makeup.

B: It may have a biological basis, but then it gets added upon that...

N: But I mean some sort of origin ... I mean ... You are saying you can be a man but not masculine...

J: Ja ... because masculinity the way I see it, it's trying to prove yourself that you are a man, like one way or the other you have to show... I don't know ... it's a condition - you have to get into some condition where you have to prove yourself that you are .. I don't know...

B: It's like radical feminism .. masculine...

J: Ja ... Let me tell you this example, you see, [overtalk] there's this whole thing, I've HEARD people discuss ... like [inaudible]... they say no man I ... with that woman ... I slept with her and ja ... ONE night I was on top of her like second round ... it's like ... ja... [shouting, overtalk]

B: It's part of their psychosis...

J: Ja, you know, people think they are masculine than others ... other one will say, after two rounds I fainted! [loud laughter] But someone else will say, that woman, second time round, all twenty-four hours! [laughter] Think this is masculine, you see...

N: But, but sorry [inaudible] has this word not got some... you know ... some sense of strength ... muscles like ... muscular ... does it not begin somewhere...

J: I think...

N: It feels like it's COMING from something like, depicts something like muscles...

B: So you would say like Navratilova isn't masculine, because she's muscles...

N: NO ... I'm asking ... about this word.

J: Well, to answer that question...

N: I'm just asking whether it's not...

B: Oh you mean this...

N: This word masculinity...

J: Ja ... what I want to say, B, is...

N: because it has got a sense of ... you know it goes with muscles and strength you know...

B: And men have always tried to appear like that.

N: Ja ... men have always tried to identify themselves...

B: Be like a man, man ... don't cry! [laughter] You fall and you are hurt!

J: Ja... [laughter]

B: Crying is a sign of weakness, whereas it's a strength because you relieve tensions and get balance again [Ja] That's why at funerals you must impress. But you actually feel sad and you want to cry.

J: Ja ... but what I'm starting to realize, okay, there's ... there's so many instances where men, okay ... have to prove that they are men ... but there are other instances where men have to prove that they are masculine ... like ... funerals and all those things, okay ... at home, all the dirty garden job ... you're a man you must do it ... water the garden ... but I think there's OTHER things where okay you're a man ... they know you're a man, but you have to prove that you are MASCULINE.

B: They, they force you like this...

J: Jaaa ... you know...

B: But if you like go to a formal you define the woman and she defines you ... [Ja] so you are the masculine partner. You are the one who is taking out this one supposedly ... [Ja] and you know like...

N: That is like social rules ... ja ... of taking out...

B: Ja ... those are social rules, precisely...

N: But I mean you are a part ... when we like ... leave out the social part of it ... how would we say the two relate to each other, how would we say a man is masculine and a woman is...

T: You'll find some in other couples, let's say ... you'll find the woman is bullying the husband every day... [laughter]

Masculine was... [overtalk, laughter]

T: And the husband will always go and crow with his friends, "hey, that woman!" [laughter] It's a bad thing, you see.

B: It's true. People mustn't oppress each other whether it's man doing to women or women to man... [Ja]

J: But I think that's why in the township, these "stshuzane" (homosexuals) it's like ... if they ... you know, a weak man is something that...

END OF SIDE ONE: TAPE BREAK

J: So you can continue, B.

B: I wanted to say like if we ... if a woman commenced like whatever, maybe she says I didn't do it in the manner she liked ...WHOO, I feel so bad, I don't ever want to do it to her again...

J: In fact I think Ja...

B: I feel its very bad because [Ja]

B: Or if she says...

T: or if you feel now ... no you are finished ... [mmm]
... and... [overtalk]

J: I don't know whether its poetic justice, so its this movie about Janet Jackson, did you watch it? So there was an incident when Janet Jackson and that other woman, went to, they were driving with these two guys, Ja with the truck ... so they went to that party there, it was uncle something's party, you know. So this woman ... she was chattering with her boyfriend, but there was an instance when that woman um ... I don't know whether it ... got attracted to another man, but this other man ...

She was drunk, you see...

J: Ja and she was drunk ... so like um... Janet Jackson was like ... um ... asking her how could you do this, you're travelling with another man, but you chat to this other man ... you're getting involved with other men, what's wrong with you? That woman was like ... she started SHOUTING all those things like ... you don't satisfy me ... you don't fuck me up ... you are, with men, it's like...

T: that's why I'm fucking another man...

J: Ja, that's why I'm fucking another man, because when, you just, you do nothing, in a couple of minutes you finished, I mean, that man...

B: And it happens to us ... because...

J: Ja ... it DOES you know, it does... [overtalk]

T: If she say something about that, it destroys me, you know.

J: It IS destructive ... ja ... it's destructive. Because you know why it is destructive [laughter] because it insults, it insults your masculinity ... or your manliness. It's like it gives you a lowdown [Ja] ... like with other men and I'm doing it ... you CAN'T do it ...because, you see ... That's why this woman would move to other people, you see.

B: Just to take you back to our previous topic... has any one of you seen the movie ... um ... The Crying Game?

J: No...

B: That beautiful, beautiful, beautiful woman ... getting involved with a man and then ... they met in some bar ... some stupid story like that, and then they made love and the woman said no ... and then when they ... like not made love, he wanted to do it and she postponed it until [inaudible] and then when she, when they were now now in bed for the REAL thing, when you were ready in yourself to see the real thing, she went to the bathroom and came back having unbuttoned her [overtalk] ... and when the man opened her gown he started from here, she had breasts ... when he went down he found a big PENIS. [Laughter] That woman shocks ... it

shocks. You can see from here to there she is, or what, I can't say he or she [laughter] she's got both things ... so I don't know, if she, it's actually a man, ne? [Ja] But a very beautiful man who has grown his hair, [J: okay] and perhaps took some hormonal treatment [J: okay] to develop his breasts [J: okay] ... but he has a big penis, even bigger than that man's [laughter, overtalk] definitely, hey. This feminine/masculine thing...

J: Ja ... this whole thing now I am thinking we are going to talk about movies ... now ... in support of evidence ... I've seen this Madonna movie. You see Madonna it was like okay, she, she ... wanted it ... in fact she wanted to ... it was like she was murdering men, a man through sexual whatever ... intercourse, you know ... like okay, she was versatile in bed ... she could do 20,000 styles ... so she aimed at all these rich, top, wealthy old men ... you know, VERY rich people ... old, so what she'll do is she'll just seduce them to bed and like she will play an upper hand in bed, she will do all these styles till, you know at times they're VERY, I don't know whether they get ... happy when they are doing...

B: You can die!

J: Ja ... so what happened is, [overtalk, laughter] that happened about three times, so she killed three people.

HUH?

J: Ja ... so in that ... ja ... so I'm trying to say this the whole thing about masculine ... maybe she was proving a point to herself that I can destroy this masculinity...

Power ..

J: Ja ... you know, so as you were saying, I think masculinity derives from ... [overtalk] strength...

B: That's one...

N: Strength...

J: ja, ja ... ja.

B: Its power relations...

J: Mmm hmm. Because I mean she's got ... she was VERY ... excited when she saw people like in pain under her ... whatever, you know what I mean ... like she will see a man struggling but that man wants to feel more but then it's at a different ... he's ja... [overtalk]

B: For purposes of clarity, when we say "the thing" we mean sex.

J: Sex! That's the only thing! [overtalk, laughter] So in a way I think it's masculinity things ... trying to prove that you're stronger than someone. [Ja] You don't have to be male or female, but this whole thing of proving that you are powerful ... that is ... [Ja] Performance, you should perform.

B: But the nice thing should be, like perhaps...

T: But it's more nice for guys if the woman is crying. [Ja]

Ja, but now we ... [overtalk, laughter]

J: You have the power... [laughter]
B: [inaudible] Power is a drug ... I think it will make us stronger... [laughter]
T: She even cried... [laughter, overtalk]
T: It is like getting a woman, who is busy chowing her chappies, man, you see you... [inaudible] [laughter]
B: She smokes! While you are doing, here, whatever you are doing, she smokes. That's very...
J: You see it says you are not masculine. To her, it says this is another woman...
B: And that is bad, because now she forces the bad in you to come up...[Ja]
B: ... Performance should be, she should, even if she's not feeling anything, pretend ...[Ja] maybe she must just pretend.
J: But ... you know what else?
B: Who do you prefer ... alternative forms of sexuality like caressing and massage, mutual masturbation ... only if they led up to the big thing which is actual penetration...
J: Ja ... the thing is ... [B: like] mmmm hmm...
J: To me you can't just...
B: Only caressing and massaging not mutual masturbation...
J: Ja...
B: What is mutual masturbation, by the way?
J: Mutual masturbation is...
T: You, you ... it's like ...[J: Mutual is like] she is she is busy with yours and you are busy with your finger in her place...
B: ... putting in a vibrator... [laughter]
... that's what I mean... [inaudible]
B: That's the WORST form of... [overtalk]
J: Like talking from experience ... you know like guys, ... there was a time some time ago when guys used to discuss that, you know, ... if you want to really, like a woman that you want to dump... or a woman, okay, you happened to sleep with her ... just maybe caress her and do all these things and once she expects that you're going to have sex with her ... leave her and sleep ... [Laughter] That's the best way to... complete the ... Then she will say, I [inaudible] yesterday...Now I say I'm tired ... not today, you get her to that point that she wants the thing, and then you sleep...
Ja, ja...
N: You see, its like...
B: It's a question of self exercise and I don't have that self control. [Laughter, overtalk]
T: Get her to the point that she's asking, ek se, please...

J: Because I mean, its the same like us, a woman can get it to the point that you think aaah she's giving it to you, but she says no ... I mean not today ... not tonight, I don't want that.

B: Possibly lead to violence [J: Ja, you see] Not violence only very purposive force.

J: That's why I think there's a rule ... I mean in South African law...

B: Ja, in statutory law...[ja]

J: ... about okay like you could be having sex with someone, and then, I don't know, in that process, its either you kill the woman or the woman kills you ... it's not first degree murder, it's not second degree murder ... it's third whatever step ... So you...

B: Out of excitement?

J: Ja...

J: It's murder. There is a law, in South African whatever, statutory book. So if you die in that process, its murder, but its, you murdered her, I mean with its, I don't know whether...

B: How can people die...

J: You die, B!

B: ... best thing in life

J: The thing is, that thing, [overtalk] it affects her, you see, it affects her, that thing is the only thing that makes a man and old person cry, without being beaten. It's the only thing. [laughter, overtalk] What else can make you cry? I think its as powerful as that. [Ja]. The only thing disturb them, cry, during sexual...

B: Speaking very powerful...

B: Ejaculation is a powerful thing..

J: Ja, it is a powerful thing.

[WHISTLE]

J: Because this other man, just yesterday, [to murder] he was saying to me you know like when you ejaculating ... you are taking six months strength out ... you know it's like ... you taking that thing ... it don't build up over a day ... it's like SIX months [inaudible] you know, that's why you can easily die...

B: That's why you cannot, like, allow masturbation ... you must [inaudible] to be inside [J: Ja]

J: That's why, in fact. That's why all the process of, its like, ejaculating, a man becomes [Ja, man] you become, because, that's why you can easily die, you become STRONG like ... [overtalk, laughter]

B: [inaudible]... they will come and pick you up. [no, no]

T: You'll be carried with...

T: Even the police and soldiers, they'll pick you up... wait man...

J: Ja ... it's the same with dogs ... you see dogs, they are fucking, you just try and separate them, even if say the dog is vicious ... it will never ... it will continue, they stick, or something, it will continue. [inaudible] But I think...

B: ... it's very terrible...

J: Ja ... it is...

J: Ummmm ... In what context will you be more likely to use a condom or another form of safer sex?

T: Definitely if I know the woman is promiscuous ... I must use a condom...

Ja... [laughter]

B: If you know she has had more than like 20 partners ... or ... like 10 even or what...

J: Mmmm, ja...

T: Even if she's involved, for example, with another guy in the process, even if it's only one.

J: Ja...

J: Whereas for me, B was saying he's not scared of pregnancy but me ... personally, I LIKE very much, I LOVE ... I love indulge in ... I will resort to safer sex if it's a woman that I really love.

B: Is it?

J: You know ... because I wouldn't want unexpected things to happen between the two of us ... because if this, like say ... I don't indulge in safer sex and that woman becomes pregnant, or ... I don't know, you know?

B: Only for me ... only I would like ... with a woman I love ... I would use ... I would put on a condom if she's menstruating or something ... and she ja ... I think that is perhaps the only precondition...

B: Apart from that, ah, pregnancy, and that...

J: You are prepared to be a father of twenty? [laughter, overtalk]

B: Are you a father, J? [overtalk, laughter]

J: Am I a father? No, not yet, I must be a father. The thing is... [laughter]

B: [Inaudible]

J: I think I'm wrong ... I don't know whether I'm a father, because I might have impregnated lots of women and you know they don't come to you with this at times like that to talk about this. But, you know, you get into a love affair and you separate with that woman, after you have, [inaudible] 20 times, you know, and you don't know whether she got pregnant somewhere, these township women, you see. So you will never know whether you're a father, But I'm not like, a formal father, something to, ja...

B: But definitely that thing, one needs to be, one needs to be, maybe at all times, if you...

J: Don't you think that is also part of masculinity...

What?

J: That makes people ... I've seen guys, like even on campus, someone who's got a child, feels he's better than another ... that one, says, hey you [overtalk, laughter]

B: You are speaking to two of them, right now [inaudible] [laughter]

N: When you are speaking to him, he likes to say, "I'm not a child" [laughter] I'm a father!

J: I'm a father!

It takes a man to make a man [Ja!]

J: [inaudible] said to me, a man, what do you have, it's like...

B: They are being masculine.

J: Ja, they are being masculine.

B: ... oppressing you...

T: ... takes a man to make a man...

N: [inaudible] ... masculinity

T: Because you will find in most societies ... in mostly, let's say in ... the African societies ... like women always take also... like read the book things all about-[J: Ja] you will find the Okonkwo, you see, believe that if you don't have a wife, and if you don't have property ... land ... and all that ... [overtalk in background] and a lot of cattle, you are not a man ... [laughter, overtalk]

B: In that case man means [shouting, overtalk]

It might be old, but it still...

T: Even the question of ... they say if it's a man who don't have LOTS of children ... no, it's not a man they say ... [Ja] it's ... a privilege...

J: Ja, I agree with T, because this whole thing, it's not ... we can't say it's all, this whole thing is only ... I think it's changed ... you know like previously it used to be cows and land and ... all these, but now it's MONEY and world things ... all the things ... you know like a man ... [overtalk]

B: That's why people will say communisms rob you of your manhood, your ability to be like a human being.

J: Ja, you see...

B: Be proud, and that kind of stuff...

T: You want the MONEY of this world, you want all the women of this world...

J: Ja...

B: Not almost... [laughter]

T: You want them all. [inaudible]

J: Ja...

B: Ja ... there are times, we have spoken ... talking about men feeling vulnerable, anxious about sexuality, or in sexual situations ... ja ... only like if you know the

woman's sleeping around ... You know she's sleeping around. Or if you begin not, if you begin not to love the person or like the whole, appreciate ... You feel ... by sleeping with her you're doing a favour ... [laughter]

N: Suspect that she's sleeping with someone else.

B: You become anxious, mos, ja.

T: No, do you find yourself in a situation where you feel that you are being raped? Ja, you see. By this woman ... like ... REALLY you don't have ... you don't feel any more for this woman but because of the TIME that you are in love, let's say the period, you see, like maybe you are in love for ten years now ne? ... and now even you ... she's known at your place and her parents know you also you see, so now you come in that situation that you don't know how to say no ... I don't want you anymore, you see. And for example, when you go to visit her at night and you feel that no, you don't want to collect her and sleep with her, she always forced and insists that no let's go ... ALWAYS and you feel that, ay, man, its against myself...

B: ... emotional blackmail...

J: It's is ... [laughter] I think...

B: [inaudible] Because of all the [inaudible] ... but you don't really want to...

J: Ja...

B: And at times like that you ... I don't know, you just need another man to come and...

J: Ja ... But you know how I'm thinking ... there are times, like ... when I just get involved with lots of women ... at times I get uncomfortable, I feel, no there's lots of AIDS about me, but I'm thinking, but all of them...

B: But that is still better ... [laughter] I was made to feel MOST uncomfortable sexually when I began to sense a homosexual had designs on me ... that was very, very...

J: I, in fact I think it happened to me but that was ...that was long ago ... ja ... That was long ago. And the thing is ... you continue ... thinking about it ... that thing ...feels bad. It does feel bad ... you know [inaudible] and that's the thing, again, that [inaudible] masculinity, because I was thinking, what does that man see in me, when he approached me. You know what that man told me, I'm beautiful, I'm nicely built, I was like, this man he's mad! Beautiful! Nicely built! [overtalk]

B: You feel vulnerable, like some women feel [Ja! Ja!] when they are perhaps harassed. You feel you can be a victim.

J: So then you want, every time you get a woman, you want to make sure that what that man was telling you it was wrong ... you have to prove it [laughter] ... you have to prove it...

B: Ja, ne? Ummmm. You actually don't know ... I mean if one has to state approximately how many wo-

men you've had ... well I mean...

J: Aren't you supposed to be filling in this when we've finished discussing...?

B: Ja, I think...

J: We've exhausted this...

N: Ja, I think so ... we've exhausted...

J: Unless, T, whatever...

N: Is there something else?

J: You want to add something.

B: [inaudible]

J: Ja in a nutshell, just say in a nutshell what is your closing thing about masculinity or about AIDS ... in a sentence.

B: Well, for me like ... like I said ... I take special interest in AIDS because it is so ... it is such a terrible thing, and it can happen to everyone ... and like my bias go towards the majority of black people in that it looks like it is more deadly in their circles. Part of the reason why AIDS is very such a problem is because people use their sexuality as instruments of oppression and say no ... I can't ... I am not willing to even consider like not putting you at risk by using a condom ... I must have flesh to flesh or whatever or ... incest happens in families or people get rid of you know all that rotten sexual perverted things which perhaps are a reflection of the disease and the decay and er ... rot in our communities that needs to be uprooted ... so basically perhaps reconstruction means all those things about addressing all those things. [Ja] And masculinity is for me is like I don't know ... if it means being MACHO then it has no relevance ... because I would like to consider myself as a man - true man - and like somebody who is conscientious about the welfare of women ... I think that is a true man.

J: Ja ...you see... [laughter, overtalk]

T: Ja ... what I also say is that really AIDS is affecting our communities, it's destroying you see ... I personally feel that er ... I would not like even ... it can destroy one single person in the world, you see, because ... er ... it's totally ... it's totally a question ... a question of self-suicide actually ... because everyone is aware now presently about AIDS. I don't know about the remote areas, there deep in the farms, but most of the people are aware now because of the programmes. Many bucks is spent around the world around AIDS awareness but still we took, ALL of us took it for granted that no, there's no AIDS. You'll find guys in the township arguing that ... huh ... these people are they are just jealous because I've got so many girlfriends now every day they tell me about AIDS and all these things you see ... so I believe if you can take it seriously like that ... and I believe also people who are mostly are affected is really the people in the black townships you see ... for somebody to find ... all these people are coming

from outside, other countries, men who've escaped because they are known they've got AIDS in that countries you see - come here just to fuck around, go to Hillbrow [laughter] ... go to Hillbrow [it's true] and you will find these people that were used as Askaris, and these Koevoets, who stayed in the bush for so long and who have done many evil things you see, come and rape in the townships and all that [inaudible] so I think we should try to ... the people who are dealing with AIDS should try to put more money and resources in townships, you see ... [Ja] ... to educate people around the issue of AIDS. Because maybe there are still other diseases that are coming, you see. Just to make people health conscious ... I think that's all...

N: Ja ... me too I'm really concerned about the spread of AIDS and especially through sex, you know ... I think it's ... it's tended to rise ... [mmmm] in the past few years ... it has tended ... there seems to be some sort of ignorance, other people deliberately ignore these things no ... but I think with you know ... improved you know ... programmes through maybe ... through more social workers getting to be deployed in these territories like townships, schools, I think the situation can get better, especially if they can target the you know, the lower - the lower like er ... generation, let me say schools, primary schools - if they can begin somewhere there you know ... at the base ... as those people grow up knowing everything about this thing you know ... instead of trying to tell already when you are old, you know, this is this, people have already grown up with all this traditional ... you know, er ... prejudices and whatever beliefs that, you know, like I said, some people in the townships don't believe in condoms too much, you know ... Ja ... and about masculinity ... I think ... I think as I mentioned ... er ... masculinity's got to do with something like power, strength, you know. In the sense that it like depicts you know ... either male or female, one who's got more strength to what the other, but what I think is most basically aimed usually accepted this, you know, males ... because male gets to be brought up doing hard work ... he's a lot stronger muscles, you know their muscles start to shape at a young age due to this hard work that they are, you know, permitted to do, ja ... Ja, that's all.

J: Ja ... what I was thinking ... is ... okay ... well ... when AIDS began ... I don't know WHEN it began but when people started to become aware of AIDS ... and when AIDS REALLY began to start ... to be seen as a problem, people started to say ... AIDS ... just like rape, has ALWAYS been there, since the beginning of time ... people always say that ... so now what I'm thinking is ... okay, eh, um, talking about AIDS and sexual negotiation, I think okay this education that people were ... received ... thus far ... I think it has helped to try and um ... try and care for ... reduce the number of people that would have died of AIDS had they not been ... I know it's still a problem today ... still a problem ... but I think the situation would have been worse,

that people be not made aware of its ... um ... fatal ... whatever, you know ... so I think ... ja and on my part I really do respect AIDS and I'm scared of AIDS ... because ... because [laughter] I know people that have gone out with, like I was saying, people that I can ... you know ... people that were very close, not very close but people that I knew ... that did die of AIDS and ... today's, famous people are dying of AIDS then in that respect, I don't want to say ... people who have really ... they must consider ... whenever they engaged in sexual whatever relationships, they must make sure that AIDS is here to stay and you can DIE any time ... and ... I think it's so untimely like ... death.. you can die any time, you know what I mean ... like it's not like ... AAAH I can try and HIDE and run away from it ... as long as you not conscious about it ... you will die of AIDS. And about masculinity ... I ... still hold the same belief that ... there is ... okay ... people are men but there's something that maculinity is like you are more than a man ... you're a man but ... it's something that makes you better than other men or something like that.

J: Ja...

N: Do we printed this forms?

J: Ja...

A: As you can all see, it is a fact and it has been proven that AIDS is really a problem, not only in South Africa but throughout the world and it is ... ready to destroy the human race, so I would suggest that if you want to combat AIDS successfully, er ... I think we start ... this ... B's suggested sexual education programmes, especially from eh, the sexual education, and people should take especially the AIDS awareness projects in [inaudible] should take it more seriously ... and er ... especially if you go to the townships and that ... we must teach the other ous in the townships ... who doesn't believe in using condoms ... and so on... about how can I say ... the seriousness and the effects from AIDS, especially ... and ... thirdly, I will say if we can combat rape successfully [laughter] ... we will reduce some of the AIDS issue ... ja...

J: Okay. [laughter]

B: Ja ... like ... I don't know if it's true like they said in ... like ... in countries like Zimbabwe half the population is affected.

J: Ja ... it's ... even, as I've heard Malawi's even worse ... Malawi and Zambia, if you had to get the real genuine figures, people just die of AIDS there ... [Ja] ... because there's ... things I think they're not aware, you know, they're just dead ... and now today as you are saying ... now ... that's why the economy and socio- ...

B: It's more in Africa, ne?

J: It's more in Africa ... people are not aware, you know, like [Ja] Like the majority of people [Ja] in Uganda ... Let me say this because ... AIDS ... people say it's become like most ... whatever ... most marked in Africa

because like it is now that people ... tourism ... tourism has always been there but there's now there's this whole process of people moving all over the ... people are highly mobile today, you know ... so in Africa there's people now like I'm talking of Zambia and Zimbabwe ... where, and Malawi ... there's lots of tourists who go to places like Victoria Falls and all those ... people claim that's why, ... Africans all today that ... AIDS has been brought by foreign people, you know what I mean, because it's those tourists that basically engage in this short time sex and all those things, you know all those things.

B: Prostitution, man...

J: Ja ... large scale prostitution is basically brought about [Ja, man]... an increase in AIDS ... in Africa ...

B: And that's something ... [inaudible] they said ... that they found initially virus in the body of a mummy, a pharaoh that had died thousands of years back.

J: Shoh!!!

B: They find the HIV virus but ... er ... that it indicated that it could have been that he had been cured, but unfortunately those ... the herbs ... had died out you see ... [Ja] that cured him. (pause). When this epidemic broke out it first affected white people really ... now ALL of a sudden it's ... the majority of Africans...

J: Ja ... because this one ...there's high mobility, so I think it's bound, because this people had been, I'm not saying they discovered that they had AIDS, so let's go and spread it to Africa, but one way or the other, people do it, it happens like without subconscious or something ... and tourists just see lots of poor, impoverished Africans that want to engage in quick sex for money or something like that, you know, they in that ... ja, [inaudible] that process ja ... I think it has led to an increase especially in Africa ... well look at places like Malawi or Zambia, those places are VERY poor you know ... Botswana, it's poor, but ... it's got tourists go there and ... people want money, you know this thing like from, from Africans ... like the ... less educated African ... okay Blacks so to speak, they, they ... they hold that maybe if you get involved with a white person or with a black person, you are like someone better in society, you know, so all those people coming from VERY poor backgrounds, have indulged in sex with all these rich people that had AIDS and now, even spread it now.

B: Black women at UCT...

J: Ja...

B: They seem to be more hooked on white men...

J: Ja ... I mean it's like they better or something and that's why we [inaudible] that's why we have to believe that they did bring AIDS ... [Ja] you know.

B: And I heard the interesting theory about AIDS once ... some time ago ... they said that it had been like in places like Africa for very, very very long times [J:

mmm hmmm], but it wasn't lethal, it wasn't deadly.

J: Ja, it was, because...

B: Because ... people were monogamous or like, you find a man and his four wives and he will have sex with those people, but with the ... with colonialism and urbanization ... er ... people spread towards the cities and you found ... like ... one HIV virus in the blood ... would be passed on because of the new sexual relations, promiscuity so it would be passed on and the more it was passed on ... into different bloodstreams the more viral ... virulent and the more deadly it would become that's why it broke out and killed ... Well there are many theories and things, but I DO suspect the United States ... I must...

N: It's very active that territory...

B: I suspect their involvement in many things...

N: That's also, you know ... this biological like information er ... that er ... they say this, this er ... HIV virus, I think ... is to be found in baboons, but, its not killing them.

B: They said the green monkey...

N: It's like part of them ... [Ja] to them it's doing nothing.

B: it's called HIV2.

N: [inaudible] it's killing us...

B: HIV2.

N: ... that's why, that's why...

B: And the green monkey is found in Africa ... and they said it's because Africans had sexual relations or ate them or did what? ...that's why, whatever...

N: Ja ... that's why I said that some social workers said ... no, those Indians, American Indians they had some sort of ritual and what happens was they kill a baboon eh? And in the ritual, it's like they charm ... they go into some sort of dance you know ... they kill this baboon and smear themselves with its blood ... and they say that's how that blood ... entered their bodies and what happened is they got the virus as a result.

B: I don't know ... those Americans they live in reserves, the Red indians in reserves, they are very poor ... [Ja] They are very decimated [Ja] Very few. They are cut adrift from mainstream American society. I don't know where they get the luxury to have those rituals, and if they do, how ... what potential it is that something that afflicts them to those proportions you see, but all I'm saying is we must be critical of such simplistic views. [inaudible]

N: Ja, ja ja ... no, I'm not saying myself ... I'm not actually saying ... I think its like that, I just, you know...

T: Is it the blackness, or whiteness [inaudible] the whiteness, or blackness...

B: And also like if we apportion blame you see, it doesn't

really make a difference. That's how we should be [inaudible] ... and also like world science, maybe it's because it's so profit driven, [Ja] that people are like ... not really orientated towards ... because the governments of the world are not really willing to make available enough money because the ripoffs are not like [inaudible] [J: mmm hmm] Could be something like that. [Ja]

B: So many people should be [inaudible] towards getting the vaccine [inaudible] made the prediction that the vaccine will come in 10 years time, but I don't know... In South Africa we'll only be seeing the effects in four or five years you know ... we'll see ... you'll hear people died... people you knew and only then you'll realise. You'll find some of us ... we have ... whatever...

J: Oh B: [inaudible]

N: If they can predict with so much accuracy, why can't they prevent it with similar accuracy? I mean it's ... how do they...

J: Ja ...what I wanted...

N: you are right in saying they are not putting money into it...

J: What I wanted to bring up its becoming up to me its becoming like ... kind of funny this whole thing about masculinity and AIDS because I'm trying to ... okay ... parallel it to the Bible you know what I mean ... because in the Bible it's been said that in the times to come there'll be diseases, incurable diseases, okay ... that's part about AIDS and this masculinity, you know it's most emphasized in the Bible ... that a MAN ... a man this and a man that, you know ... and I'm trying to bring it to this reality of thing ... anything to... you know ...whether it has anything, to, you know Ja .. some input on this one...

J: Okay, I think we're almost done...

N: Ja, I think we are almost done.

END OF TAPE

AIDS 94-95 GROUP THREE

H: Okay ... what is the couple going to do NOW?

G: Er... they're going to have sex.

H: Ummmm... well do you think that the man and woman might have different expectations about what will happen? And explain?

G: Er ... ja ... they do have different expectations. I mean it's very likely that they do. I mean they always do. It is always different.

H: And you K - what's your opinion?

K: I don't know. They might not have sex. Basically. They might.

H: And you, T?

T: Ja, obviously she might have different expectations of what he meant the whole time.

K: Ja ... well ... what they were planning on doing when they're by home ... might not be what ... what she thought ... or he even thought.

G: Ja ... he's, he's very likely to... [overtalk]

T: Okay maybe she wants a kiss outside the door and doesn't even want him to come inside.

Ja...

H: No ... basically they've gone home now. Okay ... what...

K: ...the next question...

H: NO ... it's ... WAIT ... do you think that they will or won't talk about safer sex?

T: What do you think considering it?

G: Well ... I don't know. It depends they might NOT...

H: It depends ... they might not ... 'cause some people don't prefer condoms...

G: Ja ... so I mean they might...

H: As a matter of preference some people...

G: It might just happen that ... they might just not consider it ... he might just have a condom in his back pocket, I mean ... Might be cool, cool.

K: It might be ... it might be ... they both think this is just a one-off, one-off thing let's just fuck and get it over with.

G: Ja...

G: I mean it's not like, it's not like you rock up with your girlfriend, you say - okay so get into this heavy conversation about AIDS and condoms and...

Ja...

G: It just sort of HAPPENS ... you go there ... whew ... turn off the lights...

Ja...

H: Okay ... how might the subject be raised and what

will be the outcome? From your point of perspective, T? How might the subject be raised?

T: Of sex?

H: Ja ... I mean ... okay ... that's pretty much obvious that they are going to be involved in sexual intercourse then ... they are going to inevitably talk about his past ... relationships [K: well] and is he sexually safe...

K: Ja ... what, what ... how might the subject be raised. What subject? Of using a condom?

G: Ja...

K: AIDS ... of safer sex?

G: Safe, safe, SAFE sex ... safer sex.

K: Ja ... okay...

G: So ... which is um...

H: So basically we all agree on the point that he will or she will talk about his past relationships ... or is he safe?

K: It depends...

H: Well, I would, I would ... um... I mean I would have a condom on me ... always, well not always, but... [inaudible]

H: Okay ... so you've narrowed it down to circumstance and, and person and place...

K: ... and, and, and ... maybe the next...

H: But I mean by the common ground you would inevitably ask the person is she safe. Do you want me to wear a condom or not? Errr... have you been sleeping around?

K: But you're not going to ask anyone that.

H: Ja but you're not gonna ask anybody that.

G: You're not going to ask them.

K: Only if you want to continue with the relationship. If, if this is just a once...

G: You've just met her!

K: ... if this is just a one-night lay ... that you just into ... you're not going to go about asking them all the rigmarole and that. If you...

G: Okay ... that's fair enough...

K: If you just want to have a hit ... and then... [laughter]

H: Okay, well, ja ... fair enough. How do you think the man might feel if the woman asked him to use a condom. How would he respond? More like how would YOU respond?

[Group switched off tape at this point]

H: Okay ... where are we now?

K: On the fifth question?

H: Okay ... how do you think that the man might feel if the woman asked him to use a condom and how would he respond? K?

K: Ja ... alright ... if you really must ... [inaudible] it depends ... it depends again on the circumstances.

G: I wouldn't want to have a baby.

K: No, no it's ... ja ... but it depends on the circumstances. If I'm never going to see this chick, if I'm somewhere, somewhere in some foreign land and I'm never going to see this woman again, I'm not really going to worry about it, are you?

G: Ja.

K: No ... bullshit!

G: I would fuckin...

K: No - you wouldn't worry about it.

G: Giving her a baby - no hassle, but AIDS, yes.

K: AIDS yes, maybe ... ja...

Well ... I wouldn't worry about giving her a baby... but you know ...

H: Okay, but AIDS ... basically...

G: AIDS is what I would worry about...

H: You would ... if you were in his position.

G: I would ... anywhere, because of the AIDS.

H: Mmmm ... okay ... that settles that. Have you ever been in a similar situation - in what context do you usually meet people you might end up having sex with? Does it happen quite quickly, or do you spend time together first?

H: Ummm... well not really ... it's more um... a bit of er ... a once off fling type manoeuvre and [sniffs] ... er .. you do ... er ... not spend too much time together. It does happen quite quickly. And you K?

K: He just answered that question.

K: I did.

He did.

K: Well, I mean if you're going to spend more time together you are going to start talking about shit like that [Mmmmm] ... if you're going to...

G: Okay T ... what is your opinion on question number six?

T: Question number six?

G: Ja.

T: It depends. I've spent time with people and also haven't ... sometimes its a one off thing [G:ja] and sometimes its ... I've spent time with them ... I know them, and I know who they are [inaudible]...

G: Ja ... it, it ... it depends on the situation ... the WHOLE...

K: Normally, normally, normally how would you, how would you go about it if you met a woman in a club and you were really into her and...

... Ja there's basically...

K: ... and now you want, you want to...

G: Went back to her place? You went back to her place.

K: Ja, you went back to her place? And you really wanted to. [Ja ... right] Like now, you you really into her, and you were really into this long, long...

G: Ok, you go all the way to her place.

K: Would you go all the way with her? On the first night or would you spend some time with her first?

G: I'd go with her all the way on the first night, but ... IF I had a condom... because that IS ... that is the time for it [inaudible] ... and I would never have sex without a condom ... definitely.

H: Okay ... in situations like this, and er ... sexual relationships generally, how did you deal with the issue of AIDS and safer sex ... is it easy or difficult? [Sniff] T?

T: Ok, um ... how did I deal with this ... basically by using a condom.

H: Okay ... then it was easy for you, but how do you think SHE dealt with it?

G: Well, did they have a condom? I mean did they eventually have sex?

Okay ... a condom.

H: What if the choice was there that there wasn't a condom and there was no way of contraception?

G: Well, I would have thought that they probably would have just given it... [inaudible]

H: Say she was on the pill, okay...

H: No, no, if there was, right no ... no way for contraception.

G: No way for contraception or protection?

G: Then you have ... [overtalk]

H: Would you pass? Would you pass?

T: Wait, wait, wait. Okay ... there's no chance of you giving ... making her pregnant at all, right ... except you don't know who she is ... she might have AIDS. Would you have sex with her, would you take the chance?

G: You'd discuss it. You'd discuss it. [overtalk] You'd discuss AIDS, and all that, who you'd slept with in the past week, or, whatever, you know what I mean, you'd like have a chat about it. If there was no [inaudible] very very lucky ...[inaudible]

H: So you'd trust her if um if ... if she said to you ...she's got AIDS... [inaudible]

G: She's got to trust YOU ... she's got to trust you, and you've got to trust her...

K: Ja but do you trust her?

So but why do you trust her?

H: It's your first luck in the scenario - it's your first night together - would you trust someone that you've just met, basically at a club or in the street, or from wherever, but you don't know her from Joe Soap, so would you be prepared...?

K: to take her word saying that she hasn't got AIDS?

T: Ja...

H: Would you take her word?

H: Um... also safer sex...

G: It, it it depends on the person ... I mean...

H: So we all say it's person and circumstance.

G: Ja ... basically ... I mean if...

K: You can't, you can't, you can't reach someone on the first night...

H: Well YOU can't. [laughter]

G: You can, you can, you can I mean if you meet and you talk to her and you chat to her and you...

H: Nooit, nooit. I'm telling you otherwise.

K: No you can't...

H: Anyway we're - we're not talking about whether it's possible or not ... we're actually talking about in the situation would you bring up the issue of AIDS and safer sex ... would YOU? If she didn't bring it up. [Voice in background from outside the room]

K: What what what what good is it going to help?... the first night you meet her, you say to her...

H: NO, okay fair ENOUGH ... NO...

K: that you had AIDS ... and... [overtalk]

K: Of course I ... if you're put in a situation where we've got ... we're there already, so it's not a whether, if, to or not ... it's just we're there already ... would ... if she didn't raise the issue, would you?

K: No, I wouldn't worry about it. If she didn't raise it, I wouldn't raise it.

H: Ja ... that's the male side ... that's ... I'm exactly like that...

G: [Interrupts] I would raise it...

H: ... because I expect the female ... I really think she...

G: I would raise it.

K: No, 'cause, 'cause...

G: I would raise it. I would definitely raise it.

How old is she? [Laughter]

H: No sorry ... anyway ... [laughter] In what context would you be more likely to use a condom?

K: WHAT?

H: Or another form of safer sex ... in what context? T?

G: Question number 8.

K: Ja, well ask it again then.

H: In what context would you be more likely to use a

condom or another form of safer sex? G?

G: Uh ... context?

T: If you didn't know anything about her basically.

K: If you didn't know anything ... if you didn't know diddysquat about her? [Ja]

H: Okay, so...

K: If you'd met her for the first time ... and...

H: But you don't ... here it is already okay ... we've...

K: Ja ... what, what ... what do you do ... if there's no means ... are you going to sleep with her or not?

H: No ... in what context would you be more likely to use a condom? That means like...

K: But there IS no safer sex basically than a condom. A condom is the only thing that prevents AIDS. Am I right or not?

Ja, Ja...

K: Ja, I'm right...

H: It's not the only one, but... but it's the most proven I think...

G: There are ...but like, in the shops, in the shops... [inaudible]

K: I don't know of any other method that prevents AIDS. [Mmmmmmm] [Voice calling in from outside] Okay.

G: H, ask the question.

H: In what context would you be more likely to use a condom?

K: I don't understand that question. Can we skip it?

G: No ... no ... we can't skip it. We HAVE to do it...

K: Well ask her when she comes if she'll explain it to us.

G: Okay okay.

What context... [overtalk]

H: if you didn't know the person?

G: I would ... If I knew the person or did not know the person, I would ALWAYS use a condom, always ... First time?

H: That's just your personal morals. The questionnaire is like general...

G: General, general ...

H: So ... um ... [inaudible] what ... basically I would ... if I didn't know her ... and she was just like ... [coughing] If I just got the sense that she was promiscuous then I would use a condom.

G: If you did NOT ... if you did not ... if you did not ... if you had... [inaudible]

Not ... if you had...

K: Okay ... you probably, if you had one you would use it ... if you didn't have and she didn't have one, you wouldn't use it.

G: But you'd discuss it first? If you didn't have one you probably very likely discuss it.

H: Ja ... fair enough ... ja ... But...

G: You'd probably, you'd probably end up...

H: Okay ...

G: ... having sex without a condom ... you WOULD... [overtalk] end up having sex.

K: End of story. You have sex without the condom.

H: [Sigh] Question 10. But you wouldn't...

Question 10 - what do you think makes a man?

G: Oh my God...

H: Okay, K? I'm not talking...

G: A MAN ... when a boy matures ... when a boy actually ... when he...

H: [interrupts] when he's older...

G: ... takes responsibility and has full control of his environment ... and is mature, basically...

H: What do you mean?

G: What makes ... what's a...

H: What do you mean by mature?

K: When he knows when the limits are?

G: Well... mature? Mature ... when you are [inaudible]... 0 0

H: Okay ... let's not ... let's not get like...

G: Mature ... when you...

H: ... out of context...

G: ... when you're fully aware of your ...[overtalk] the world, when you understand your mind, when you understand your mind ... you know ... you are...

H: Ja ... I think I agree with T. When a guy can take care of himself.

G: Ja ... basically...

H: Not a matter of whether he can control what's around him...

G: Not, not control what's around him, but just, you know...

H: He just creates his own environment and can...

G: Ja, ja.

H: ... and can live a stable life...

G: Ja, ja, ja basically ... no NOT CONTROLLING everything ... you know, not like ... just you know...

H: Okay ... question 10. When it comes to sexuality ... are men and women different, if so how?

G: No ... wait, wait wait wait ... I think we should actually talk more about this question nine because it's probably more asking er ... what makes a man as in what separates a man from a woman ... what makes a man different from a woman...

K: He's got a testicle.

H: Ja ... because that - that is true then...

G: No ... no only physical, not only. [overtalk]

H: Because everybody realizes, everybody realizes at that sort of age like ... roundabout...

G: Maybe mentally and physically...

H: ... round about from just past your teens anywhere above that you should start like getting responsible type of thing ... that you should start getting responsible ... and um ... what makes a man? I think basically exactly ... he is responsible and he ... it's not a physical sort of like, uh, I am a man type of thing - it's just like he is responsible.

G: Well, there are lots of men out there and there are lots of men who don't think like you ... I mean ...

H: Ja ... but how ... ja ... but you can't answer that question - what makes a man?

H: No you CAN ... you ... basically she ... she needs an opinion from a group of guys that ... what makes US guys ... and from T's point of opinion it is that you are mature enough to be able to support yourself.

K: No, but that's bullshit.

Okay, that is [inaudible] bullshit .. ja...

K: I mean ... I'm supporting myself and everything, but I don't believe I'm a man yet.

G: Ja ... there's ... there's still...

H: Ja ... but you're not ... you're talking about ... you're talking about your personality ... your physical outlook is that of a man already, so whether you like it or not...

G: [interrupts] there's also, there's also mental...

H: Your outlook is already that of a male so...

G: But there is, the mental outlook...

H: Ja. your mental outlook hasn't like ... come up to that level where you are accepted ... this is ... okay, this is my shell, this is male, this is...

G: ... basically ... I'm only going to become a man when I'm about 30. That's gonna be when I become a man. [inaudible]

Ja, but... [overtalk]

G: I'm just saying. 35 - 40 ... whatever ... LONG time I'll scheme I'll become a man around then ... get a wife and have kids... [laughter]

K: Get a wife ..[laughter] [inaudible] Ja...

G: Ja return her if you don't like her ... [laughter] Go,

go get another one... [laughter]

H: ... return to sender. Okay, now jokes aside. Question 10 - When it comes to sexuality, are men and women different?

T: Ja ... we all know that already.

G: Ja ... we all ... we're different. Men have a very different attitude to sex than women. There are women who have very ... well I don't know ... which you could call it...

H: petite ...[Ja] and...

G: And there are, there are ... and...

H: there are the opposite sides of the scales...

G: who're ... perhaps more ... masculine...

K: No ... that's ... that's cos men and women aren't different really. Because there are women that think exactly the same way as most men think.

G: But more men ... [Ja] more men ... [overtalk] think like that [inaudible]

K: That is, that is more to do with, more wave-length.

H: Females are inevitably more different. You know that because [overtalk] if you say something to a female and they're more deep and they'll like, they'll get like certain things will affect them. [G: well ...] So we obviously know that there are... [overtalk]

G: There's a masculine and feminine side to everybody. Masculine and feminine side's just there. [Ja, overtalk] Women have a stronger feminine, and men, men have a stronger masculine ... and in some people it's different. They have ... their balance is different.

K: There's not much difference in the way that men and women think towards sex.

H: No, but you're talking about survival like like levels on ... instinct type things...

No but...[overtalk]

H: ... all trying to talk on like, put yourself on the other side of the ... sphere for a second, pretend you were like female ... and you ... just exactly circumstance ... like your, your ... how you were raised ... that would be your outlook ... your friends .. that would all be your outlook towards sex ... so like maybe it's cool ... or maybe it's not ... maybe it's something you say...

K: Now ... have you seen a group of women together?

H: Ja...

K: The way they carry on about men.

H: Ja ... I can fair enough ... but ... we ... you're generalizing now ... but what I'm generalizing...

K: No ... but I'm saying... [overtalk]

G: ... they're not ... they're not ... they're not ... like wanting to get into bed with that male ... men...

H: How do you know?

G: Men want to get into bed with a woman...

H: Not always [shouting and overtalk]

G: Ja ... men's sexual drive is stronger than women...

H: Ja ... much stronger ... mmmmmmm...

K: ja, it it's stronger, but like the woman is still got just as much sexual drive there.

H: Ja ... but to check ... it ... like I said ... it's also to do with upbringing ... females like ... their ... their idea of sexuality might not be exactly the same. Anyway ... question 11...

G: I wonder how though in which they are similar? Similar? Well ... how ... ja?

H: Are there ways in which they are similar? Um... T? Ja...

G: Everybody in the end wants to have sex. [Laughter] Everybody likes the idea of sex, everybody...

H: No .. okay ... basically...

G: I've never met anybody in my entire years ... meeting somebody that did not like sex. You know what I mean? [overtalk]

H: Hang on...

T: They're, they're different because they want to get more committed about it.

G: Ja ...But we're talking about similarities here.

H: Ja ... okay well ... everybody on an instinct level and on the highest like ... um... the highest level of ... physical enjoyment ... like you say ... everybody would ... the common ground was that everybody does actually like sex .. well not EVERYbody, we're generalizing now, because of the age we're at ... and because of our outlook, but ... the similarities ...what similarities are there?

K: Most normal people want sex.

H: Ja...

K: Men and women.

H: Mmmmm. So ... but what are the similarities? I mean ... er ... like...

K: Women think about it, men think about it ... it's just that men think about it a little bit more than women do ... most times.

H: And I think females have got more of a control over their like ... sexual drive ... and their, their ... I don't ... I can't say ... what nobody can ever get on your wavelength and say okay well that's what you're thinking and say ja ... like .. she's not thinking the same things, but basically we all know that through the instinct levels - sexuality is like a good thing, it's not ... a bad thing ... it's ... okay...

G: Okay.

H: Next question? Is there anything in particular that makes you feel MASCULINE or manly?

G: Well, ja ... there is actually ... I mean ... I'm stronger than a ... than women ... my age ... all women my age. I'm generally STRONG, stronger than ... I'm BIGGER ... I've got physically ... bigger and stronger than a...

H: What makes you feel ... [Huh?]

G: That does ... that makes me feel manly.

K: Because you're stronger than a woman?

H: So ... would you ... feel dominance? Dominance...

G: No ... I'm not saying dominance...

H: No, not dominance, but er...

G: Something better ... no...

H: Ummm... just an acceptance of ... that you are actually stronger ... that it is ... It's good for you ... it's like...

G: It's good for the ... ja ... I, I ... there's nothing wrong with it ... I don't think there's anything wrong with it, but I am physically and there it's true ... I am STRONGER than women my age.

H: [interrupts] That makes you feel like a man? And you K?

G: Not necessarily makes [overtalk] one of the factors ... One of the factors.

H: For all of us that is a little bit of a key factor...

G: Ja .. that is one of the factors...

H: You are ... like...

G: Mmmmm ... and also generally, it does, it does make a man feel dominant...

H: Ja...

G: It does ... make men feel ... ja. But that's...

H: And you, K?

K: What makes me feel masculine? When I know, when I know I can control myself.

H: It could even be going to the toilet...

K: [overtalk] I can control myself. I know ... I can control myself. No it's bullshit man ... what do you mean going to the toilet?

G: Women go to the toilet as well! [Laughter]

H: [inaudible] ... Go for a leak, put it away and cha!

K: What's that got to do with being masculine?

H: Oh because that's great ... I mean I really ... Actually I'm like...

K: You enjoy it ... you feel proud [laughter]

H: I'm happy I've got a prick basically...

G: Ja ... well women are happy that they are women, you know what I mean? Women are happy that they're women as well you know what I mean.

H: Ja but basically...

K: What, what makes you feel like you're a man? Ja what?

H: Ja ... your strength ... your [mmmmm] Your ... physical appearance ... I mean it's just a general ... like a state of ... masculinity ... it's like ... okay cool ... now I'm like...

G: A man...

G: And you go there and you like get on the train and you scheme, wow ... I'm taller than all these people .. aaah...

H: Ja ... so it's like...

G: WOW... [laughter]

H: And you T? What makes you a man?

T: Probably the same things ... feeling your own strength.

H: Ja .. basically...

T: Going to gym ... you know and...

G: Ja ... like breaking things... [laughter] [overtalk]

G: Like taking down that shed ... when we broke that shed down it was so kif ... just...

H: Okay, sense of adrenalin... [overtalk]

G: Flex your muscles ... Women aren't like ... women aren't like they're not...

H: Ja, women aren't like, I don't know...

G: They're not, they're not...

H: Well obviously, we're generalizing totally now...

H: Um... okay, we've all found that .. the physical and the mental attitude...

G: Okay ... question number 12.

H: Do you feel that women expect men to perform sexually and what does performance mean to you?

H: Okay, I'll start first.

G: Staying power!

H: Ja ... staying power ... basically um... staying on that train till the end ... and you K?

K: Not, not, not ... how long you can handle basically...

G: No perform...

K: Do you think ... no women don't think like that...

G: No ... no. [overtalk] Some women do feel that way.

H: A lot of women do.

G: Well not necessarily perform is actually quite a strong word, perform, it's a strong word, maybe ... they do, they do expect the man to ... they do expect the man to give something ... I mean... [overtalk]

K: Doesn't the man expect the woman to give something as well?

H: Ja ... they're both... [overtalk]

H: ... it's much, much easier for a male to...

G: ... but the women do expect ... women, women do expect ... a lot from it ... they usually do expect ... a lot from a man.

H: Ja ... is that ... is that what we've been [inaudible] from media, and movies or is that what we know? Because I actually know that is true.

K: But that's, but that's rubbish ... because...

H: NO ... it's not actually rubbish...

K: Because, because because... [overtalk]

K: ... as much as the man ... I mean as much as the woman expects from the man the man should expect from the woman.

H: Ja basicallybut everybody's on a different wavelength ... so if you are promiscuous and you're screwing around with different women, she's not going to climax at the same time as you're going to climax, and I know that already from past sexual experiences -people, females climax a lot longer after you've gone and been there, seen and ... [laughter] she's carrying on like there's no tomorrow. [laughter]

G: Okay ... what does performance mean to you?

G: We already answered that.

H: Okay, what do you think of alternative forms of sexuality, such as caressing, massage, um ... mutual masturbation ... Oral sex... [inaudible]

ja ...tried it all...

H: [inaudible] ... of all...

K: Once you have that, you want more, it's like a drug, you want it...

G: Ja...

K: But you should start [inaudible] finish...

G: But also, but I mean, alternative ... it's... [overtalk]

K: Alternative, you can't think like that because it doesn't work...

G: No no no they just they just... [inaudible]

K: If you've got a woman on your bed here ... now you think yourself ... you musn't have sex ... all you're going to do now is caress, massage, rubbish like that, masturbation, crap like that eh? What happens? [overtalk]

G: There are, there are, there are people who can handle it, there are people who can handle it.

H: We're not putting you in the situation ... we're just saying what we THINK of alternative forms of sexuality ... you might not want to have sex ... like massaging [She's not doing that] and...

She is.

Would you do that kind of stuff before doing...

K: Instead of doing sex.

H: No not instead... [overtalk]

There is...

What 're you trying to say?

H: Answer the question.

Alternative means of sex...

G: Ja, so you don't get AIDS, you don't get AIDS, and you don't get a baby. Just to do other things so you don't get pregnant and you don't get AIDS ... I think you just like get a blow job... [inaudible]

H: I would use a condom...

G: If you couldn't get a condom and you were put [inaudible] would you use alternative...

H: Ja ... obviously you would ... you'd obviously ask her, I'd ask her. [inaudible]

G: You'd do alternative methods, but very likely ... you would go further and actually have sex, because it's .. you'd get so aroused...

H: The point is ... I can get a condom ... any of us can get a condom ... so you...

But let's just say that [inaudible, overtalk]

Circumstances that...

H: Ok but basically you would agree that you would in the playground opt for, you would opt for...

No basically...

H: We're talking about ... other peoples, any peoples,

G: Circumstances, I mean...

Circumstance, ja...

G: Circumstance...

H: you would agree to that, oral sex or masturbation ...[G: Ja] there's no problem with that ... everybody has agreed to it...

H: As an alternative if there was no condom ... and er ... basically there was no trust like, if she had any disease or if you had any diseases you would do that - okay...

K: No, I don't think so...

Um...

Question 14.

K: Hey ... carry on with that one.

It's not 14, 14 ... okay...

H: Do you think men ever feel anxious, vulnerable about sexuality or in sexual situations yourself ... what kind of situations? And firstly, I'll say Yes ... [laugh] I'll relieve you now. [Sigh]

K: I want to go back to number 13.

K: [Sigh] You said that oral sex can be an alternative, but it can't be ... because YOU know and I know and T knows and G knows, if there's no condom... if you

haven't got a condom and your partner hasn't got a condom and you get into bed, now you start doing oral sex, you KNOW it's going to lead to sex ... so why do you even start? It's either got to be no, or it's going to be yes.

H: Ja, that's true...

K: So you can't have oral sex as an alternative.

H: No ... why not?

H: Because you know what it's going to lead to - you don't. Certain people have got willpower, they'll like...

K: Have you got that willpower?

H: No ... I'm not putting myself in the situation...

K: She's asking you ... she wants to know from us what WE think ... okay ... well YOU would not. I would not. I know T wouldn't and G wouldn't ... or maybe, I don't know...

NO ... I think T ... well sorry ... [inaudible] to put it bluntly [inaudible] firstly...

G: I would consider it ... ja ... I'd like to consider it, I might...

K: If you bring someone home one night...

G: I'd go down on her, definitely ...and then she can go down on me and it'd be cool ... you know what I mean. [inaudible, laughter]

K: No, but G, if you bring someone home here and she's sitting next to you on the bed here, okay? Now you start getting into each other ... you know you haven't got a condom, she hasn't got a condom...

G: Ja?

K: Okay? [overtalk]

K: Okay ... but she's suspect. You don't want to have sex with her because you haven't got a condom ...[G: Right] basically ... you're writing off sex ... you've gotta...

H: K ... we got your point ... you're right ... I mean there's no arguing ... at ... any one of us...

H: Unless it was in a car or something and I'd obviously ask for a blow job ... but...

K: Unless you've got a convertible!

H: No ... but tell the honest truth - we're all at the age where we WOULD not do it, okay? We've come to that agreement, right? Because we all know that foreplay leads to sex ... so okay cool. Question 14. Do you think that men ever feel anxious, vulnerable about sexuality or in sexual situations yourself - and what kind of situations?

K: Yes ... everytime I...

H: [interrupts] Okay, skip the last what kind of situations ... but...

K: we all know that that is a yes. Because we all think

in the back of our heads that little voice saying ... Am I going to perform? And...

H: But vulnerability?

G: Oh Christ ... I don't...

H: Do you feel vulnerable. G?

G: When...

Well I don't...

When ... like...

G: like I don't understand ... I really don't understand that ... explain...

H: You in a situation, basically you're in...

G: Do you feel vulnerable ... do you feel vulnerable like...

H: Like ... not shy ... but you feel like intimidated in some sort of way ... like ... she wants ... she's dragged you home or...

G: Ja...

H: ... it's a mutual agreement, like you didn't really ... [inaudible] have sex or you maybe...

G: Well, I don't think so really ... I mean I wouldn't think so.

H: Okay, shall we agree, not vulnerable, but do you feel anxious that you're not going to perform or...

G: Ja.

H: Ja ... there is that little bit of a ... and you, T?

T: I don't know...

H: Okay ... we're talking sober now and like ... you know ...if I...

H: Oh ... that's the opposite way you see... that's just personalities and people ... K!

K: Huh...

H: So would you feel anxious or vulnerable?

K: You would feel anxious but you wouldn't feel vulnerable. Vulnerable makes you...

H: If you've got a...

G: Like she's pressing charges ...

H: [inaudible] ... position and ... she's dragged you like ... the mutual agreement that you've gone home, but you will maybe not tend to having sex - what would...

G: Like she...

K: But she's with me...

H: Ja ... would you feel vulnerable or ... would you feel...

G: Basically...

K: I would feel anxious - I'd want to get into her ... ja ... but...

H: But you wouldn't feel vulnerable.

G: Very unlikely...

H: Okay.

G: Women usually feel vulnerable...

K: Why should I feel vulnerable ... I'm the more dominant person there...

G: Ja ...maybe you...

K: I'd be the one who...

G: Ja she ... Women usually are, in the situation, women usually are more vulnerable ... or they FEEL more vulnerable...

H: Okay ... well I reckon that concludes that ... ja ... okay ... so is that it... ?

That's it!

[END OF TAPE]

AIDS 94-95 GROUP FOUR

Okay.

Um... cool ... we must actually have more parties
[laughter]

... [inaudible] the lights are low ...

J: What are they going to do next?

Go and make coffee.

Ch: Chances?

Limited.

Sometimes...

something will happen obviously...

sexual encounter...

Well they're strongly attracted to each other so the natural thing is to follow it up.

They'll probably sleep together, obviously.

Obviously ... not obviously, not obviously [laughter, inaudible] you know what I mean.

J: Um... they're strongly attracted, they mutually decide to leave the party and go to the woman's flat.

A; How old are they, I'd like to know that?

I must admit...

[inaudible] it makes much difference.

It says they can go to the woman's flat. [Ja]

J: so I mean, it's normally .. the female who says well, hold it ... so if she's also quite keen to go back to her flat...

Aaah but she could be naive.

J: Look, Ch ... it's at a party of a mutual friend.

Ch: Ja I know...

J: But obviously like the person [inaudible] house...

Ch: I've met naive girls...

A strong naive girl as well ...[overtalk]

J: They're driving in the car - obviously they're over 18.

Ch: Ja, but I mean ... if you're like say 20, or 28...

Ch, don't be difficult. [inaudible]

I reckon there will be some kind of sexual encounter ... most probably.

J: Do you think the man and woman might have different expectations?

Ch: It's possible.

J: Yes.

Ja ... Definitely. [inaudible]

Like you'll be in overdrive and she may not.

J: I'll [inaudible] be what...?

You'll be in overdrive ... and she may not. [laughs]

J: Yeah. Could be.

T: ... if she's had anything to drink as well.

[inaudible] earlier. She could be inviting him back for coffee ... or just...

J: I don't know ... not not not in today's well, I don't think it's...

Well, I don't know, a girl invites me back and ... you kind of think something else.

Ja obviously.

Ja.

You know ... okay...

The thing is girls do think along those lines now as well, like, they think if I, if I invite him back for coffee, he's going to expect...

Ja, that's what he's going to think. So if she says to him look, I'm inviting you back for coffee, but ONLY coffee, you know, then you KNOW...

Ch: Do you?

Ja you do [Laughter]

You'll probably still go just on the off chance that you... [laughter]

You'll still try and get a kick in the crotch, but I mean...

Ch: Course yes...

At least you know what she's thinking.

J: Well okay ... well then they obviously, they probably are...

Something will happen...

J: [interrupts] I don't know. I don't actually think there would be...

Something will happen.

J: They mutually decide to go back. They're leaving the party.

So they've had some kind of discussion already.

J: Ja. I mean ... they were dance ... they were slow ...they weren't sort of like sitting round chatting and she said oh let's go for coffee. They were slow dancing ... and they decided to leave together, and then I think...

Ja well ... okay, we've established the fact something's going to happen...

J: We must just assume that they're going to have sex.

Okay they might have different expectations.

I think they definitely will.

J: Do you think they will or won't talk about sex? safer sex?

I'm not too sure... [inaudible]

I don't know if they will.

I don't think they will.

J: It's it's it's...

Well it's not something sort of that you bring up over a cup of coffee on the first ... the first time you've met someone.

Ch: Ja, but there's no mention of coffee here.

J: Well ... I'm just...

Maybe [inaudible] getting home to get close to the coffee pot...

J: So I ... I doubt it.

I don't think... [inaudible]

J: Or if they do it will be sort of when they're on the bed.

As they walk through... [inaudible]

J: With their pants off. [laughter] With their pants off. I don't know.

I disagree. Well, I mean, it's possible. [inaudible] questions like, do you have a condom?

J: No.

And then what?

Then he's talking... [nuuuh] [laughter]

Well, she's quite possibly got one in her flat and [Ja, I mean, she's] [inaudible] her flat as well.

J: [inaudible] they'll rave it. Do you think they'll talk about it though?

They're not going to sit down and discuss it.

Ja ... it's... [inaudible]

J: You've got to define talking ... I think... [overtalk]

Ok, what happens if, if he says have you got a condom? And she says no don't worry I'm on the pill.

Oh... bugger that.

J: Bugger what?

He'll just say, look I don't think it's, look I think it's pointless. [J: Think he will?] I'll drink my coffee at home, thank you. [laughter]

J: Think he will, though?

[inaudible]... I don't think we should really wonder what HE will do. Let's think what WE will do.

Ja ... I mean...

Because we could be the man...

J: I'd say bugger that.

I'd say bugger that. [Laughter]

A wouldn't say bugger that. [in unison]

A: I wouldn't.

J: You have the whole evening, like the whole night you've been spading big time and you're finally getting back to her flat...

Ch: Yes she's on the pill, you go for it.

You [inaudible] a condom?

J: Hey?

No condom?

If she's on the pill.

What about AIDS?

Bugger that.

J: No you don't think, I mean ... we discussed this the last time at the other thing. [Mmm] You don't think that the girl who you like and are fantasizing about, is going to have this disease.

Mmm. Mmmm. Ja, I suppose so.

You think some hun's going to have it?

J: You still got to think about it. [Laugh].

I think it depends on the situation actually.

J: Why?

Well, what does it...

I think if you can go after, after one [all talking at once ..[situation]

But I think pretty ...if she's pretty then you won't, and if she's ... [inaudible] a bit ugly...

[inaudible]... the person...

No, if you can go home after one night with her... [overtalk] ...sure but you're going home, ... met her for the first time ... go back to her flat. What type of person is she? [overtalk]

Sorry?

That's the only thing that would, I mean...

That's jumping to conclusions.

Yes.

It's not, counsel.

It's not ... you've only just...

Of course it is.

Are you running down the women I've been with?

You're leading, you're leading the question there.

I'm not.

No you are. [Kak!] I don't think you should worry about what, what, the aesthetics of this whole thing. If you...

Oh please Ch.

Ch: If you can get back to her flat in one night...

J: That's what I'm saying ...

Ch: Then you should worry.

J: That's what I'm saying.

Ch: I reckon.

J: Ja I've actually in a way changed my answer, but I mean you've obviously got to be someone suspicious. I

mean if you've known ... it's a mutual friend, so you .. well you know each through a mutual friend, okay maybe ... okay you meet .. you've never met before ... you meet each other for the first time and you're already going back to her flat. You don't think you ... you can get a bit scared.

No you can get a bit scared...

If you've known her for about three or four weeks?

You do meet the odd exceptional person...

J: You do T, but I mean...

Ch: jussis, it's a hell of a chance eh?

Ja. I think, if you mean, if you've known each other [overtalk]

J: It's like putting a [inaudible] against your head and hoping that the chamber jams. [inaudible] laughter]

No, you know, you know what you're going to live with.

I think if [inaudible]

Or if you've known her like four, five weeks? Like you've met, you've dated ... you've had supper, movies, went to the beach...

You'll know a lot more about her so you might be able to make [inaudible] but I'd still ... still go for the helmet.

Ja, I mean I would want to as well.

But the way the game of cricket... [inaudible] [laughter] He wouldn't bat... [inaudible] helmet.

J: Okay well let's move on anyway. How do you think the subject will be raised?

Ch: Do you have a condom?

Ja ... I think [inaudible] straightforward...

what will be the outcome, but...

J: Yes, no ... mmmm?

I think...

I'd say 50

This day I think ... well... I'd like to think that one of them would have a condom. [Mmm]

Okay, let's say now ... let's just find out now ... if the four of us go out, say ... we don't have to go out together, do any of us not have a condom on us?

Say you're not going out with K, okay?

... I wasn't

And you're going out on a rage.

Ja. I always take a condom. I still have one in my wallet.

I've got two. [laughter]

That's how I actually must say that now, but what about

and one in the cubby hole...

You'd [inaudible] two with the girls you get. [Laughter]

Ja, but what exactly um... you have one condom ... you have sex, throw it away and then you feel like having sex again.

J: That's why I take two. [Laughter]

Ja, and then one can break as well...

Ja, it happens lank often, you're putting it on and oop it breaks and then you go well done, well now we actually can't and then you've [laughter]...

Let's see...

That's when you become a Jeffrey Dahmer...[laughter]

Oh no, I can't handle this [ham US accent]... [laughter]

J: Well um...

I think the worst...

I reckon ... [overtalk] If they've got a condom they'll wear one...

They'll be going...

J: They'll use it. If they don't have a condom...

If there's not, it depends I reckon on the amount of alcohol that's been consumed and how how like liberal they are, or how well informed they are. There are people there who're damn ignorant. Their friends...

No ... people that are bloody nothing...

I would say so...

I've met people who knew everything about...

... practised...

... unsafe sex, weren't on the pill .. and knew their boyfriend was buggering them around...

I don't even think the pill should come into it. I've had...

I'm just saying ... [overtalk]

I'd have a baby ANY day ... I'd have ten ... rather than get AIDS ...[Ja] and suffer for the rest of my life, but being able to live until I'm 70, and die of a heart attack.

I'm just saying ... no matter how much they're educated, they're third year varsity students they know about AIDS, safer sex ... they still don't practice it.

Ja I know.

J: They use the withdrawal method as a ... as ... as...as contraception.

As contraception.

It's the same as um...

How's it work [inaudible] That's a bi of escapism. [laughter]

It's the same as ... now I've forgotten what I was going to say ... it really irritates me. Oh shit. [Pause] um... damn it man!

Jeffrey Dahmer?

[Laugh] no ... I've gone off him.

Um... okay, we'll get back to it anyway. How do you think a man would feel if a woman asked him to use a condom. I'd be pretty impressed.

Ja, I would...

Okay...

but I don't take it for granted. I'm sorry [inaudible] I don't like it.

No one does. Unlike love, okay [inaudible] [overtalk] ... I've had that before when someone didn't ask me, and I backed out. I thought no ways, if it's going to be this easy I can always come back later if I change my mind, but I'm not going in today thank you. [Laughter] No ways. I got a fright.

I'd be [inaudible]

Because the way we'd been discussing it, well just chatting, I mean I actually thought that she was a bit more responsible, you know?

Mmm. And she didn't ask?

Mmm mmm.

And you didn't offer.

Ja I waited. I had it sitting in my pocket waiting for her to say something, just to see what was going to happen. And I had one on me and I mean I could have just said I have one. But I didn't ... I said no ways, cheers.

But she said she didn't have a condom but she wanted it anyway.

Ja... [inaudible]

Maybe it's different over there.

Well it is different over there.

I think it is. It must be...

Very different over there.

That's the thing, if you travel, you'll find that people are vastly different.

Ja...

So ... the expectations of it are frightening.

A will tell you there's a lot in, in the States, I mean ... sex is like a pasttime...

T it's not even like a hobby, it's like...

You go to a movie...

It's like you go out to have sex. You go out for a night sex [inaudible] outside, have some sex...

[inaudible]

You get take aways. [laughter]

But I mean [laugh] okay, you can go out for sex ... there in the States, it's a bit more blase, but you can do it here just as easily if you know where to go.

Where do you go? [Ja]

I don't know, I've been trying to find out for the last 22 years, but anyway...

J: So is there [overtalk]

No but you can, you can ... you've got to look... [overtalk]

Main Road, Rondebosch...

Ja .. Rondebosch ... maybe not the whole way.

Nauty's. [laughter]

J: But um... ja you can definitely go out and...

You can...

You can go to Rondebosch...

J: You go go down Kenilworth Main Road and pay if you want to ...

Jeez [inaudible] Go to Nauty's and get it for free.

After a drink or two, that's still expenditure. [Laugh]

Um ... you can go to Naughty's say and pick up say a [pully?] student or something like that ... who's looking for a good time, or you can go to like the Firkin Head or Torettes ... and still find someone who's like maybe upmarket or whatever...

[inaudible] ...far easier than Forries or Rondebosch

Ja ... I mean, if you go to those yuppy places, you're more likely ... if you're into that scene, to get whatever you're going for than if you say go for a student.

Well, to get back to the question, how do you think he'd respond? I'd be positive.

I'd be positive...

Relieved...

I'd be positive. Both ways, ja.

Mmm... [Laughter]

Have you ever had it...

What do you think he was...

What, T?

T: The question is ... ja, I mean if you, if she didn't ... and if you .. or if she did and you didn't have a condom...

If she did...

J: What?

T: If she did ask

And you didn't have a condom?

What would you do?

[sound of beep] ... you're out laddie.

the bat's not out. [whispered] [cricket ref?]

Mm.. that's what I want to say, ha thank you. It's the same as .. um... when you're talking about ... like you mentioned ... if like there maybe ... they've been seeing each other, or dating each other, for a week or

whatever, then they decide. It's the same as people who start going out.

It's kak difficult.

No, once you're going out, suddenly AIDS is out the window, because you're going out with them. So you can go in there hellbent for leather unprotected.

That's what I'm saying...

But you still know jack...

[inaudible] three months ... so you decide to sleep together ... she says don't worry, I'll go on the pill. You've been going out for three months, now how do you tell her no well actually honey, I'm not worried about pregnancy, I'm worried about getting AIDS. [overtalk]

[inaudible] ... girlfriends have led into long term relationships, have gone in for those ... bowler's batting with a helmet. [laughter]

Not mine!

J: [Laugh] No-one needs your helmet. No but I think for the first couple of [Ja] months [Mmm] ... I mean it's...

And then? .. then you decide no ... it's really a pain in the neck having to use a condom every single time. [overtalk]

But you know, most girls I'd actually say ... I also make this point, is that most of them are pretty fine about men...

J: What?

Using a condom... it wasn't like er ... oh god what do you think I'm a slut type of thing .. they were quite happy with it ... okay, I mean, the one, the one was happy with it because you know, like pregnancy thing ... not necessarily ... [Ja] [inaudible] she's a bit dof tonight ... [laughter]

What do you think of AIDS [said in funny voice] [Laughter]

[inaudible] as well ... A couple of men, though, a lot of women, [inaudible] decide no .. condoms are too much of a pain, I'm rather going to go the pill or the injection.

Injection? God that's antiquated.

Why's it antiquated?

It's not. It's better than the pill.

It's better than the pill?

Don't think I know anybody that has the injection.

I do.

Do you know one?

[inaudible] ... you know that girl at Jack's?

Knowledge!

Hey?

Knowledge.

Okay ... I'll pass on that. Um.. no I only asked that question about going out ... you know er...T?

No ... [laugh]

Her boyfriend, I mean they started going whatever ... um... and they started using a condom or whatever .. and then they stopped using it .. and they were going out for a year, and he was unfaithful four times.

Mmmmm.

And he DIDN'T use a condom all four times, okay?

Didn't use it ONCE?

Didn't use it once.

Jesus!

He carried on sleeping with HER...

Without a condom?

Ja ... but if she had said to him no, let's carry on using a condom, she'd be a lot less worried than she is at the moment.

Ja ... [cough]

That was two years down the line that they were going out she only found out about all that.

And it already happened?

Uh huh ... [inaudible]

That comes under the question of do you trust ... how much do ... it comes down to the question of the person involved.

That's all, you can't...

Ja, but once you're going out with someone you can't have like, have this past thing that you trust them...

Yes, because you wouldn't really be going out with them ideally otherwise. [inaudible]

Not always...

You're quite [inaudible] in that respect [overtalk] [laughter] let's face it...

Enough! [laugh]

Not always.

You just go out with someone you don't trust?

I'm not saying I would, I'm saying there are people who would.

Ja, but that's [inaudible]

There are PLENTY of people out there, who go out ... [who don't trust the girl] ... who go out with someone and are thinking in the back of their minds, gee well, actually, hang on...

But they're not there for the relationship, they're there for the sex.

No bull.

Yes [overtalk]... come on. Why do women...

How can you have a relationship with someone you don't trust?

Why do women who get battered stay with their husbands?

Because they're too scared to get out...

[inaudible] completely different issue

No, it's the same principle...

It's not.

It is the same principle.

What's the getting beaten up to do with trust ... you trust him to moer the shit out of you until you're dead [CHK] [laughter] ... You trust that every night you'll get a beating [laughter]

It is the same principle...

It's not trust ... no ways...

It's not!

It is! A girl can have a guy or a guy can have a girl and still have it at the back of their mind like problems like ... oh you know, what if she's messing me around or what [inaudible]...

Ja ... but that's more com ... that's not a trust issue

... that's a security...

That's a security...

Ja, but it still happens. It doesn't mean you're going to leave

[inaudible] ... developmental problems...

it doesn't mean you're going to ... it doesn't mean you're going to leave the person.

Ja I know, obviously you're not going to leave them because you don't trust them. You can overcome...

That's my whole point...

So you can stay with someone and not trust them?

Jussis, I'd ... have a problem...

I would ... I would ... [okay] I would...

Well theoretically ja ... but what difference does that make? To what we're speaking about?

Aahm ...

Because you were raising the issue of wearing a condom in a relationship.

Ja, but I mean how ... can you tell that person that you're going out with that you don't trust them. Look ... I, I really like going out with you, but I just don't trust you.

Mmm I've tried it, it doesn't work eh? They don't give you much [inaudible] [laughter]

I mean it's not going to work.

No no of course not.

They'd rather pull and then say well no you don't have to worry about using a condom you can't exactly say well actually no I don't trust you ...I think I'm going to get AIDS from you .. so I want to wear a condom.

Ja, but I mean how many, how many people...

I'm not going to be caught in that position.

How many people have fights with their boyfriends and their girlfriends because he dances with her too long, or she...

But that's the whole thing ... everyone is insecure ...actually.

It's not a security question .. it's not a...

Everyone is ... [overtalk/inaudible]

No, no ... but [inaudible] it's not a security question.

Jeez but I was, on New Year's Eve, I was with a couple of people and a girl suggested to the guy they have a threesome, just like that.

Ja ... so?

So the guy ... well the guy's sitting there saying okay ... well, Jesus, I really like this girl but ... hang on, you know, she's now suggesting this ... and do I or don't I ... is this going affect the relationship, all that kind of shit. [Course it's going to affect the relationship (very soft)] I think ... but ... but ... he's not about to walk out on her because she said that, but he still...

No, ... okay .. ja...

... whether he trusts her or not. [overtalk]

... we're talking about a monogamous ... a supposedly monogamous relationship.

My point is ... my point is it does depend on how well you know the person...

Ja...

So that's what we're saying, that four months [inaudible]

The further you get into the relationship, the harder it gets to. .. to, to start negotiating, really. I mean because you could be going out for four months and not even like ... talk about sex.

True.

Jesus, that must be difficult. [Laughter]

But I mean it could. You know. And ... and then, and then four months down the line you have to start ... you have to negotiate, and it it's ... you have to treat that person as though a complete stranger, because you don't know anything about her sexual history and I mean, even if you do speak about sexual history, how do you know that they're going to tell the truth? She might be embarrassed that she slept with ten guys before, you know, and she doesn't want to tell you because she thinks it'll, it'll push you away. I mean this is all really...

Even ... [inaudible] you are on the AIDS topic, I mean, it's dormant for what ... seven years? can be...

Or six, ja.

I mean it can.

No well it's actually ... no it'll show up after six months. Six months at least. The longest.

Ja, but I mean she doesn't necessarily know. Ja, you can take a test and it'll show immediately [inaudible] ... okay, how many of you, how many of us have had an AIDS test? I haven't.

I haven't either.

You have?

Don't tell your insurance that, because they won't give it to you.

I had to have it for my insurance.

I mean [inaudible] some insurance companies won't insure you because you've had an AIDS test and they think you're a risk, because they, they go along the lines that you've had a test, then you're obviously at risk, you know that you're worried about it. But um... my point is that if you haven't had an AIDS test then you're not going to know, and then for her sexual history maybe shady [inaudible] to herself...

Easiest way out is just to be a blood donor...

That's what I think, ja.

Yes, but they don't ... tell you unless you ask.

No they will.

They have to.

They DO NOT tell you. [All speaking at once] Ch I looked into this. They will throw your blood away but they will not tell you if you've got AIDS.

You won't be allowed to give blood anymore.

Mmmm.

They don't know it's you. They have this blood, and they've tested it. If it's got AIDS, they throw it out.

You'll get a postcard which [inaudible/overtalk] that you're no longer required as a donor and should you wish to contact the office you can.

See, but they don't tell you, buddy, you've got AIDS.

No, you can't send that on a postcard ... I mean hell...

Ja I'm saying ... they don't tell you.

Merry Christmas. By the way, you have AIDS [overtalk]

You have to have, by law, I think you have to be counselled, before and after an AIDS test.

J: But um ... they don't necessarily tell you. We looked into that [inaudible]

Not straight off, but I mean...

Not straight off, but they kind of...

If you get a postcard saying you're no longer wanted as a donor ... I mean all they're wanting is blood donors .. it's pretty much ... say look...

I'd just think oh well...

A: I've got something serious...

J: Okay, well, have you ever in a similar situation? In what context do you usually meet people you might end up having sex with? Does this happen quite quickly or do you spend time? Well I generally spend time.

It can happen as easily as it happened [overtalk]

J: Are you talking about this one night stand ... like in this situation...

I've never ... much to my disgust...

Well .. um...

Does it happen quickly, what, once you get back to the flat? [Laughter] [overtalk]

Like take half an hour and THEN go back to the flat or does it mean you have to spend the whole evening together and then go back to the flat... [overtalk]

... whole evening thing, like... [inaudible]

... on your mind, sort of dance for...

Met this person, four hours later you're sleeping with them.

Ja, I reckon it's taken place quickly, ja.

That's happened [ja]

Relatively quickly.

J: It happens quickly for you to think about it.

Ja...

I don't think you've got so much time to think about it.

But I mean you'll be at a party and the next thing you know you'll be leaving ... I mean ... time suddenly loses all...

Ja, specially after two bottles of wine...

Ja...

Ouch! [Laughter]

[inaudible] damn ... [laughter]

That's alright, [inaudible] If you've been looking in each other's eyes all bladdy night you're not going to know whether it's twelve or two, man.

No I think probably ... does it happen quite quickly, or do you spend time together first? Okay .. when you get back to the flat, does it happen quickly, or...

Ja.

If it doesn't happen quickly it's not going to happen, I don't think. I mean, she may have put the kettle on, but ... I ... you're not going to drink your coffee. [Laughter]

On the way back down the hall ... [making sound of woosh!] [laughter] Buzz!

Definitely, I mean, once you're back in her flat you're there for a reason, there's no... [overtalk]

What if you're trying to talk her into it...

Not there any more for dancing or looking into each other's eyes ... sweating and straining, ja...

You've done that...

Ja...

I think ja, back at the flat it happens relatively quickly. [laugh] Umm ja.

J: In what situations or sexual relations generally - how did, or how do you - deal with the issue of AIDS and safer sex ... is this easy or difficult?

The issue of AIDS is difficult.

Ja ... I don't think it's ... I don't think you can try and disguise it.

Safer sex ... ja ... it's easy just to say...

... look, I'm using a condom because I don't want to be a father ja, but what I mean if you try and disguise your...

J: But then that's the issue of, where she says don't worry I'm on the pill.

You just say look, I'd rather be safe. It's easier for girls, because they can tell you, look I'm not on the pill, please use a condom. Even if they are on the pill, they can just say that. I'm not on the pill so please use a condom. But guys it's difficult if you...

We can be on the pill now as well...

On the first night ja I reckon that most guys'll wanna use a... well

[inaudible ... we'd like to use a condom on the first night.

I think if you've met a person for the first time, met a person for the first time, you ... I mean ... the issue of AIDS isn't necessarily a difficult one.

No, but it's .. it IS a difficult one, because you're not going to say look, I'm like thinking that maybe you've got AIDS .. cos it's a first nighter and you ... well it's quite a sluttish thing to do ... [chuckle] so [inaudible] use a condom ... I mean that's quite a difficult thing...

No but the thing is...

No but ... you're both thinking...[overtalk]

You know what's funny though, like you're thinking like ja, this is quite a sluttish move .. you're there as randy as hell ... I mean .. it's quite... [inaudible]

Ja ... You're being a complete arse about the thing, I don't think it's necessarily a problem.

No, well I think you...

I think the issue of AIDS is a huge problem.

... negotiating...

I don't say...

I promise you, if you ...If the topic of AIDS came up in your pre-coffee stage...

That's a definite downer.

... then your problem is she wouldn't go for it after that...

I reckon that's also .. that's also an issue...

Ja that's...

If you start talking about AIDS, I mean once you're like, you know, then she's going to think,... well maybe he's got AIDS. [overtalk]

Ja, no, but the thing is what's more likely to happen is, she's going to say .. do you have a condom? And you're going to say, yes I do. So I mean, then you're both going to say ... right, let's go! But the thing is.. why're you asking that? I mean the chances are that she's asking because she's thinking AIDS and the chances are you're going to wear one because you're thinking AIDS ... and it's not going to...

No .. I reckon...

And you're not going to ask...

she's asking for ... [inaudible] pregnancy ..

Pregnancy ... ja...

I disagree.

You'll have in the back of your mind AIDS...

I think...

... more people are worried about pregnancy - especially southern suburbs people that we know.

How many people do you know [inaudible]

I know a few people who're worried about AIDs, they're more worried about pregnancy because it's such like a social stigma ... whereas if you have AIDS I reckon the southern suburbs .. [quite trendy] ... you'll be like ostracised and kicked out of the old boys' society and ... you know...

I think there's more a tendency to disguise it...

I don't know know .. [overtalk] well I ... concern as safer sex...

...into into a pregnancy thing...

Be interesting to wait and see who ... say, out in the southern suburbs, like he went to say Rondebosch, Sacs, Bishops, Wynberg or whatever, who one day finally says like ja, look, I've got AIDS or whatever.

Someone already has...

Who?

[Beeping noise] um... well... I. B.

He's I.B. you know ... nobody knows him...[inaudible]

[Cough] He went to Rondebosch ... quite a shocker.

I mean, did either of you know that?

Ja see and like .. like let's say it was published look this guy has AIDS...

It was in the paper ..

Okay, it wasn't his name, but ... I mean...

Who reads the bloody paper?

It wasn't his name, but if you knew him you could work it out...

I still think there's a tendency to disguise the paranoia...

Ja ... as a ... you can cover .. you can cover everything and just say, look, I'd rather be safe, you know. You don't have to actually clarify which safe. I think safe...

Covers both...

... blase, but it should actually deal with both, at least then you're being responsible.

Mmmm.

The question is ... do you think about it? ... does she think about it?

I do. I do.

J: I think everyone thinks about it, but I mean it's just a bit of a downer to raise the topic.

I certainly think .. I think AIDS are more ... I mean me personally ... it worries me more.

I probably have a [inaudible] about it. I don't know. [Laughter]

In what context would you be more likely to use a condom or any other form of safer sex?

In what context?

One night stands.

Generally I think you'd use your condom.

Safer sex I reckon, if you're going out with a girl...

Safer sex ... doesn't say you...

I think safer sex is monitoring the time of the month or whatever .. there'll be a period when you're quite keen on safer sex regardless of the pill or not ... but generally, otherwise you're probably won't. It's...

J: But safer sex is ... I'm not sure if they're talking about safer ... AIDS sex or safer pregnancy sex.

Well, they're one and the same really at the end of the day, aren't they?

Not really...

Condom's the only form of ... really safer AIDS sex.

Mmmm ... the pill is safer pregnancy sex. Not safer AIDS sex.

I mean ... ja ... it's basically just one night stands and a couple of months into a relationship...

First few months ... of a relationship...

Well your first ... few ... sexually active ... months...

[inaudible] [Laughter]

In what context would you be more...

Ja...

Well I mean we ascertained at number seven that we'd use a condom anyway, so there aren't really any more, I mean that's about as quick as you can get .. those little scenarios at the top...

Ja [inaudible] ... must be using a condom generally quite often after that anyway ... you know ... whether it takes one night or two nights as well, or a week or a few days.

Ja, I think at first ... I think the first, like, sexual experience with someone is normally with a condom...

Your first as in your number one ... or ... [Laughter]

No, like your first ... like you have a sexual relationship with someone, the first time you ... have sex...

Ja...

Or not ...Shakes his head [Laughter]

The first time I have sex is so amazing, so exciting, I can't remember. [Laughter]

Um... you don't reckon?

[inaudible] I reckon [overtalk]

Oh wow, we've had sex ... I think! [Laughter]

[joking] [inaudible] kettle's boiled ... [laugh]

I'd like a bottle of red though, just ... [inaudible]

J: Well, we've covered everything, pretty much, hey?

Okay .. masculinity ... what makes a man?

[Sigh] a whole of lot of ego. What else?

Societal values...

Basically social standing...

Social roles, social standing...

Well I mean makes a MAN is in ... in society...

[inaudible] [laughter]

Well there's that as well, makes a man. Is it man, man because we have a penis, or MAN like Camel man, you know...

Ja...

Which man is it?

Well let's do both.

I think we're discussing masculinity, so I think what makes a it how someone will, how society will look at two people and say well, he's a man and he's not.

He's half man.

Ja...

Okay let's compare Ch ... and Camel Man

What do you think ... makes a man...

Some societies see them how it fits into the society's norms and trends and...

Ja how he also accepts society's impositions or whatever on him...

Ja...

Whether he accepts or rejects ... males [inaudible] or... No, I mean, like...

If like, if like society deems that we all wear dungarees and you decide not to, you'll probably ... you could be quite a MAN if you don't, you know, because you're standing up for your own rights, kind of thing. Depending on which context you look at a man...

Or, or, you're not...

it's like a James Dean type...

Or you're NOT a man ... because you haven't followed the rest of the pack out there.

Ja, that's more like it ... the latter form. It's very difficult.

But like, okay, but masculinity? But ... in a sexual one? Lank testosterone and not ovum ... what else?

But I mean how many ... girls a guy sleeps with ... is a man? Eh?

Nooo .. I don't think so ... maybe ...

[inaudible]

It's more how you see the guy. Okay for instance .. if a guy's been in a long [inaudible] relationship...

[inaudible]

I think it used to be like that, like what you said...

Ja...

The fact that the girls are sluts and the guy was a stud.

Ja ... if you look at X, say at school ... ja .. everyone KNEW what he did, but people would still fall for it, but they don't fall for it now anymore.

Of course they do.

No they don't. Not close ... he doesn't even get the tip of the iceberg of what he used to get.

Ja, but I mean you know why? It's because all those Rustenburg girls thought X ... was such a man. I mean...

Ja then, but it's changed now. People still know what P is like .. that stigma's followed him, and it always will... [Laugh]

Poor bugger...

No but I'm saying, it's not...

that's what graded you as a man. And they wouldn't have gone out with Z... [laughter]

That's a BAD, bad comparison. [laughter]

Z is one of those half men we were talking about just

now. [laughter] I mean...

I think it's just how well you fit into and epitomise the social trends and norms.

It's a man ... I mean, ja ... I suppose it is ja ... but it's a hell of a difficult...

Good looking, big guy ... you know ... I don't .. southern suburbs, a good rugby player ... or South Africa a good ru ... good sportsman if such...

Bottom line...

A good build...

That makes hell of a difference in this country...

In any country ... with this sunshine.

I think er .. ja ... a man ... it's particularly ... it's your physical features ... make a hell of a difference...

If you're looking at the way man is portrayed throughout mythology and everything, we're all big bloody Atlases and Hercules and...

The thing though is ... the thing is though...

I don't know where they got that from...

You can make yourself ... sex .. virility is meant to be ... big guy eh ... ja ... The thing is though, you can make yourself look good, and how you make yourself look depends a lot on your personality and your character.

Ja well that's what we're saying a lot as well, it's how you fit in. Like especially fashion wise nowadays.

Ja.

I mean Z, Z could make himself look like a stud if he wanted to. But he chooses not to.

Ja.

He is the way he is.

True to himself.

Ja.

I mean ... um... when it comes to sexuality ... are men and women different?

But you know what the funny thing is, there are people who find him quite attractive as well.

Ja.

And he's a man in their eyes anyway ... so it ... it's a .. you can't really cover that question ... you can just talk a whole lot of...

Well then you've got your female version of a man ... I mean, I don't know what you call it ... I mean...

No, but .. I mean what we would view as a man ... is completely different to what girls often view ... not completely different, but it is different. I mean they could find ... what's Gerard Depardieu ...

END OF SIDE ONE: TAPE BREAK

I mean ... you see ... I mean women view...

ja look .. that's .. then you're getting into the whole ... [inaudible] basically what makes a man, is how he fits into social society, forms and...

Ja ... I reckon...

A bit thing as well is ... a guy's ego, not necessarily how big-headed he is. But like...

How he feels about himself...

How he feels about himself ... his own ego...

Ja...

He's ... confident with himself...

Ja...

His super-ego...

How he is ... how he thinks he's ... how he personally believes he's...

How he portrays himself, ja.

Self-esteem. A lot of it comes down to self-esteem.

Ja ... that as well. I mean you can portray yourself as a hell of a confident guy, whatever...

Ja then, but that's basically then ... like ... that's your personal feeling as to how you think you've fitted into the social norms.

[Interrupts] What you think's a man...

Ag ... this is a...

This is a difficult question ... um...

Ja, I mean then you've got to go into what do you think the social ... norms are?

We just said ... in a .. in a summery country in a sports- verskrik country, good sportsmen ... nice build, aesthetically pleasing, um... it's like a man ... a man in England .. if you've got a title and a castle you're a hell of a man ... if you ain't, you're nothing. [overtalk]

Aah but now ... if you look, you look, if you go out to campuses and whatever, the guys who do well for themselves in terms of women and all that sort of like paranoia are guys who've got something.

So it's like here as well.

The sportsmen there...

... go to the Leslie...

No ... sportsmen, ja ... the Leslie, the Leslie's totally different because we've got like sports things as well. The Leslie is not only like ... um... no Leslie's like fashion as well eh? If you've got the biggest mouth and and you look trendy as well you do pretty well in the Leslie.

Ja well that's money ... you've got to have money to buy fashion. Ja, but that's what I'm saying. There ... in ... in England I mean, there's a friend of Y's... who's out from England, W, she's studying at Oxford. She says sport-wise there are a couple, there like are people who like will hang around the sports guys you

know ... there'll be like the usual groupies that you get everywhere in the world, but totally different to this place. It's not even on a scale comparable.

Right...

There it's far more ... if somebody's got a title he's quite a catch if you can get him. You know, just because their whole social standing of theirs and everything .. it's exactly what we said .. it comes out like society [inaudible] and how you fit in with it.

Ja ... get yourself a title, you're pretty much made I reckon.

If you go into a different group from us, I mean if you're driving a BM and you've got a cell ... I mean...

... drive through Sea Point, you probably going to get quite lucky at the first stop.

Ja ... ja I suppose so.

So I mean ... going to La Med as well...

[Voice very low] [inaudible] complete bloody meat market ... you know ... and the okes who look the best and dress...

Got money and...

Most money .. and sportsmen can walk in in baggies and vest, and people will be swooning over them just because they're good sportsmen.

Ja...

You know? There you actually get a perfect look at what masculinity is ... or what people think it is.

Ja...

I mean, you get some serious [inaudible] allergy walking round there, nothing else...

Ja...

I mean you can be a complete karate kid without the karate, but if you're confident, it makes a hell of a difference.

Ja... I was there the other night ... some idiot ... [inaudible] like long .. I don't know if you saw ... like long, curly black hair. But long eh? Half way down his back and wearing a vest and red jeans.

Red jeans, ja.

And he was dancing by himself on the dance floor. Making a COMPLETE wanker of himself.

But you see...

Really ...like you don't call girls from like across the floor ... hey you, come dance with me. [chuckle]

There're people who actually...

And in the end someone actually did go dance with him...

There're people who'll fall for that and it's just each to his own at the end of the day. Let's move on ... question...

When it comes to sexuality are men and women different .. if so, how? And in which way? Well, sexuality, like we've already said ... about ... if a guy has a ... sleeps with a lot of women, he's a stud ... if a woman sleeps with a lot of guys she's a slut...

Mmmmm...

I think that's...

No .. I mean it's also...

And woman can also rely on sexuality [inaudible]. On their own sexuality...

I don't know, I think men are more [inaudible] with sexuality than they are with sensuality.

Women are...

Women are sexuality ... show me how many movies there are with guys opening their legs to show their genitals...

Ja, but that's one movie...

Okay, well how many nude women there are. How often do you see, I mean you often see women's pubic hair, how often do you see male? I mean, the, the scenes cut out of Basic Instinct were the ones with Michael Douglas' dick. None of the Sharon Stone nakedness was cut.

Ja, but how much did you actually see?

No I'm just saying. I'm saying ... how often do you see a guy naked? You see his arse ... you never see his dick.

True.

How often do guys strip off and how often do you see like [inaudible] ... topless women...

Ja, but that's like society norms...

You see...

That's ... that's... you see an advert for a beach festival ... it's going to be bikinis and...

Ja...

Okay, sure, you see guys in speedos ... okay ... far more often...

They're in the background.

It's girls walking round in bikinis. But I mean you look at TV ... an advert for shampoo um ... skin moisturiser or whatever you want to call it, it's always beautiful women, bare skin, you know. If you're going to advertise toothpaste, you're not going to have a guy smiling with white teeth going [sound of grinning] you're going to have a woman.

Some SPUNKY [inaudible]

Ja, exactly.

So there are differences.

Ja, I mean I think ... [inaudible]

There's a lot more emphasis put on woman's looks than

guys..

Exactly. I mean ... I mean none of us are going to sleep with Martina Navratilova.

Well we couldn't.

Ja but some girls will sleep with Ch. [Laughter] Whooo!

Um... ja ..

I'm saying look, I mean guys, guys can get by on their personality, [you know a lot of] but girls have to, I mean ... if if ... you get told oh she's a very nice girl ... erkkkkkk [in unison] ... but if a girl gets told oh he's a very nice guy ... that's cool.

Ja, but that's just like a school thing.

If you get...

No, but if...

No, the point is [inaudible] one hot girl and one sort of not so hot girl and [inaudible] my friends really nice ... and there's just that's carried on.

No, but I mean that's part of [overtalk]

I think J's right ... [inaudible] [overtalk]

But I'm saying if ... you see ... if a girl gets seen as you know ... she's a bit overweight or if she's squint or whatever, but she could be really nice. But if a guy's slightly, if he's got a bit of fat around his stomach, oh cool, he's got love handles.

Ja I mean look at some like C, C's...

How many guys look at a girl and go ooh cool, she's got love handles.

C's not a great looker, but he's got ... I mean he can make anybody laugh.

Cool, she's got a beer boep! [Laugh]

That doesn't happen. There's a lot more emphasis on how women look...

[inaudible] ... more marked as well, comes out in [inaudible] as well. [very soft voice]

Commercially, you mean.

But why? [Coughing]

Everyone looks at girls, not everyone looks at guys.

But that's because of the emphasis put on their sexuality.

Ja, but that could have started in the 10th century man...

No it hasn't...

And carried on ... Of course yes .. look in the old days.

What, where?

Look at all the women that have been portrayed. Fashion has always started with women ... it's never with guys.

Really?

Crap!

Of course yes.

Mmm... how many abbos do you see walking around or Xhosas walking around with beads, and how many women ... look at all the women in African tribes with all the rings up their neck, all the studs, all the ear markings.

But that's because of their sexuality.

Ja, but it carries ... it's like...

So, but that doesn't make it ... I'm not decrying that it's been since conception, I'm saying there are differences in their sexuality.

Ja, obviously, but I mean I think it's just come that way.

And are there ways in which they are similar?

More girls look at girls and envy other girls' figures than guys look at other guys' builds and envy their builds really.

True ... I mean most guys are quite happy with the way they look.

If you look at ... if you look at say ... I don't know ... Ben Johnson, you look at Frankie F, you can't compare them physically. But they can both run bloody fast. And that's all it really comes down to at the end of the day for a guy. I mean they can still run damn quickly ... but a girl is totally different.

But most guys are quite happy with the way they look.

I don't think so.

Or they're less verskrik.

I mean they're not so .. so hung up about it. [overtalk]

Maybe I can put on another ten kilograms

... society [inaudible]

Well, I mean you can take a girl to watch Four Weddings and oh my God ... Hugh Grant what a spunk and you can accept that ... and then you turn round and say my God, you know ... Andy McDowell is quite nice .. [putting on funny voice, funny noises. [Laughter]

I think it's a bit more complex than that.

So yes there is ... [inaudible] there is differences. And similarity? Between their sexuality?

Ja...

I think .. [inaudible] split both, it's becoming more...

Ja...

Women's sexuality has become more open. And if you think about ... I mean it's something that wasn't spoken about really...

Ja but ... a massive change, like the last couple of years.

Ja I mean it's ...the eighties and nineties...

Yes, it's sort of picking up that's ... and it seems to

me that woman's sexuality is something that's .. sort of getting onto an equal...

Ja I mean that's...

Male [inaudible]

[inaudible] ankles and stuff like that.

Eh?

... ankles ... you see more than the ankles ...

It's ja ... but it hasn't always been like that - and what's the women getting circumcised.

What about it?

Well, I mean their clitoris gets cut off because ... it's to stop them having pleasure when they have sex. So that they'll be faithful. And that's why...

That's like about 2-[inaudible] people in the world.

No, India it's about 80[background] it's ... huge...

Ja.

There's an article in Time magazine about it.

Are you sure India ... not like a tribe of Indians in Africa?

No, it's India. I mean it's like against the ... against the law but it's still continued.

[Sigh] whew ...

So I mean the woman's sexuality is completely ... it's not even considered...

Ja but that's like...

Ja it's like ...

I think we are moving towards common ground in that ... a girl can now also make, start making advances on a guy.

Ja...

And the girl can start spading a guy, and a girl can phone a guy and...

It's not sort of frowned upon if a girl...[Ja ... I think] [inaudible] invites him go back to her place...

Ja, society's now like ... seeing female sexuality in much more the same light as male sexuality.

I think that's wrong ... look how many sex symbols there are of women. There always been, like Marilyn Monroe and all those people that's always been around.

Yes but they .. but they ... but I mean...

It's just been slow to take on amongst the general population of women.

No but they... [inaudible]

They're coy.

Ja ... [inaudible] coy.

The portrayal was ... the portrayal was.

No I don't think so.

Ja but even then it was always the guys who were doing the spadework and it was always the guys who ... made advances. She was the helpless heroine who gets pulled off the railway lines. And I think nowadays its .. it's [inaudible] frowned upon.

No, but I mean that was what was depicted ... that was how women were meant to me. I mean Marilyn Monroe was a beautiful woman ... everyone ... all men lusted after her ... she was helpless, she sort of ... you know she couldn't do anything for herself and everything was left [inaudible]... MAN was meant to do it.

Ja but is that sexuality or a roleplay. It's still like that now. That's why this whole like women's movement and everything.

Ja but it's changing though. Ja ... there's a ... we haven't got ... I mean ... the shift's now gone to the female like ... we were sitting at Nauty's having a beer and some girl comes to ask you to dance. You're no longer going to fall off your chair and think My God, what a slut.

You're going to fall off your chair and just get straight back up again. [Laughter]

Ja, well you would anyway.

Push your girlfriend off your chair [laughter]

Fuck off [inaudible]

Have a seat, baby...

Um.... something ja ... I think there are differences, but its moving towards common ground.

Is there anything in particular that makes you feel masculine or manly?

[Sigh]

Me? [breath]

[inaudible] ... half a man

Ja I know ... I suppose...

Fit and strong.

Ja I think...

I think, your physical prowess...[inaudible] [overtalk]

Physical ... it's the way you look. Basically, okay, your aesthetics, your...

But it's not your aesthetics really in clothes ... it's what you [inaudible] [sound of clapping]

it's your physical, you know? When you're standing on Llandudno in your speedo or whatever.

Ja. Um...

Being able to play sports well.

Ja ... as I say sports players are ... maybe this is the southern suburbs Cape Town, I don't know. But sports players are ... [inaudible] I think.

I reckon ... well basically the...

Ja I mean let's look ... how often do we get together and say ... watch rugby and girls go aaaah and that type of thing.

... I don't think there's a country in the northern hemisphere that'll rival any country in the southern hemisphere in terms of sports ... or whatever

[inaudible]

Every country must have [inaudible] ... look at South America, Brazil, Argentina, all those places ... they are known as like fitness fanatics ... along the beaches they've got miles and miles of obstacle courses. You go to the beach and have workouts, volley ball, that's where volley ball came from ... South Africa's like that, Australia's like that, New Zealand's like that. But I mean in the northern hemisphere there's nothing. Mmmmm.

Um...

... the States...

So long as the sun's shining ... I mean ... maybe...

.. States are [inaudible] slob...

It's just because they're marketed so well, those sports...

Then there are a couple obviously ... they have like, really good sportsmen...

But .. it's not the general...

I reckon on average they've got a much lower, much lower rate of people playing sport they must have, they've got the highest obesity, whatever... [inaudible]

What about like...

Like what? [muttering in background]

Like tanning and you know ... I mean if you've got a nice tan...

Ja more tanned...

Makes you feel good.

I think it makes you feel good as well. I mean I hate being white.

What makes you feel good about your masculinity ...

[inaudible]

Ja ...

I suppose ja, what you, ja ... your physical appearance makes you...

Well it's far more than that ... I mean how we can conduct a conversation's got nothing to do with how masculine we are.

[puts on working class tough accent] well I'll fuck him up ... moerin head against the door... [chuckle]

Do you feel that women expect men to perform sexually ... what does performance mean?

[Laugh] Ja they do.

[chuckle] [inaudible] ... for a long time.

Some ja...

Well I think that basically they all want to be satisfied.

I think it's how confident they are...

In their own sexuality ... ja ... how much they expect you to...

Ja, but there are women who to a degree I mean ... and there are women who .. I mean if they really love the guys ... well, will sacrifice...

Their own pleasure?

Ja ... I mean ... [inaudible] you used to say someone you know would ...had stuck around in a relationship despite the fact that sex wasn't good.

Ja, but I mean are we in the relationships for sex?

No, that's my point.

No but I mean ... the point is ... do you feel that women expect men to perform sexually? Some do, some don't. [Laugh]

I don't know.

And its also...

Sex is a big part of a relationship...

I suppose a lot comes out as well, your first experience .. if it was good, it might make a difference to how you...

Is it? I know a lot of women who...

I'd love to have a woman throw me on my back and...

Mmmm... it is nice... [Laughter]

Yes ... but I mean very often it's left up to the male to sort of instigate...

I don't know ... once you're...

Not always...

Okay, I spose it's not but I mean, how do you get in the sack. Who says ... come, let's go to bed?

I reckon it's fifty fifty ... a lot of the time.

It's true, actually.

I haven't gone out with a girl who's like ... gone into like ... you know ... tie it to the bed so she can't get you far away from her... [laughter] ...

As long as... [inaudible]

You can watch it as well - I'll bring it to you. [Laughter]

You watch ... doggie style ... [Laughter]

So women do expect it .. do you think women expect men to perform?

I think they [inaudible]

Ja...[overtalk]

Both parties want to be satisfied

I don't think it's performance ... it's not a bloody circus act ...

But then ... before we try answer that question you

got to say well what is performance? I mean is that like...[overtalk]

... mutual satisfaction

Ja, it's just, I think it's just...

You don't necessarily HAVE to come or have an orgasm to actually...

... enjoy yourself...

... be well satisfied ... It's like trying to be, you can just be satisfied... [inaudible]

It's like comes with ... if you love a person then just having them next to you is I mean...

You can, ja ... you can, you can have great sex in an elevator between ten floors, neither of you may climax [laughter, Jesus!] neither of you may climax or, it's just the whole like ... naughtiness kind of thing of it as well...

Is that so?

Ja.

Mile high club.

Ja ... so what is performance?

I don't think ... I don't...

... mutual satisfaction...

I don't like the performance bit.

No, performance is ... have YOU performed well enough to please her? That is...

No ...no

[inaudible] please her ... it's up to both of you to please each other.

What does performance .. I mean she's not...

Ja but the point is...

Do you feel that you're not letting ... it's not like a movie, where you get a rating.

The question is...[overtalk]

The question is do you feel that women expect men to perform? Do they expect you to perform? So what is performing in that context?

I think society yes.

Ja...

Society... [overtalk]

You always hear those little jokes about you know ...some girl comes up to you, you know, I heard you were a kak lay and that.

I've never had that thank you very much.

What does ... okay ... hang on [laugh] wait .. let's just go round ... what does performance mean to you J?

Performance?

Ja.

I don't like the word.

Why not?
Well I don't think it's performance.
No I mean don't take it as a theatrical bloody thing.
No but I mean ... I'm saying...
Okay...
I suppose you can rate yourself whether or not she has an orgasm. I mean that's one way of rating it.
Sure you can rate yourself [inaudible/overtalk] did you land?
Or basically would all your one night stands want to come back to your bed. [Laugh]
I suppose so.
Well then you're a pretty good performer.
Ja.
I suppose that's one way of rating a performance, but I mean it's nothing really you can ... it's not sort of one person doing it. She's not sort of a... [inaudible] [overtalk] thing, and you're sort of performing on top of her ...
No but J what they're saying is to what extent do ... does society expect the man to do all the work.
I think a hell of a lot. A hell of a lot.
[inaudible] ... the guy's meant to do it.
There's a wh... in what like ... way is it the man who's like basically screwing the girl as opposed to each other ... they're both of them screwing each other...
Ja...
I think there's a lot more emphasis on the male ... performing, you know?
I think it's like a ... social...
I think in this context it's ... the woman has a level of expectation and a degree to which the man reaches that.
Ja.
Ja.
I think so does a guy though.
Or SMASHES... [inaudible]
Ja ... completely ruins his life. The laughing stock around Main Road [Laugh]
[inaudible] [laughter]
Ja I suppose, actually I don't know if that much, if there is much...
J: ... expectation of a woman...
I think there is...
But I think...
If the guy...
It depends on their...

Socially...
It depends on their previous experience as well though.
Ja but how many guys want to sort of ... in the guy's mind there is ... if you go to bed with a girl .. like she's shocking, you, you ... the chances are you're not going to go back ... [ja] ... I think...
It's quite a challenge though.
Socially it is up to the guy. But I think on a one on one basis ... once you're in the bedroom I think it changes ... the guy wants to be satisfied just as much as the female does...
Ja...
Oh ja...
I'd far rather satisfy a girl than satisfy myself.
Oh ja ... I'm exactly the same ja ...
I will ... I will hold on to the bitter end ... until I get a peep or squeal or a grunt or a groan or something like that ... or like quite a good reaction...
Ja ...
I'll ... I'll ... think of ice cream, I'll think of ... [inaudible/chuckle] ... at twelve o'clock at night, getting dropped in Antarctica in a speedo and that's all, because I think it's more important ... I mean we can get satisfied at a drop of a hat really, and a girl can't.
Ja.
Ja. [Overtalk]
I must say...[inaudible] satisfy a male.
[inaudible] ... you've actually done damn well.
Not necessarily just as...
I mean, having an orgasm [inaudible] an orgasm is not entirely a physical thing, she's got to feel something as well, if you can actually get that ... that's quite something, if she can actually reproduce that herself [sigh] some people struggle ... [inaudible]
Um... what do you think of alternate forms of sexuality?
Alternative? Oh there we go...
Massage, mutual masturbation...
Well that's basically like foreplay.
Ja ... basically ... ja I was going to say, basically it's a form of foreplay but I think intercourse is still going to come into it...
It's difficult to massage without ending up thumping the hell out of each other... [Laugh]
[inaudible] [Laughter]
Alternative forms of sexuality.
See alternative means that you're not going to ... it's not going to ... but I mean, instead of ... like people deciding they're going to remain virgins until they get married.

I think it's good .. and it must be damn difficult.
Ooooooh...
It's difficult to say because like .. once you've had a sexual experience to not have one with someone is damn difficult.
Mmmm...
Ja...
It hampers the relationship...
In fact it must be impossible... [laugh]
Umm... if you can do that, then you must really feel something for that person.
Mmmm...
Caressing ... ja I suppose they do they ... get the job done.
But it's not the same.
But what do you think of it. I think it's good .. I mean...
Ja I...
Do you think of it in terms of...
It could be as satisfying ..
I think it's very enjoyable .. I think it's ... I mean ... I think it's far more enjoyable and far more important than... [inaudible]
I enjoy it ...
No, ja, but of course, but lot of people prefer like say canoodle and just lying with someone and stroking them than actually having to get undressed and ... you know ... ja ... there're a lot of people who do. A lot of girls actually...
I prefer canoodling undressed. But I mean... [chuckle]
Ja, I suppose so...
Spill your beer everywhere [laugh]... it's...
I think they...
You can't actually go without it.
Ja I think they...
There are few people who have straight sexual relations... [inaudible]
I don't think that would work ... I wouldn't want to just have...
Well it depends, if you haven't had sex for...
It's actually very boring.
Ja ... I mean sex on its own isn't ... [inaudible/overtalk] if you have sex without caressing as far as [inaudible] and then [claps hands]...
Ja but I mean...[overtalk]
You have to just come in the room and say okay ... pull down, how's it ... [clap hands] thankyouuuu .. cheers...

Um... I wouldn't be satisfied at all...
No but it depends. What happens if you say at a 21st okay ...[laughter] and your girlfriend comes up to you and says ...come outside right now ... there's NO foreplay, there's nothing ... you just go and...
That's different.
Okay ... that's spontaneous ... though ... that's almost an alternative way ... it's like...
That is an alternative way.
That is an alternative way.
That's a quickie.
You're talking about ... we're talking about regular, five minute sex.
You get home at night, you just...
Five minutes, Sh! Buddy, we've got to teach you something! [laughter]
I'm talking about other people.
No but when you get home ... there's no...
I think there's another aspect of this as well ...
I think there's a very important role to play .. [of course yes] in in in ... for people who don't want to sleep with other [inaudible] ... there are...
I reckon 90% of sex is foreplay though, if you don't have like good foreplay it can actually be you'll have sex and you'll roll over and rather go to sleep...[inaudible]
I agree ... I mean... [overtalk]
... rather than have a wet dream...
I mean .. ja ... I think, for instance...
... talk about it. That's different. [overtalk]
I mean it's not just about getting it in and releasing yourself, I mean, it's actually the whole build up and everything ... your body just like [overtalk/inaudible] and WOW ... the happy hormones...
No you're right ... I mean say for example .. your ex girlfriend comes round and says no ... right, let's do it...
T would bring this up ... [laugh] he's an expert on the topic. [overtalk]
[inaudible] ...sex with your ex girlfriend...
T, that is a social no-no.
Oh, now he tells me.
Don't count your ex.
Makes good jobs for psychologists and psychiatrists.
Well ... ja...
Hang on, hang on...
I enjoy alternative forms of sex.
Okay ja ... apart from that, T didn't get to finish what he was saying. I'm damn interested in what he was was

gonna say... [inaudible]
It's very disappointing.
Ja, sex with your ex girlfriend.
Don't do it.
I think it will be though...
Because it actually takes time.
... because it actually...
The thing is you can't actually engage exactly ... you can't engage in caressing and...
Sex for sex's sake is um, it's actually...
It's the same as ... I think it's like sleeping with prostitutes.
No, no, no no .. hang on. Sex with an ex girlfriend - you've been with her already, so it's not going to be something new. Sex with someone new can be awesome.
Mmm.
But that's not sex for ... that's not just...
Of course it is. [overtalk]
A one-night stand is sex for sex
No, but I mean it ... it's because of excitement. You know, it's not because of ... I don't know...
No, it's a new experience.
Ja but ... ja... it's a new experience.
It's different feelings ... and...
Just to have sex is I mean .. you can go without it for for tens ... of years, it's not like a big ... no you can.
I think the difference is sex with a new person and sex with a person you love, is like, it's a different thing. It's special.
It's a different experience.
But someone that you HAVE loved ... sex with someone that you have loved ... it's like... [inaudible]
I mean you're not going to like ... it's not like the same thing .. ja...
It's like kissing your mother ... or something...
Just because you don't actually want to have sex...
Okay I'm feeling bad now [laughs] [inaudible]
No you do want to have sex, but you don't mind where you get it kind of thing ... And...
No, if you...
Look, I mean the thing is it CAN be ... Look, from a physical point of view, it can be great.
Ja ...
But the thing is you feel like shit. Because you don't have the love .. you don't have the thing where you actually want to lie afterwards and hold them for a while ... [overtalk] You just wanna say right .. thanks very

much and...
... [inaudible] full prepared before you go in that that's what it's going to be like...
Ja but the problem is that you feel like ... I mean you feel like shit afterwards ... I mean it's like [sighing laugh]... ja ... but I mean ... the point is it takes away from all the other good stuff.
Do you think men ever feel anxious, vulnerable about sexuality or sexual situations?
Very, very much so.
Absolutely.
Yes, please.
Almost every time.
Ja.
I mean you find guys are just as nervous as...
I think guys are more nervous.
I think guys are more nervous, I really do.
As you say, there's an expectation.
Expectation to be able to perform, ja.
I think girls have more confidence.
... and then what happens...
J you're not on the stage eh?
Even if the girl hasn't had sex...
Like sometimes feels like you're on the bloody stage...
Ja... [inaudible]
Because a girl will often lead the way ... if either of you have had sex ... well I've found this anyway. She led me like the whole way ... I was like hang on, hang on .. I know what I have to do but I [neither of you had had?] eek eek... [laugh]
Have you ever been in a relationship where neither of you have had...
... [inaudible] I was twelve anyway.
Uno.
Ja.
Oh, okay, okay...
Numero uno...[laugh]
But I think she lied, the bitch! [laugh]
I think she did as well!
[inaudible]
I know ... [inaudible] doesn't it...
[Talking very low on this section, cannot hear]
Um ... ja, I think guys ... what kind of situations ... well ... sex first time with someone...
Not even that, just getting the ball rolling.
Ja.

I mean you you can look at someone and you can make eyes or whatever ... and you can actually think .. gee I'm in there, and you TRY something and [makes sound whap!] ... you don't even see it coming ... [laughter] WOW, WOW, WOW ... [sound of intense pain]

Ja ... I do think just getting turned down is like almost a dent in your sexuality.

The fear of getting turned down.

Ja ... I mean there's that as well, but once you're in there, I mean once you put yourself in for it, you've got to go the whole way otherwise you make an absolute nana of yourself.

Ja, but I'm saying ... of, of initiating a sort of ... it's all very well making contact .. eye contact like across the room and you know ... but ... going across to say hi...

And that's why it's such a like, such a like nerve-racking experience ... always like [inaudible] situation now...

Well you ...

... atypical, I mean it's like, it's not exactly a huge big thing.

you're scared of ... you're scared someone rejects you. You're gonna get laughed at.

Ja...

So ... I think ... ja ... I think ... from that ... basically anything from there to actual sex ... all the way along the line there's going to be that fear of rejection and therefore a...

Do you also get very anxious if you like say ... say you've started caressing and massaging and mmmm maybe heading towards masturbation, suddenly you get a big uh uh .. do you still...

[Whispered] Kak

... on the way there [laugh] You don't know ... you can get like part of the way ... but you don't know when enough's enough.

Ja.

You don't know where...

I think...

You basically got [overtalk]

[inaudible] The river...

[Laughter]

[Scream]

Gross ... on guard .. [laughter] [inaudible]

It's so true, I mean

I mean like ... if it was like if you both walked into an empty room and you went up to say how's it, hi ... would you like to dance, no. It'll probably ... it wouldn't be as bad, but I think because it'd normally happen in night clubs or normally happens at a pub or

something like that ... and you like ... you think the whole world [is watching you], including the queen ... is like watching you. Like OH MY GOD ... you know...

You have to find out by mistake basically, or by trial and error, how far you can go or can't go. You're always going to get like a bit of rejection but you've got to like take that as the trade.

Ja.

But I mean ...

I think another thing is ... you don't know how far ... that's a difficult problem ... [overtalk]

To what extent do you think, just as like a little aside, to what extent do you think the guy will go as far as he possibly can...

Always!

And even can't ... as compared to how far the girl ...how far the girl...

No like you always go like ... you're always like ... you'll start with a chat and you go and you'll pull in for a kiss and then you like try this, try that ... try ... until she says no...

Have you gone out with a girl knowing that you can pull in to her and you don't?

Ja ...

Once you start something you're going to...

Ja but that's like when you're going out with a girl ... but I'm saying ... ja, how far ... if you like...

... you don't push it each time, I mean, you're not... [overtalk]

No but I'm saying...

[inaudible] envelopes...

No once you start something, you'll definitely go as far as you can, I think. If you actually like her, and you've had enough to drink.

Ja obviously ... because ... well I think there's a difference in ...in expectations. But I mean ... have you never gone ... have you never ... like sort of...

Ja ... I've done that lank often...

And had a girl want to go further than you do?

Never.

Never, but that's what I'm saying ...

I have NO LIMITS... [laugh]

Yes they have.

You have?

But that was, that was, not because I didn't want to ... it was because I didn't have a condom...

Ja...

So it came when I was ill prepared...

Ja but I mean it's still...

I've maybe been overtaken, but I mean ... you .. you still are quite happy to just go along...

Ja...

But I mean I was just thinking, to what extent to do you think a guy will always push it, and a girl won't ... or ... I think very often it is left to the guy to sort of initiate a sort of a next step in the relationship.

Not even a sort of relationship ... but like an encounter [laugh] [overtalk/inaudible]

But that's what I'm saying ... but I mean it's left ... or even like, if you've just been kissing and then you know, the guy will [inaudible] buttons ... and it's like...

I'll make something which I probably could get shot down for because it's on tape, but if a girl's been drinking, she'll be the same as a guy ... I think she'll lead the way as much as a guy.

I don't think I know any girl that doesn't get horny when she's drinking...

I don't know anybody that doesn't get horny when they're drinking .. put it that way...

Ja...

And it's not that it makes you horny, you just lose all your inhibitions ... and you start thinking ... and you just...

Makes you stop thinking basically...

No no well apart from that ... ja ... apart from that, ja, well you do ... but I mean apart from that ... [laugh] Sorry about this on tape ... you get the what the fuck attitude. [Aah] If you get rejected it doesn't really bother you. Okay there's some people like you where you sometimes don't do that ... you'll like .. like you've said before, you sometimes won't just go in and do whatever just for the sake of doing it ... so like .. some people don't have that attitude, but ... but if you've had enough to drink, if someone says no ... it's like R. R will try ten different persons ... ten different people.

He's quite happy to get slapped by nine and get lucky with the last one.

Ja ...he get's slapped by nine he gets lucky with the last one doesn't matter ... it's a hit. The nine rejections mean nothing. They're like, if you can get that one person ... kind of wipes the slate clean ... and he's like that, that's why he does so well .. he can go through like thirty people in a night, and if it's the thirtieth person, well then that's another notch on the headboard. Now he must actually be on the cupboard or something. [laugh]

[inaudible]

Ja. I definitely feel ... ja...

I think, I think, ja...

Alcohol makes a big difference.

It makes a huge difference.

I don't think it's just losing inhibition ... girls become different people...

Some girls become completely different people.

I think ja ... I think a lot of people do... [overtalk]

When you see how many quiet guys suddenly become the life and soul of the party after a few toots.

No I think ... do you think...

I don't think...

On new year's Eve...

They become different...

I've had...

Not become themselves but they...

Women are less worried about what other people are thinking about them and they're more willing to just sort of relax...

Ja...

I agree with what A said you become what you want to be but also you become who you really are. Alcohol ... if you, if you ... drunk, drunk, drunk ... you will hear the utter truth from people ... if you get into a conversation they will tell you no bullshit.

Ja... [inaudible] [overtalk]

Unless ... unless you're trying to get into someone's pants, then you'll bullshit like you can't believe, but I mean if you're chatting with friends, it's frightening what you can start telling each other.

Ja...

I mean the thing is as well, I mean, when you get drunk you say to yourself like ... ja I'm going to have a good time, so you'll go out and spade ... whatever...

But I mean none of us really do serious bedroom drinking ... I certainly don't ... I mean I may have the odd beer at home, or...

Like sitting at home and drinking ... [inaudible]

Wherever we drink we're out socially ... so ... you ... you can't not have a good time, but I mean if you sit in your room you know, you can like drink yourself into oblivion ... [laughter] I'm going to have a huge party ... and another one!

Ch: But alcohol definitely makes you do things that you'll regret. I mean, when I was up on the river now on New Year's ... I had lank beers ... and my initiation at eleven o' clock was, you take, you know those things that are in Carlton Rolls, those brown [light/inaudible] you shove toilet paper in the one end, put paraffin in, get buck naked ... just ... you have shoes on ... put it between your legs and you run through the whole compound. Now that reduces you to a bloody blubbering idiot. Jussis, you'll get so skaam doing that ... [laughter] As you hit the grass, the cameras just go off. And you

just know .. Oh Christ ... that's on film ... I'm actually sunk .. [laughter] and you've just got to carry on going.

What's this paraffin roll?

It's a game we had.

J: You get a Carlton Roll, you fill it with paper,

Ch: with toilet paper, you dip the end in the paraffin and you put it between your legs and it sticks out behind your butt, it's like a flaming arse. You hold your genitals and you try hold the Carlton Roll at the same time and you've got to run ... but now this thing burns bloody ... [laughter] you've got to get in the water before it [background comments] ... burns your arse ... and [sigh] jussis... and then you've got to follow the lead guy [J: And he runs wherever] ... and he runs wherever, and this oke was faster than us and jussis ... my butt got [inaudible] sheesh! ... [sigh] It was a night. And I only did that because I was drunk ... I was told ... I was asked to do it at eight o'clock, and I was like about three beers down the road, and I said ... no ways am I doing this ... not even if ... eleven o'clock I was there like a... [inaudible] [laugh]

[Shouts]. Aah come on!

All of you [inaudible] do it [dropping your rods?] outside the main window. [laughter]

[inaudible] the whole bloody ... 21st. [inaudible] french doll.

... peer pressure

Who's 21st?

C. R.

But it's like even going for skinny dips .. you won't go when you're sober, I don't think...

No you won't...

You only do it when you've been drinking a bit ... generally, I mean you may go with your girlfriend ... [inaudible] ... but if you're like socially somewhere, jeez...

Ja. You're not going to arrive at the Med and then like...

[chuckle] go for a skinny dip ... leave your clothes at the bar counter.

Just look after these for me please [laughter]

Ja ... there was a girl actually the other night ... when they had that Camel promotion ... the guy ... like they were giving away prizes for like stupid things ... and he said okay ... best bikini ... and all girls got up to him [uncertain] and he said okay, someone with no bikini ... and this girl just whipped off her top and dropped her skirt and all she had was panties on. The place went wild, eh! And she was hot eh! I saw her the next night and I said aaaaah ... so what did you win? She went bright red ... she said I can't believe I did that .. I'm so sorry, I'm so embarrassed .. You didn't see that ... I've never had so much to drink .. and that was ... she only

did that because she had so much to drink. She said she couldn't believe she was there the next night ... but it was like falling off a horse, you have to get back on so she had to come back, so she could carry on coming. She was lovely, hey, Jesus! [whispered] [Clears throat] So that's ... shall we discuss anything else ... last night?

No .. [laugh]

I got molested last night.

Is it?

Ja ... joke...

I'm sure. You're still smiling.

Ja... [chuckle]

END OF TAPE