YOUTH SEXUAL AGENCY IN NAIROBI: AT THE NEXUS OF THREE
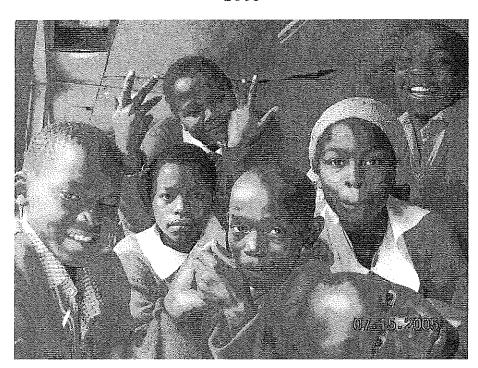IDEOLOGICAL PRACTICES

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Abstract:

Based on qualitative ethnographic fieldwork, I compare the approaches to prevention employed to actively regulate the sexual lives of youth at school, at home and by global health institutions. This research began as an attempt to overcome the challenges of implementing a Behavior Change Communication (BCC) HIV prevention class, Global Health Industry's orthodox model. I tried to tailor the BCC model by focusing on local prevention schemes and studying the larger cultural, economic, political and historical context to show how home and school environments shaped youth sexual behaviors and attitudes. I discovered that not only do the school and the homes manage the youth's sexual agency in distinct ways, their shared moralistic overtones determining the youth's sexual agency, proved effective, despite Global Health's position otherwise. Also significant was that the youth's identities are heavily influenced by the myriad demands placed by stakeholders, which in turn are in rooted in the ideologies associated with their particular social functions. Finally, I noted a deficiency in the intervention literature on BCC's application in such environments; these assume that "local" efforts are homogeneous whereas the reality is very different and they gloss over differences as merely "cultural", whereas native stakeholders are stratified by the power they exercise, and the degree of access they have to the young people. My research suggested that a more nuanced approach was required to gain a measure of success. We must investigate into which prevention methods and environments best suit the youth, and how we might assist them in the triage of available prevention schemes.

Guided by Critique

For over twenty years, HIV has summoned the world's attention, in tragically poignant and discontinuous ways. The acronym not only designates a retrovirus' attachment to immune cells, but an entire medley of images, facts and social agitation invoked in its name. The disease's imprint on social reality has transfigured this microbe into a living myth. The full name, the human immunodeficiency virus, contracted into its acronym has come to designate the original biophysical label but also envelopes varied and shifting responses to the degradation of human bodies(i).Accruing currency as it is reiterated, the reasons for its deployment become normalized. Now, only loosely intimating its specific meaning, upon each utterance, the myth sequesters from a nebulous collection of embedded representations, the author's strategic intention for communication (Barthes, 1957; 225).

Deployed across the networks global communication, the Global Health Industry diffuses its myth, surfacing from the voluble cause it has rallied promoting HIV's prevention. The signification it has endowed , framing the disease's reality inches towards securing hegemonic consent. Comprised of transnational humanitarian, non-governmental organizations and supranational agencies, the Global Health Industry maneuvers a biopolitical power, as Foucault foresaw, which regulates social life from its biological and corporal interior, sealing its complicity with the new world order in which "[...] what is directly at stake··· is the production and reproduction of life itself" (Hardt & Negri, 2000; 24).In promoting its ethical, "just war" to attend to basic needs and to guarantee human rights, Global Health pronounces its legitimated force by crafting

deterritorialized, decontextualized plans for intervention, promulgating its actions through the structures of global governance and communication which have ushered from unequal processes of globalization(Hardt & Negri, 2000; 24).

Global Health's exertion of biopower emanates from a state of political disappointment and emotional tragedy, "opening up" in Simon Critchley's words, "the question of justice, which brings up the question of ethics of the Good" (Critchley, 2007). The ethical subject, for Critchley defines her matrix of ethics by an infinite of demands she approves. Our ethical obligation to HIV's prevention stems from an emboldened emotion which catalyzes political action. The resulting myth, shared by Global Health Industry's discourse conflates any objective epidemiological statements with this subjective, emotionally propelled imperative.

What has veritably taken hold is myth of HIV AIDS as a moral panic. Through the media in particular, Global Health promotes its agenda by simulating the cruelty of the HIV AIDS pandemic, where in fact neither the virus nor its most hospitable accomodation, unequal distributions of capital, work by fulfilling its obligations to human welfare (Baudrillard, 1988; 170).Even the reifying construction of a distinctly "African sexuality" quickly abandoned by Global Health orthodoxy, works as a simulacrum of epidemiological knowledge (Caldwell, 1989). This moral panic premises the ideology which reproduces the Global Health Industry's legitimacy.

Its decontextualized and deterritorialized solution stipulates a highly concentrated vigilance effort, mapping the bastion of suffering in sub-Saharan Africa, and has judged preventive education as a long-term solution to containing

infection. By surrendering contextual specificity and complexities of the real in the name of human rights and universalized human desires, Global health policy, formally housed under the auspices of International Development, universalizes a trajectory towards health promotion, sexual responsibility and empowerment which builds from the individual up. The "hegemonic problematic of 'development' " is carried out at the level of supranational decrees and non-governmental organizations, in spite of the structural, political determinacy of the 'Third-world' s' poverty. Remarking on his ethnography of non-governmental agricultural reform intervention in Lesotho, James Ferguson' s precisely designates the "anti-politics machine" to clarify the shortcomings of the development project, as the "[···] principal means through which the question of poverty is de-politicized in the world today" (Ferguson, 1990; 256).

Although one' s sexuality is not exclusively conditioned by class position and political participation, mitigating Ferguson' s critique of de-politicization, the Global Health Industry is still fastened to its position as expert and hegemon, programmed to issue orientalist discourses and to help pattern a more stratified world order, regardless of many of its projects' altruistic motivations.

Particularly as it relates to the countries on the Africa continent, Ferguson posits a *double shadow* to take into account the way the entire *African* continent and its social reality receives the proliferation of development discourse. He describe the current situation in which "alongside the official economy, the 'shadow economy' is an 'informal' one that is 'parallel to it" (Ferguson, 16; 2006). As such, there is an imposed, globally legitimate order which sets the stage for potential

development, which obscures one which is that of the "noble savage", traditionalist, tribally arranged and anachronistic. "[...][I]n all of these figurations, the first version is the 'official', and implicitly Western model, while its uncanny dark double is the 'African' version thereof" (Ferguson, 16; 2006). The doubled shadow cast upon the continent recalls Baudrillard's conception of the hyperreal, whereby, (Baudrillard, 1988; 166)

Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth, it is the map that precedes the territory – precession of simulacra – it is the map that engenders the territory...

The Western model serves only as standard of relationality in the world order, since, even (Ferguson, 23; 2006),

[with] an aspiration to membership and inclusion in the world, the repeated nomination of 'Africa' replaces real relations of inequality with formal equity. Thus, any discussion of African experience through globalization must be premised an initial one on the social relations of membership, responsibility and inequality on a planetary scale.

Side by side these elisions and simulacra interwoven as self serving ideological strategies to the Global Health Industry, there is a professed interest to synthesize global health policies with local schemes of health promotion. Such pursuits which aim to bridge universalist conceptualizations with culturally relative modes disease prevention produce some fundamental ethical breaches. Notably, local knowledge and practices are only relevant to the extent that they service the Industry's aims (ii).

Effectively, Global Health's incorporation of local concerns for health may only re-ffirm its hegemony, taking cue from Laclau and Mouffe's reevaluaton of the Gramscian term where the procurement of consent by the totalizing but diffuse power is dynamically creative (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985).

Stepping outside of Global Health Industry's myth of HIV AIDS, and more broadly beyond the development industry's typified forms of knowledge, political technologies and social relations, there is a gapping void in our understanding of the manipulation of biopower from an exclusively local viewpoint, on par with the level of sophistication we are afforded into its deployment on a global scale. An awareness of the Industry's myopic scope, and hegemonic imperatives, goaded exploration into the qualia and practice of everyday life as it relates to how the concern of human life, in the face of HIV AIDS, enfolds in the localized hearth of risk- Sub-Saharan Africa. It is hoped that an evidence informed conception of the moral panic's epicenter can guide us closer to matrix of demands subsuming our ethical response . Furthermore, with this insight, we hope to reverse the one sided interest maintained by the Health Industry by elucidating the frictions *global health policy occasions* to the advancement of local agendas. This ethnography will retrace the myth of HIV, in the distant contexts which inspire the decontextualized global health policies, as it is deployed, internalized, and rearticulated in the regulation of human life, so as to provide a common unit of measure to qualify the global-local contrasted approaches to reduce risk.

Ethnographic Case Study

In Kenya, the greatest increase in infection occurs in urban areas, most affecting female youth, followed by their male counterparts (wwww.unaids.org, 2007). Nairobi contains an expanding network of national, non-governmental, faith-based and community initiatives tackling the preponderate vulnerability falling on its urban youth. This ethnography hones in on one youth population from a Nairobi community, serving as a sample from which we hope to induct an explanation for the persistence of infection across this demographic. Inasmuch as youth risk reduction essays mostly take form as some type of prevention education, this case study characterizes the access to strategies and information regarding prevention, as well to sexual health knowledge, treating it as one of the infinite factors conducing the agent's risk.

Specifically, the ethnography analyses the manufacture and consumption of nuanced myths of HIV, made available to a group of youth in three distinct socio-geographic spaces– the Cheleta Primary School, their homes in an urban slum called Githogoro, and the elite gated community they pass to get from one to the other called Runda Estate. Each space represents by metonymy the distinct authorities making prevention messages available– respectively the State, parental culture and the Global Health and Development Industry. The differentiations proposed in this ethnography enfold from the original premises for conducting field work in this school community site of Nairobi. Initially, the difficulties faced when implementing a Behavior Change Communication (BCC) modeled HIV prevention class in Cheleta's setting need to be explained. After a deep analysis of how, in their day to day, these young students are engaged with the topics surrounding HIV AIDS. As this ethnography contends, this

experience encapsulated the frictions between global, national local ideologies of health promotion.

METONYMY

Theoretical Framework

We discern from the physical disposition of the land, ideological territories where different set of demands are placed on these youth. Each space behaves metonymically for the three entities regulating HIV prevention in this youth community. Despite some overlap in their strategies for prevention, the socio- geographic spaces maintain clearly contrasted relations between the youth and those officiating prevention. Further, at school and at home, the configurations between youth and authority modulate peer interactions and self expression suited to their complementary contexts, but fundamentally opposed the Global Health Industry's communication of youth culture. By reconstructing the crux of ideology and the active modalities of power, from the practices effectuating prevention and regulating the body, we try to put in view the ideoscapes (Appadurai) erected around the lives of the youth in question. Subsequently, we will evaluate the ramifications on youth these control mechanisms trigger according to the theoretical demands of prevention, and student preferences.

In essence, we want to understand the entire manufacturing process of prevention strategies from their packaging to delivery and the subsequent behaviors and demands they incur in the youth. Implicitly, the challenge we are trying to take is one of anthropological divination: by recreating the structures which the

youth internalize in their practices, can we get any closer to situate the spontaneous event, in other words the sexual act?

Without a doubt, society has an evident interest in securing the health of its members. However, what being healthy concretely denotes can be contested according to one's worldview. For this reason, we are using the myth as our unit of analysis since it poses how and why we speak about HIV the way that we do; indeed, both of these answers hint towards our personal conceptualization of health, disease and perceived degree of agency we exercise over each.

Marxist articulations of ideology push the seed of investigation deeper, by correlating each author's motivations and implied meta-narrative, when issuing prevention, packaging a mythology of HIV AIDS, or conditioning sexual agency, with the reproduction of their authority. Ultimately, the logic behind any ideology distills to the reproduction of the means of production, under which the author has an assigned role. Following, the intentions of authorship unmistakably permeate its final products, so that prevention messages re-iterated by the youth will validate the positions of authority currently enjoyed by the stakeholder in question. Insipiently, the knowledge power nexus cannot be disaggregated.

To be clear on the mechanism of ideology, it begins its magic when it "interpellates" the individual as a social subject. Althusser borrowing from Lacanian psychoanalysis, portends that the individual identifies with ideal Subject entirely ideologically construed, in the same way the child during the mirror stage, becomes conscious of her integrated subjectivity, when she sees herself as an object in the mirror. Interpellated by

the ideology's archetypal Subject, her indoctrination normalizes the imagined relations believing to entertain with society, which forms the crux of ideology (Althusser, 1971b; 165). Although ideology is the total reconstructon of one's worldview, social purpose, and self-recognition, "ideology has a material existence" (Althusser, 1971b; 165). By materiality, he has in mind both our corporality and our real relations to the means of production. The body works as ideology's instrument: it coordinates our gestures, dispositions and our everyday practice. Although we take definite distance from the classical Marxist avowal to the primacy of the economic base, from which even Althusser had stepped back, the ideological position is anchored into material determinations, but functions autonomously, extending its impact onto the the economic base or superstructural tiers.

Whether through spatially bound ideological apparatuses, characteristic of disciplinary societies or by the new world order's decentralized, "biopolitical lattice work", the youth's stakeholder authorities equip them with the strategies for their habitus (Hardt & Negri, 2000; 41). Exposed to the play of power, the habitus is incorporated as (Bourdieu, 72; 1977).

[⋯] systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures⋯structuring of practices and representations .. objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules.

Interpellated by the means of social reproduction, reoriented around the doxa, or predisposed to a set of corporal strategies – all these procedures prompt self-recognition. The personhood

produced in the process has been subject*ed* to control, but is also the subject of their desire. This paradoxical phenomenon which Judith Butler named *subjectivation (assujetissement)* obscures the very categories we use to talk about the bounds of the subject's grasp, or "[t]he very processes and conditions that secure a subject's subordination are also the means by which she becomes a self-conscious identity and agent" (Butler 1997b in Mahmood, 2001, 210).

Hence, the series of demands, attitudes and practices mediating the youth's interactions with their stakeholders sets the terms for the realm of possibilities. Whereas Global Health assumes that "local" efforts are homogeneous the reality is very different- they gloss over differences as merely "cultural", whereas native stakeholders are stratified by the power they exercise, and the degree of access they have to the young people. As for the youth, they are complexly situated at the nexus of these mechanisms of control and animation.

Within this same dual process of subordination and activation, their sexual agency carves itself out. As Butler expresses "[a]lthough this constitutive constraint does not foreclose the possibility of agency, it does locate agency as a reiterative or rearticulatory practice, immanent to power, and not a relation of external opposition to power (Butler, 1993;15).

To be specific to the case in point, their risk for HIV AIDS further delimits their sphere of sexuality, assuming they do not wish to contract HIV, which they may reclaim if they leverage their stock of prevention capital- which we can understand to be accumulated strategic experiences, knowledge, introspection- in accordance to their position in social networks. Hermeneutically,

even with the risk for disease as our gage for agentive capacity, the ideological practices which are intended to affect the youth's defense against HIV are impossible to objectively rank in accordance to which affords a more expansive field of action. Agency itself is ideologically premised and contextually inscribed by the powers a play. As will be made apparent in the ideological compartmentalization of space, given the range of stakeholders and the specificity to their understanding of agency, which standards do we apply to determine the fundamental ingredients for an ethical and effective HIV prevention scheme for youth?

Space in Power

The physical layout of the ethnographic field site dates to Kenyas colonial history, definitely established by the Germans in 1885, followed by the British East Africa Company in 1888. The vestiges of colonial sovereignty have been incorporated by the order of powers structuring the independent nation. As Frantz Fanon has commented, the colonial compartmentalization of space set up spatial boundaries to reify colonial stratification. These territories operated on the premise of reciprocal exclusivity, which Fanon caricatures (Fanon, 1991; 39)

The town belonging to the colonized people ···is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees.

As Achille Mbembe elaborates, the topographic layout was an exercise of sovereignty, categorizing who is dispensable and who

is essential (Mbembe, 2003; 26). Borrowing from Eyal Weizmn's work, Mbembe coins "vertical sovereignty" in order to speak to the topographic manifestations of biopower, "colonial occupation is also dictated by the very nature of the terrain and its topographical variations (hilltops and valleys, mountains and bodies of water)" (Mbembe, 2003; 27).

Cheleta situated in the opening valley of the forest, Githogoro's houses form the pockets of lands enclosed by the amoebic periphery of the Runda Estate- all together the fieldsite maps a trajectory of power dynamics which this ethnography distills in the cultural politics of HIV prevention.

The majority students of Cheleta Primary school come from two neighboring slum villages Githogoro and Ruma surrounding Runda estate, a gated community for expatriates, high profile Kenyans and diplomats. Githogoro is the more populated of the two, with permanent steel housing and a main alley lined with commercial activities and bars. Ruma on the other hand is a newer suburban slum in the valley of the Karura forest, an inexhaustible source for firewood and privacy, otherwise unattainable in the village's close quarters. This land held by the Kikuyu was exploited by the English's coffee growing enterprise in the early 20th century. International competition and urban expansion pushed coffee estates further north. In the 1970's, the lands were partitioned, most developed into residential estate, with its margins and pockets of land left for temporary housing and non constructed aluminum shacks. Recently, the encircling Karura forest was restored by Nobel peace prince winner Wangari Muta Maathai. Through the replacement of plantations with palatial households, some residents of Githogoro are employed in informal retail, domestic service, security, casual carpentry and construction.

High unemployment rates and burdensome rents force most families
to send their children to the free public schools. Its peripheral
location to the city and relative security has absorbed waves of
rural exodus, integrating Kikuyus, with Luos, Boranas, Kikambas
along with the many other linguistic groups of Kenya.

From the narrow and winding mud paths in Githogoro, on to the
crowded thoroughfare, pass the rusted barrier and on to a road
lined by manicured bushes, the students of Cheleta have arrived in
Runda. A short walk leads them to the gate of their school, which
immediately gives on to a few acres of uneven terrain. To the
left, a series of single storey rectangular buildings enclose two
open air courtyards. The courtyards craddle the equatorial
sunrays, which creep into the classrooms through the perforations
of its rotting doors.

At first glance, these places juxtaposed flag the types of
inequalities defining Kenyan society. In Runda, live the local
elite and foreign professionals engaged in the international
development project. The genealogy of the power commanded in this
space begins with enterprising colonial settlers. Now, the houses
on the fertile land enclose another rung of domination,
intricately implicated in its predecessor. The State and the slum
where reside the majority of Kenyan urbanites appear to control
dearth of resources, technology and luxury in comparison.

In fact, these material inequities instantiate the
distribution of power in urban Kenyan society. Githogoro, where
most of the Cheleta students live delimits the space of their
household culture, class position, and urban civil society. In
contrast Runda acts as the trope for the youths' alterity; the
growing *mzungu* (white person) presence parallels the

intensification of globalization. The local elite achieved their status only through integrating themselves in these globalizing processes, from successes under colonial rule through education, civil service or indirect rule, all the way to entering the global market. Cheleta Primary School, upholds the State's presence- the youth's only contact with the formal sector. The school coordinates most of their peer socialization, as well as the division of labor through the certification of skills. The elite, popular civil society and the State carve out such different spaces because of their distinct social functions, and stratified relationship to the means of production- hence, the sharp disparities in wealth characterizing each locus.

METHODOLOGY

I first visited Kenya in the summer of 2005. On a walk in the vicinity of my hosts' house, I stumbled upon the Cheleta Primary School. The next day, I started my first day teaching students- some of whom were no more than a year younger than I was at the time. After three months of teaching, I had to leave but with plans to go back the following summer. My plan was to create HIV prevention class because there was no such program, nor any kind of extracurricular activity. I structured it according to the curricular outlines provided by UNAIDS for local health education initiatives. Before I started teaching, I went to visit some of my students' families to get a sense of what would be appropriate to talk about in this open forum. Gradually, my presence became known in Githogoro as the foreigner living in one of the big houses who teaches at Cheleta. The interviews I conducted with students, teachers and parents to evaluate the HIV prevention class in combination with my experiences teaching formally in the classroom

and facilitating the health education class formed the initial
basis of research. Over the course of the summer of 2007, I
conducted 60 more interviews with students, parents, residents of
Githogoro, the head of City Council schools, the Director of
Kenya's National AIDS Control Council, journalists from the
Kenya's Daily Nation newspaper and peer educators in youth
centers around Nairobi. In sum, this research represents nine
months of research over three consecutive summers mostly based on
qualitative research including 70 formal interviews, ten student
focus groups, and countless other informal conversations. Most of
my interview transcripts detail my informants' everyday life,
sexual history, relationship to parents, and how they take into
consideration the risk of HIV.

The focus of analysis and its analogous methodological
approach, argued to fill the voids in HIVAIDS social scientific
scholarship signals two hermeneutic shifts: first, away from
merely seeing the disease in isolation, HIVAIDS is reclassified as
a social problem, requiring social and qualitative analysis
(Parker, 2000; 39-55). The distinctly socialized character of the
virus ensures that while "anecdotal evidence may be less
conclusive… it is sometimes a long way ahead of 'scientific'
evidence that moves politicians, donors and multilateral
organizations. Experience with AIDS…leads us to think that time
lag between significant anecdote and quantitative 'evidence' may
be as long as 20 years" (Barnett and Whiteside; 2003). It is
hoped that collaboration between applied anthropology and global
health policy can generate ethnographic questions about the nature
of the epidemic and people's responses to it, in order to craft
ethnographically informed health interventions (Heald, 2003: 220;
Parker, 204: 2003).Second, departing from an impression of health

promotion which purportedly and exclusively attends to efficacious risk reduction, here, the investigative approach adopted considers how the mythologies of HIVAIDS plug into the varied agenda of larger knowledge-power structures (Foucault). Paying attention to how instruments of power interact with the management of HIV's brings the scope of our assessments —into the globally targeted local contexts, up to speed with the current social theory.

For the specific purposes of this ethnography, to fully exploit the analytic fruits of a Marxist inspired conception of ideology, the context of dissemination, mode of dissemination chosen, its potential performance and its explicit substance work is furnished to reenact the materiality of interpellation. To this end, the use of qualitative methods preserve the multiple potential occasions within the assorted discursive formations for the topic of HIV AIDS to be mentioned. As for the reliance on interviews, they are treated instances of social communication, rather than "solipsistic confession" which provide an example of *metacommunication* conveying description, analysis, and significance of the acts and processes of communication (Briggs, 2; 1986).

While ethnographic evidence can serve to highlight how social reality propels disease, there are a few considerations which could undermine the authenticity of my informants' responses. First, since I was a teacher in the classroom, I did hold a position of authority which seemed to be dismantled once I interacted with the students outside of the classroom because the proximity of our ages. Still, the power imbalance indubitably tainted to some degree or another the youth's candor. The school was also my point of entry into my research, and so comprises a more complete qualitative insight into the ideology of health,

sexuality and youth. Second, due to the sensitive topic students and my other informants had an incentive lie to me to keep their privacy. Third, I was a Pakistani female with a strong American accent. My otherness interfered in my ability to conduct interviews because I interviewed a self selecting group of students and Githogoro residents open to a female foreigner asking questions about sexuality, and in English no less. Finally, the reader should be aware that what I recorded reflects a jointly produced construction of "what is out there" (Briggs, 3; 1986). For example, when asking about whether my interlocutor actively worried about HIV, I inherently presuppose and then perhaps draw out a concern.

Aware of the epistemological underpinnings of my data, we proceed into the School and Githogoro axis, each time using Runda's Global Health assumptions and model as the social space's constructive foil.

SCHOOL

Relying on analysis of discourse and performance, it is evident that the school enforces a view of sexual agency which is diametrically opposed to the Global Health industry's, as underlined in its mandates for preventive education. If we were to espouse the orthodox prevention ideology in global health today, then we would abolish the school's current pedagogic practices, and mode of peer socializations; most households would be criticized for preserving a "taboo" around, or bashful distance with young person's sexuality and HIV/AIDS. As a remedy, Global Health appeals to creating formal arrangement for health education, importing dialogic and introspective curricular models

with a holistic scope , exemplified by the Behavior Change Communication Model (wwww.psi.org, 08/01/2007, http://www.psi.org/our_programs/products/bcc.html). Global health and the Development Industries draw their shared philosophical stance on education from Brazillian theorist Paulo Freiere's work on progressive pedagogy. Essentially, for the marginalized agent to overcome the unremitting forces of structural violence, manifested as poverty, disease, or persecution, she must undergo a process of demystification allowing her to recognize the sources of her oppression. It is critical consciousness, as Friere designated, which renders transparent the agent's social reality(Feiere, 1993). For critical consciousness to be cultivated: student-teacher relations are equalized, introspection replaces memorization, and knowledge is generated by consensus (Campbell & Foulis ; 2002). Under Frierian inspired participatory prevention practices, classrooms are led by peer educators in which relevant community concerns are discussed in an organic, judgment free environment (Campbell& et al; 2002). The learning space created along these lines catalyzes honest and engaged discussion on prevailing norms, attitudes and behaviors, with the intention of evaluating their costs, benefits in the short and long term, for the individual's health and for the community's strength. The self confidence required to act upon the personal and group resolutions made after such dialogic negotiations, grows as the students recognize their capacity to be an agent of change, and seize the occasion to do so. Moreover, receiving other persons' support and the allure of tangible incentives along the way sustains momentum. As Catherine Campbell has remarked in her HIV prevention interventions in South Africa, the interlocking aims of critical consciousness, peer solidarity and social capital

generate empowerment, or the expansion of agency (Campbell&
MacPhail; 2002).

HIV AIDS literature treating BCC and other progressive
pedagogic approaches for HIV prevention regards these challenges
as inherent to the empowerment trajectory. Eventually, even when
paired with an indigenous outlook to health education, BCC aims to
induce "culture change". While this model does acknowledge
structural inequalities as one of the causes for disease, the
emphasis lays on its reconfiguration of sexual norms (Campbell&
Foulis, 2002; Mabala & Allen, 2002). Change only needs to take
place in people's minds, through a collective process of
negotiation. As Ferguson suggests, the development discourse
reduces the perceived problems as purely technical, and in turn
proposes technical solutions (Ferguson, 1994). Indeed, while the
orthodoxy attributes material, social, cultural wealth to one's
degree of vulnerability, its remedy only tackles the problem at
the individual level. Not coincidentally, the institution of
development cannot endorse a path of radical transformation. Its
very language strives for neutrality towards governmental and
political forces (Ferguson, 1994) because it emerges concomitantly
from the same ruling class position. In effect, the development
institution reunites a group of organic intellectuals, in the
Gramscian sense, who craft a theory and praxis to carry out the
responsibility assumed by "First world" towards trans-national,
inter-culture, cross-class concern.

As this section will confirm, the contrast between the
school's and BCC's prevention schemes can be summarized as
series of oppositions based on where each approach lays emphasis,
respectively: corporal restraint vs. cognitive strength, rehearsed
attitudes vs. spontaneous subjective attitudes, and an abstracted,

catastrophic mythology for HIV vs. one which construes it as any other obstacle to be circumvented. More significantly, these incompatibilities typify the ideological conflict between groups differentially allocated with power. Upon examining how the youth's sexual agency manifest the pedagogic practices and student teacher relations characterizing Cheleta, the ethnography will demonstrate how its attempts to intercept the risk of HIV, are based on the distribution of material inequities, and the configurations of governmentality, as we transition into the municipal educational institution's relationship to Cheleta.

Manufacturing Consent through a Regime of Discipline

Formal Curriculum

Classroom Theatre: Outline of Pedagogic Practices

After an initial introduction to the Headmaster, followed by conversations with the Head Teacher and Deputy Head Master, my spontaneous visit to the school became a lasting involvement. I asked if I could teach, and then was asked to voice my preference for classes. Without delay, I was assigned to teaching Math, Science, English and Creative Arts at different grade levels, on different days of the week. Scheduling conflicts would regularly happen because not all the teachers were aware of my recent placement, and students often requested I stay on for the next period. Although the language of instruction is in English, except for Swahili class, my ability to engage students increased with grade level because of their English improved, and those who were struggling in the language had left.

The master schedule included time for all subjects tested in the KCPE, and included P.E., Creative Arts and a time for games and in library. However, the tested subjects often carried into the times allocated to the non-tested subjects. Students arrived by seven thirty, and left as late as four thirty, for mandatory exam preparations beginning in their penultimate year. Teachers would arrive earlier, and certain would leave earlier, if they were not leading afterschool tuitions. In the upper class, twelve teachers taught six subjects for three grade levels totaling a maximum of 250 students, and a minimum of 210.

In the corner of each class room is the teacher's table which faces a sea of rickety desks, loosely arranged in rows and column towards the front of the classroom, but receding into an undifferentiated cluster where students share their study spaces. Stuffed in their newspaper lined desks are their worn copybooks, pencils sharpened to their tail ends, remnants of ballpoint pens without their plastic case and their miscellaneous personal possessions. The social cliques carve out the classroom, with the highest achieving students sitting closest to the teacher's desk, and those still struggling with English in the diagonally opposite corner. Illuminated by the natural light peering through large windows and rooting door, the students learn in obedient silence. Although teachers were expected to prepare lesson plans, the government issued textbooks guided the crux of their instruction. Similarly, internal examinations, at best only sporadically arranged, and in those few cases were rarely pre-meditated. The teacher projects a loud assertive voice, syncopated to the flow of the argument or concept being presented. Interspersed in the lecture, the teacher would pose questions which foreshadowed the correct answer, or as a token, add "isn't it?" at the end of a

sentence, pronounced to revive noticeably diminishing student attention. Students responded in the positive, "Yeeeesss, teacher", as immediate reflex. Class participation for the students takes the form of answering questions in chorale, emphasizing the teacher 's singularity and the students uniformity. Dominating over the rows of students, the teachers often paces along the length of the blackboard and in between the narrow passage ways allowed between the desks. Students copied down the chalked paragraphs covering the entirety of the board, idem to the paragraphs in their books. During this time, the teacher would be sitting at their stand, grading homeworks or inactively overseeing their diligence. Those students lagging behind are hidden behind a veil of ignorant repetition, following the chorale lead by the classroom's best students. When teachers could not make out a clear answer, then they would repeat and perhaps elaborate so as to offer another chance. However, rarely were explanations given for the below average student.

The two teachers who were most active in the school were aware that their classrooms were deeply stratified, which is partly why they accepted me, eager to single out for me those students who needed my attention. They conducted an after school tuition program for upper primary students to give students the chance to catch up. During these sessions, the pattern of question and response in chorale did not play out, since students were divided in achievement groups, receiving in rotation the teacher's attention. Still, these teachers maintained firm authoritarian relations towards their students. Absences, or failure to bring the minimal fee were treated with disciplinary measures.

Adopting a Freirian analysis rings true for explaining the classroom dynamics. In effect, the teachers at Cheleta employed the deposition method of instruction. In this pedagogic style, "education··· becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher the depositor" (Freire, 1993; 34). Upholding their teachers' authority and expertise, students learnt by memorizing and regurgitation, regardless of their ability for assimilation. In their effort to improve their students' performance, they upheld a regime of discipline and obedience. Failure to respect the order of the classroom and standard of performance called for swift scolding or physical discipline. These scoldings, which were only reported to be indirectly by both parties, involved an interrogation into the reasons for such erring, and then any combination of accusations from "bad behavior", "poor discipline", stupidity, "disrespect" "uselessness" and a life without promise.

By governmental decree, HIV prevention has been integrated across the curriculum so that in their science class, students learnt about the modes of infection and prevention, and in their social studies class learnt about its impact and the social responsibilities community members must undertake, accordingly (INSERT CITATION). Such information was subjected to be tested in their examinations. Since Christian religious education was also included in the curriculum, students were instructed on the benefits of abstinence, and matrimonial loyalty, as well as the sins in pre-marital sex. Curricular teachings were complemented by intermittent visits from local health agencies with their own HIV prevention materials. These outreach oriented NGO's used similar pedagogic tactics to Cheleta's teachers, the latter of whom reasoned that teaching in this way was the most effective means of

reaching the youth in such overcrowded classrooms. "We have no choice" said one teacher, "after universal primary education, everyday, like this morning we have parents enrolling their children, we cannot turn them away… this is why we let you do whatever you want, these students need to feel special".

The teachers visibly amplified their voices with their sense of authority for any of the lessons touching upon sexuality or HIV AIDS. They directed more questions to their students, and made more deliberate efforts to ensure their audience was following in spirit and in mind. The teachers delivered information about the disease's pathology, infection and social impact charged with forceful concern: "If you don't wash your hands, you will get sick". "If you have sex, without a condom you will be HIV, and then you will no longer be able to help your family". Punctuating these implied exhortations, they would ask for the chorale to answer "What will happen if you don't …?".

In repeatedly delivering HIV prevention messages and commands for abstinence in the form of threats, the repetition aims to instill a deep seated fear of sex. Sigmund Freud distilled psychopathology to the incessant recollection of one or many fears. The recurrence of such an ominous fear, often from childhood, stagnates psychic and subsequently developmental progress. The mind's inability to move past this menacing obsession can result in anxiety or even psychosis. Unmistakable messages are forcibly delivered and then uniformly repeated (Freud, 1966; 420). To bring Freud into this examination of pedagogic discourse, we can hint at the teachers' intentions, and by default their ideological practice. Prevention messages inculcate a fear because they are delivered as a threat and in an authoritarian setting. Now whenever HIV AIDS or sex is broached,

classroom conditioning solidifies an association between this notorious topic and an internalized fear, giving rise to a psychological anxiety. This anxiety from the teachers' perspective was a productive to instill serving as a strategy of defense. As will be confirmed in a later section threats urged by the teachers are later mimicked in students' responses to my questions about their sexuality and health. The Freud's conception of psychic pathological development— the interplay of repetition, fear induced anxiety and trust in authority points towards, even metaphorically, the implied aims of Cheleta's prevention efforts.

Post-Colonial Schools

The integration across the curriculum of HIV prevention extends a larger historical pattern in the genealogy of Kenya's educational structure. This governmental move incurs greater specialization for school's curriculum and, reflects a common trend to reorient the school's purpose towards catering to immediate concerns and national interests.

The educational ladder is structured by 8-4-4 year intervals to allow youth to enter the labor force equipped with a standard increment of qualifications. This educational trajectory reflects the instable material situation most Kenyans find themselves in, demanding young persons at any given moment to take care of their families and themselves. The fluidity with which young persons are ostensibly afforded with these intervals may also optimize the configuration of labor power in the national economy. The institutional specificity has been critiqued as a mechanism for underdevelopment. The philosophy of 'adapting education to local needs', the mantra guiding educational planners in post-colonial states descends from the same genealogy of colonial educational

policy which tracked the colonial student since primary school to fulfill a mercantilist economy's need for labor, rather than the uninterrupted international schools which served the elite's children (Kelly, 1979; 214). "During the colonial rule and the years that followed it, the issue for Third World countries become one of obtaining educational equality with the former metropole in the expectation that educational parity would end unequal international relationships" (Kelly, 1979; 214). Caught in perpetual game of cat and mouse, the education suitable for the new nation's conditions would seem to perpetuate their underdevelopment.

The acquisition of locally specialized knowledge persists as a guiding principle in the textbooks used at Cheleta. In a science class I had to teach the difference between soft water and hard water. Their differences were illustrated in scenes of household chores. In the same chapter, issues of water contamination were discussed in great detail. The next lesson for the standard seven students was on the varieties of soil and their human uses. Science class helped provide technical mastery of resources, rather than an intellectual appreciation of the scientific method. Technical instruction mismatches the allegedly disinterested angle of study in universities and elite grade schools, *scientia gratis scientiae*, which equipped its students to manipulate more abstracted and generalized models of the human body or environment. The curricular bent enforces the specialized division of labor skills. On one end, specialized school experiences which adapt to the immediate and local needs rations the educational experience, abandoning any pretenses for mobility. On the other, the attempt emulate universal standards of education arguably holds irrelevant and unrealistic expectations for learning.

The students' familiarity with the scope of topics made the classes easier to teach than, for example, the weekly samplings of anthropology that I tried to transmit to my students in the free period delegated to my unsupervised discretion. The lessons I crafted took shape from the videos I showed them from my computer, including titles such as National Geographic's film rendition of Guns, Germs and Steele, Hotel Rwanda in its less graphic moments, La Noire De by Sambene Oussman, and a documentary on Pharoanic Egypt in order to convey the materiality of realities which were intriguing yet evasive, and channel their exotic curiosities for conjuring larger and personally incisive questions about global diversity and inequities, which our relationship seemed to epitomize and universal constituencies at the origin of the social fabric. Localized knowledge embraced the students' home culture or in another framework, their comparative advantage. Science, Kiswahili and CRE were the subjects students had least difficulty with, and more manifestly more engaged.

At the heart of this curricular debate, the issue of how best to attain individual mobility and national advancement pulses. The school is *supposed* to be the main vein for social mobility, distributing future functions to its clients. Kenyan governmental policy towards the vast inequalities follows a functional theory of social stratification. "The catchwords of educational ideology in Kenya are expansion, equality of opportunity and advancement by merit" (Court in Uchendu, 1979; 48). In step with streaming individuals towards a stock of cultural capital, the school hammers in a level of aspiration in accordance to their future status. A fact well noted in anthropological and demographic accounts, Sub-Saharan high school graduates comprise a large portion of the unemployed urban masses, "[a]s the educational

pyramid in most countries is sharply tapering in shape the main socializing effect of education is to prepare the majority of students to accept relatively low status and small rewards" (Court in Uchendu, 1979; 30). Perversions in the tangible results from the persuasively iterated expectations taint the credibility of examinations. Examinations are administer to provide a benchmark signaling acceleration or regression for the student's climb, but in Cheleta, the measure of performance translated a historical accumulation, rather than a forecast for advancement. Perhaps only at the extremes in performance did the governmental examinations, and random internal tests predict capacity (Court in Uchendu, 1979; 53). Moreoever, these tests measure ability of the teachers rather than the students' mastery of the material.

The teachers easily avowed to material dearth provided by the State, in comparison to the schools Runda residents paid for their children's attendance. Interestingly, in acknowledging the constraints they faced, they felt entitled to take on attitude of resignation which dictated their professional aspirations. As one teacher communicated to me; "you know, what can we do here with so many students coming and going, and very little donations, we can only try to do our jobs, but we cannot make guarantees for them".

Cheleta's Institutional Disintegration

What we have begun to probe at from our discussion of the larger institutional configurations evinced in Cheleta is what Foucault designed as governmentality, or the spectrum of practices from the exercise of state sovereignty to the relations orchestrated under social institutions who employ tactics of cultural engineering, all the way to the "technologies of the self". "It asks how are people governed, who governs who and according to which criteria and ethical standards" (Foucault in

Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983 ; 208). By moving along the continuum of governmentality towards the higher echelons of concentrated power, the guiding intentions and outlook espoused by the municipal education apparatus exposes the teachers' performed authoritarian stances as a recuperating act which masquerades the tenuous grounds of their professional and institutional validation.

My interaction with Mr. Elogons, my ambassador to the Nairobi city government, took place in his corner office overlooking the orthogonal plan of Nairobi's central business district. From what I observed in the interviews I conducted with him, he spent his day receiving visiting teachers and staff members from the schools he supervised or colleagues within the city government, in between which he continued with his sluggish survey of the Daily Nation newspaper, laid on top a scantly accoutered desk. In the school's file at the City Council Annex, housed at the Chief Advisor of the School's offices, the official records documented a long narrative of internal disruptions, as well as management irregularities, which cascaded from the swollen, worn out manila folder. This adherence to documentation protocols seemed remarkable to me, in juxtaposition to the incompetence and inconsistencies which it so faithfully recorded.

Case in point, I was briefed on the kleptocratic practices behind the doors to the school's main office. One teacher had taken action against a senior colleague who was colluding with someone within the City Council who repeatedly turned its blind eye. In effect, the plaintiff had at an earlier instance commented on one of his senior colleague's fear to come forward to testify the City Council's anti-corruption agency. At a different point in time, the file held a series of correspondences between two teachers and a senior staff member following an initial appeal for

action against one teacher's "gross insubordination" towards his supervisor. From there forward, menaces, threats and insults are detailed in a sequence of letters between the parties' lawyers. The investigations of the allegations followed a few months later. In the official report, the senior staff member is vindicated; the teachers are exposed for pork barreling and being bitter reactionaries, who were conspiring to sway the procurement of materials in service of another distributor, cooperating in their plan for self-enrichment- as the record claims, "the teacher obviously had an interest in the quota".

In the same way, my informal occupation allowed me to witness what was just below the surface of authority. At the end of each of the summers, after gifting my students, one of the teachers reminded me of his own needs and desire to receive gifts. This comment to me made apparent his low morale and desire for gratification. Consistent with the teachers' complaints about salary levels, and their frequent inquiry into about teacher incomes outside of Kenya directed to me, their dissatisfaction put into relief the performativity of their authoritarian practices, which veiled an awkward marginality.

From the perspective of the State aparatus, the school stood as an egregious case of failure but for Elognos, and his colleagues to whom he made my introduction, they laid the blame for failures on the difficulties of the job, rather than on any perennial tendencies of the teachers. With no affordable housing in the estate, and without mention of the slum as a possible housing alternative, the onerous commute made "teachers not motivated". "The teachers feel like a stranger in Runda Estate". He echoed the same explanation for the students: "Children will need a lot of encouragement because they will just

look around⋯Both pupils and teachers are visitors". Runda made of "very rich [who] don't want to dilute their standard of living". Indeed, the school is the only account in Runda which procured City Council's water, as the elite bathed in privately commoditized water. The instances of "theft, fights over the school house, collapsing walls and reports of insubordination and complaints are the same thing over again". His comments recalled earlier conversations upon my initial introduction to the school, when one senior staff member stated point blank that this school was never any teacher's first choice placement. Putting across his frustrations, he rationalized this alarming precedent of unaccountability: "[the] teachers have stayed there for too long".

Whereas students dutifully buy into the school as the path to social integration through formal legitimacy, the scenes illustrated in the official file reveal a certain volatility characteristic of the informal sector. Behind the walls of the office and staff room, teachers entertain opaque and strained relationships with their peers and immediate supervisors. In the absence of fresh relief, teachers are burdened by the inconvenience and redundancy of their work. The hostilities displayed by the reported breaches in professionalism emasculate the State's estimation of the staff's expertise. In sum, the antagonisms between the adults running this primary school paint a portrait of bureaucratic chaos, which falls in sharp contrast to the regime of discipline imposed upon its students.

The school's finds itself socially and geographically impenetrable to State scrutiny. The larger state apparatus, only partly subsumes the school under its control, reasoning that the economic circumstances overwhelm the brachiation of its

sovereignty. To recapitulate the State's viewpoint, the spatial distribution of economic inequities creates a labor hoarding situation because the school cannot take lightly the inelastic supply for teachers in a labor intensive organization. By default, school's insularity also sets the stage for an alienating work place for the teachers. The students, on their end, require motivation because of the disconcerting juxtapositions they witness while cutting through white walled and terracotta tiled roofed houses on their way to school. Rather than inspire a sense of mobility, according to official opinions at the municipality, the presence of the "very rich" signals for the youth their position of exception and exemption, where in fact they are part of an impoverished urban majority. Furthermore, the school's daily administration simulates for the teachers the qualia of marginality engendered by the spatial dynamics and housing conditions lived daily by the students. The geography of the field site coerces both the teacher and the student into alienation.

As a result of the very inequities which the school purportedly can convert, labor's marginal product diminishes rapidly. Detracting blame from their own apparatus, the State's technicians attribute the loss of their power to the colonial enterprise and the spatialization of its sovereignty. Indeed, their explanation concentrates on the historical and economic determinacy of the current situation, and pointing towards the limited agency of the State's educational apparatus and its methods of cultural engineering. One ramification of the state's limitations is the unambiguous informality to school.

The teachers' actions insinuate a similar understanding of the "real relations of society" adopted by the State's functionaries (Althusser). Seemingly, both stakeholders welcome

the chance to overwhelm the material consequences of their nation's past, but expect little from their solution for systemic change. To use Marx's metaphoric topography of the means of reproduction, their site of attack is at the superstructural level, which the State and school believe to garner but a low index of effectivity. Extending the State's ideology, as we extrapolated, the set of pedagogic practices regulating the risk of HIV AIDS posed to youth perform the State's concession to the economic base and hence the structural etiology of HIV AIDS.

Extracurricular Activities

Cheleta's Local Monopoly

Conveniently, this noted informality invited the teachers to straddle both semi-parental and professional role. Ensconced in their pedagogic practices, these twin axes for concern and control illustrate the ideological premises delineating in what way and for what reason the school takes a hand at producing a healthy HIV free youthful populace.

The teachers' indifferent or even disdainful attitudes towards most parents served to warrant their performance of typically parental obligations. In their choice of stories narrated to me about what they know of the students' home lives, the teachers constructed a culture of poverty. In spite of overstepping their officially delegated responsibilities, their parental performance worked in harmony with the pedagogy staged in the classroom. Similarly, their use of corporal discipline resonates within this frame of semi-formal and semi-parental authority. Their enlarged sphere of influence over their students was advantaged by socio-geographic and institutional isolation of the field site. Since prevention messages could be strategically

delivered to students in intimately poignant ways, the myth
constructed about HIV AIDS the force of fear enhanced in

One elementary teacher told me the following story about a
girl who repeatedly neglected her homework. After calling her a
side and much probing for an explanation, she is said to have
finally confessed that she could not work at home because her
mother asks her to leave the house during the frequent trips made
by her male visitors. To end, he pronounced a Kikuyu proverb to
keep in mind while teaching and spending time with the students:
'the silent part of the river is the most dangerous" . Other
anecdotes teachers retold similarly focused on what they called
"bad parenting" , such as parents expecting their children to
sell the illegal brew, *changaa*, after school. They also made
comment about the insularity of Githogoro which accordingly kept
the community stagnant. In these portrayals, economic
circumstances necessitate the youth and their students to enter
into the margins of acceptable behaviors. While the teachers did
not contend that all of Githogoro was full of "bad parents" ,
they called attention to their disapproval for the local mores.
What is mystified is that perpetuated insularity and "bad"
parents are responses to a scarcity of resources. Furthermore, in
discussions of the challenges they face as teachers, and the
consistent failures of the school, teachers invariably cited the
poverty of their students as the constant, rendering for
themselves their own quest for social and moral upheaval relegated
to the realm of fantasy.

In spite of the critique launched against faltering household
standards, their pedagogic methods follow a logic for behavior
change contingent on a calculus of obedience, which permeates the
household discourse on child rearing (as will be fully elaborated

in the next section) . Furthermore, whether successful or not in extracting their trespasses, the teachers have projected the institutional ethic of transparency unfulfilled between the staff and the insufficiencies of formal recognition for the teacher's investment in the students to give way to a position which hybridizes authoritarian and altruistic stances towards these youth.

Embodied Performance

The pedagogical orientation of the classrooms also embraced corporeal discipline to correct students' disobedience. The persistence of such practices throughout the nation was documented in a Human Rights Watch report in August of 1999 on Kenya's School Discipline Regulations (www.hrw.org, 1999). At Cheleta, on Fridays, students were called aside from their class and assembled in the inner courtyard. The principal at the head of an elongating queue, armed with a leather sheath, enacted his power as moral authority by striking the palms of young women and girls or the backs of boys and young men. The criteria for warranting this punishment varied from incomplete homework to insolence. Students in the lower primary ranks excluded from the enactment of discipline, watched over with mocking yet fearful gazes. The public, expedient, and collectively witnessed ritual was intended to avert future trespassing. Although most of the misbehavior occurred under the class teacher's supervision, the headmaster administered justice. In fact, this was the only duty I ever saw him perform as headmaster. In interviews, students and teachers revealed having received and performed identical disciplinary action in their homes, respectively. For the disciplinarian, striking physically adheres to the regime of discipline and obedience seen necessary for proper development. The forbidden

pleasure enjoyed by the student is negated when the headmaster exerts physical control over her body. This punishment asserts an immediate causality between behavior and reward, similar to the automated pattern of question and answer of the classroom. Finally, rather than being compelled to internalize the ethic of discipline reigning over the school, students obey out of fear. The student's recognition of misbehavior is externalized: as opposed to fostering an intuition for discerning good from bad, the teachers perform violence to legitimate their incontrovertible discrimination. Good and bad for the students are not only inherent in the acts, but their ability to evade the teachers surveillance. As is to be expected, these practices mold the student's capacity for self recognition and self-improvement ion according to their sensation of fear.

Counseling as Moral Education

Unsatisfied by the depths of their biopower, the teachers play the role of moral guidance counselors. By enforcing a standard of abstinence, the teachers' semi-parental role reinforces their formal professional role which they conduct through a regime of discipline. Abstinence, taken as the epitome of self restraint and internal strength is understood by their pedagogic practice and ideological premises to be externally conditioned.

To counteract promiscuous behavior, one senior teacher commented on his general strategy for prevention, "… just education and counseling to shift their behavior." Counseling in these instances was geared towards counteracting promiscuous behaviors. In one such occasion, when the sexes had been segregated, the teacher made the memorable statement: "If you have sex, you can get pregnant, you can get HIV/AIDS and it is

very, very bad". As portrayed by the teachers, the act of sex was the trigger for their students' downfall. Youth sexuality was presented as a threat to their wellbeing- making abstinence the only sensible choice. Towards the end of such conversations, teachers would clarify that positive role of sex within the confines of matrimony. According to conversations with students, the message sent to the men was to control their libidinal drive; to the girls it was to "stay away from those boys" recounted Sofia. Physical and social contact would keep them away from harm's way. Moreover, teachers' also laid emphasis on the risk of sexual violence, in line with embedding the delivery of sexual education as a threat. Later, he revealed his "use of anecdotes of HIV positive people" to illustrate the gravity of the disease. He specifically recalled showing images of women who have lost their fallopian tubes supposedly after contracting the virus. In effect, both his counseling and anecdotal illustrations serves to "sensitize" the students. His responsibility as teacher and counselor required him to "sensitize" his students, but he clarified the limits of his role in asserting that he held no actual responsibility for the actions of his students.

The moralistic overtones and content of prevention information were delivered in measured doses calibrated to their students' age or stage of development. One senior teacher discouraged condoms, explaining that "sexual education is taught in stages….For primary students, it is not appropriate to concede sexual activity". In secondary school, he clarified, condoms could be discussed. By capping off their what their students learn by what the teachers believed they should not, they teachers in very real and deliberate ways structured the students developing sexual lives.

Penetrations and Extractions

In truth, the teachers were the most enthusiastic of my informants, particularly when my questions centered on their students' personal lives, making clear the extent of their investment in their professional responsibilities. As I posed more questions to the teachers regarding their students' relationships amongst themselves, and those entertained with other individuals external to the school, it seemed apparent to me that I had entered a sphere of measured curiosity. The curricular integration of HIV prevention only bolstered the teacher's active hunt for the promiscuity amongst the ranks of their classrooms.

The teachers' impressions of their students tended to inflate the extent of their sexual experimentation, relative to the individual students' estimates. In my own search, I knew that ten students of the 54 in standard eight were sexually experienced. The teachers' estimate of sexually active students was accompanied with regret for the situation and with a disavowal for student's parents as well as the "bad behaving" students. Despite their head-shaking at the thought of their pupils' active sexual lives, the head teacher and original deputy head master envisioned themselves as instigators of a gradual change. Since their arrival a few years ago, higher standards of discipline, they believe, have been enforced. They make the claim that promiscuity has been accordingly curbed.

The team of two in particular presented themselves as teachers who established their authority in transforming teacher-students relationships. In the upper primary classes, when students entered adolescence, there was a noticeable increase in attention paid to the students' interior and out of school lives. Despite classrooms that were full beyond their official capacity,

if they made the discovery of some deviation, such as consistently poor performance or suspicion was raised of sexual precocity, their focus would become singular in extracting the truth. These two teachers purposefully choose the students who preserved an opaque distance. The team's interventions with specific students indexed their problematization of the student's interior life, which they expressed as worry. Still, they strove for an ideal of transparency which was evidently one-sided. They hoped to convince their students of the sympathy they expressed while also placing a host of moral expectations.

For example, when explicit letters were once found detailing romantic relationships between the exposed school girl and some anonymous boy, the new Deputy Head relied on his counselor training. He described the protocol of investigation, stressing the composure he assumes in confronting the student. After he called her aside, and he alleges that she gradually produced a penitent confession. She qualified her indiscretion with a "…but, Sir, I'm not alone". The blame, now shared was dissipated but prompted him to conduct a witch hunt- the results of which he presented as eerily exact numerical compilations: 20 out of 24 girls and 15 of the 27 boys in standard eight were sexually experiences. He punctuated these shocks with a relishing grin. How he was able to quote these figures so fluently? I asked him, several times to prove the validity of his claims. Finally, he uncovered the use of "spies" in lower classes, often siblings or neighbors who would come into the main office if they ever discovered any aberrations in their upper classmates behavior. This was obviously confidential. When I asked students if they

knew of any such undercover communications, they did not believe that anything of the sort took place without their knowledge.

The impetus to delve into these students private lives speaks once again to their pedagogic ideology. Through their authority as elders, professionals and government employees, they could justifiable coerce transparency. What many readers may read as an infringement of privacy transpires intrinsically in teacher student relation accustomed at school. Theorist and activist Ivan Illich summarizes on the unique position of the school teacher in relation to her students, "schoolteachers and ministers are the only professionals who feel entitled to pry into the private affairs of their clients at the same time as they preach to a captive audience" (Illich, 1971; 31).

Impact of Consumption

Homosocially Disciplined

In my presence, the students' attitudes towards the other gender did not vary, all preserved the standard of chastity expected of them. In focus groups, the truth more easily came out. If one student did admit to having a boyfriend, and no one else did, they would speak on their friends behalf, once again sharing what they saw was a common blame. Men were more easily honest about their relations than girls were. Their self-identifications were modulated by their degree of deviance from the norm of school enrollment and sexual respectability. In addition, the tightest social groups visible were those who were least active in class, often because of language barrier and their autonomous behavior.

The female youth expressed general disdain for the male youth of their class, except for the ones who excelled in the classroom. Male youth also felt reproached by their female peers, making most socialization at school was homosocial.

"You know teacher, those girls, they are always laughing, why do they always laugh..?"

"Those girls, they are always touching themselves like this, like that", gesturing to his chest

"Teacher, those boys, they try to make you play with them, but we don't want them"

Moreover, those youth who had romantic engagements had clear demarcations for appropriate and inappropriate behavior in school. While petting was considered acceptable on the weekends while on a walk with their romantic partner, such behavior was strongly condemned against those who disrespected the school's sovereignty. Male and female youth both used that line of demarcation to prove their respectability. In our conversations, they cited rumors of sexual permissiveness at school which they showed their disapproval for. Particularly, they looked down upon younger students who apparently went to the fields behind the school for sexual experimentation, as well as female students who also allegedly met adults during recess or lunch time and prostituted themselves. These rumors of covert sexual experimentation during circulated repeatedly and were cited more than once by students. Teachers however rejected their veracity, as did other students.

Misrecognitions and Demystifications of School's Promises

Students currently attending Cheleta could not to express either in English or Swahili their feelings towards the school in abstract, with one exception who commented on the stress he felt for what would happen to him after his final year. They had definite preferences for teachers who was not biased by their ethnic identity when choosing who would be selected for certain privileges such as when a wealthy private academy offered to bring some students to play football in their lawns during the weekends, and distaste for those who seemingly did. They regretted one senior teacher's departure who unlike his other senior colleague "told us useless stories" during class. It seemed they placed value on well directed classrooms and reduced physical correction. Many youth spoke out against the hierarchical order. In their complaints, they challenged receiving unequal respect from teachers, relative to other students, and the punishments they felt they could receive very arbitrarily. No students displayed their blatant disregard for school, and largely indifferent to the particular ways they learnt, played or related to their teachers. Still while in school, they assured me that they were still receiving a "good education"

In general, students who were not able to continue to secondary school, particularly the men expressed regret for not being able to continue. Even those who anticipated continuing doing manual labor after secondary school tried to find ways to get free secondary education. These youth were not aware of any job opportunities outside of Runda; their job search was mostly random. Their employers' hesitation to hire them, as they explained to me was that other adults had more education. Their youth marked them as students, rather than able bodies.

International high schools are financially out of the question for these youth; heretofore even government funded schools were inaccessible to Cheleta student (iii). Last year, a scholarship from an insurance company guaranteed tuition and board to the highest female and male scores on the KCPE. Nationally, 11% of Form I will have dropped out by their final year (UNESCO Nairobi, 2006; 25). For all the alumni, their permanent distance from their primary school unsettled their previous characterizations of having provided a "good education", particularly for those students who were sponsored and were worried their offers would be rescinded if they didn't improve their below average performance, which they altogether blamed on their alma mater.

One of my old pupils Fanwell, 17 looks back at Cheleta after having missed his KCPE by a few points: "It is not a good education". He mentioned "tardiness" of the staff members as one of its problems.

For Fanwell, the school's unreliable standing posed a substantial impediment since his parents refused to pay for him to repeat his last year in light of the staff "misusing money". His wage givers reluctantly choose him. Often, they tell him to go to school, and pick older men for the job. In this transitory year, he confesses that he "is not happy like the others". Another alumnus made echo to the faltering standards at Cheleta, James Jenga, 21, commented "at that time [Cheleta] was better, management now is very poor, schools are dirty".

The institutional validation conferred by school enrollment, particularly passage into the secondary level was achieved or desired by the large majority of my students. In exchange for

interviews, students could choose to have their portrait photographed; on several occasions open textbooks, old exam sheets served as props in these male youth's self representation. Other props were the packets of chips I had served the students in exchange for answering my questions, with which they posed with. The widespread faith placed in the institution of education has been well commented in the Kenyan context, which has resulted in greater legitimacy for authoritative teachers. The larger impact on society which has ensured from the impression of institutional legitimacy has been that the "[···] unemployed internalized norms which lead them to accept their position by seeing themselves as unfortunate, or personally derelict, losers in a basically just system" (Court in Uchendu, 1979; 55). The youth seem to be interpellated by the institutional feature the school represents, but weary of its particular administration at Cheleta. They seemed somewhat blinded by the fact that their reality appeared to be an exception to those of other youth who supposedly went to better schools.

Consenting to the School's Myth of HIV AIDS

In order of importance, students derived their information about HIV/AIDS their official curriculum, mass media, peers, and parents. The integration of HIV/AIDS into the science and social studies curricula ensured that facts about the disease's transmission, its health effects and the ramifications it had on society were memorized to varying extents of detail. In the semi-structured interviews and KAB questionnaires, it became clear that the school provided accurate information. Furthermore, many acknowledged their vulnerability to the disease.

Often in the same language as used in their textbooks, students summarized the tragic irreversibility of HIV/AIDS while still stressed the need to maintain hope for those infected and their care takers. When pushed further to elaborate upon this ambiguous balance, students were mostly confused. In effect, memorization of countless lectures and texts was responsible for such sophisticated responses, despite the poverty of knowledge and tools in the fundamental subjects. Kenya has been praised for its intervention techniques, particularly in delivering accurate information to its citizenship (UNAIDS, 2005). By repeating HIV related knowledge in science class, social studies class and during reading comprehension exercises, accurate information about HIV is memorized.

Students were uninformed about contraception besides abstinence and condom use. Even for condoms, no student conveyed to me when or how one ought to place it successfully. Moreover, the relative risks of each mode of transmission were not elaborated: students cited going to the barber or sharing needles, just as frequently as they mentioned unprotected sex when enumerating how one could get HIV, although it seemed unlikely due to their evident financial constraints that they would be able to pay for a barber or intravenous drugs. Prostitution and rape were cited as the riskiest of sexual behaviors, as opposed to sex without protection.

Just as the authoritarian "deposition" type pedagogy paralyses the students in an illusion of social mobility with this knowledge that has not been assimilated or derived, but memorized, this approach extended to the construction of HIV. HIV/AIDS was construed as a fact of nature which in itself catalyzed the disintegration of the individual. In the teachers' statements,

personality traits and circumstantial behaviors increased one's risk. The school sought to eradicate these root causes. The dramatic descriptions constructed about HIV are not totally incorrect. In Kenya, the impact of AIDS has in fact been disastrous. Yet, students could come to terms with how HIV would actually enter their own lives. The myth of the disease as the ultimate threat abstracts it from the grasp of the students' daily lives. Even though AIDS is a reality in their community- 47 out of 56 students in standard eight knew at least someone in their neighborhood infected with HIV, often the same persons, they demonstrated little curiosity as to how that person may have gotten infected. Students imagined AIDS in abstraction, as a social and individual superpower. Rather than seeing it embedded in the risks of certain interactions, behaviors and judgment, AIDS was an immaterial but daunting threat. Across the board, this myth is evinced in the students' professed fear of the virus, although no one actually considered themselves to be personally and currently vulnerable to it. It seemed that student were acutely aware of the moral panic surrounding AIDS, and issued echoes to the devastation it causes, and the dangerous behaviors it signifies. Some students in questionnaires indicated that AIDS was a punishment for sin, while most preferred a moralistic rather than theological epidemiology. Yet, AIDS did not enter the logic of their everyday lives. This fear was only summoned at the mention of HIV/AIDS or when its semantic field was evoked.

Critique of Critique

If ideology is inevitable, Friere's antidote, is indoctrinating students to acknowledge their constant struggle against the knowledge they have acquired and its means of transmission. In destabilizing the student teacher hierarchy and in adopting what he labels critical pedagogy, students are equipped with the critical consciousness to unveil the means of their oppression. In sum, its teleological trajectory engenders collective liberation through systematic and intensifying demystification.

In effect, this critical pedagogy has shaped the trends in prevention to give way to a new orthodoxy which privileges the cognitive and interior dimensions as the site and stake to transform the marginalized social agent. The method of HIV prevention and its motivating ideology triumphed by international health and development agencies falls in line with Friere's vision.

As was previously elaborated, the eminent critique of Cheleta's authoritarian approach to HIV prevention and youth targeted interventions argues that healthy attitudes towards sexuality cannot be cultivated through impositions but must be stimulated dialogically in a judgment free space. This way of thinking assumes that authenticity cannot be rehearsed or externally systematized. According to Friere the pattern of repetition and the issuing of prevention by manipulating threats entraps the subject in a position of fear and dependence. The liberation explicitly characterized in critical pedagogy and now ubiquitous in Western political movements, its feminisms particularly, measures one's agency as a transcendence from or

trespass against custom, and heteronomy which are equated to oppression (Mahmood, 2001; 207). Saba Mahmood draws the contrast between the ideological definition of agency in the Western feminist struggle, and the one offered through a women's Islamic revival movement in Egypt. The distinctions she lays out opens an alternative conception of agency which effectively disarms Friere's universalizing mission for critical consciousness and resistance. Her account makes plain the essential linkage underlining liberalism between self fulfillment, resistance and individual autonomy (Mahmood, 2001; 207). The Islamic revival under study furnishes an alternative path to self realization through docility or *sabr*, rather than resistance. As she states (Mahmood, 2001; 212):

[···] the ability to effect change in the world and in oneself is historically and culturally specific (both in terms of what constitutes "change" and the capacity by which it is effected), then its meaning and sense cannot be fixed a priori, but allowed to emerge through an analysis of the particular networks of concepts that enable specific modes of being, responsibility, and effectivity. ···What may appear to be a case of deplorable passivity and docility from a progressivist point of view, may very well be a form of agency—one that must be understood in the context of the discourses and structures of subordination that create the conditions of its enactment

Mahmood's comments force us to reconsider our critique of the students' docility as a vulnerabilizing factor in their risk of HIV. Agentival capacity is not bound to negating power. It is thus plausible to understand the youth's commitment to discipline as not only an affirmation of ideology, but simultaneously the deliberate enactment of their self preservation.

Concurrently, we have put in motion a critique of the school *and* a critique launched against this former interpretation so to avoid Manichean reduction. At its heart, this deconstruction expounds an ethical assessment of education, the sum total of schools and their internal and external administration. Since we are dealing with education as it treats youth sexuality in relation to the risk of HIV, our assessment seeks to evaluate harm reduction. The structure of education and the nature of instruction can be judged according to how well they insure healthy and satisfactory lives to these youth, in the short and long term.

At Cheleta, fear is used to generate a protective anxiety around pre-marital sexuality, which is certainly one way of preventing early sexual initiation, and HIV AIDS. This fear was noticeably internalized by the students, but HIV AIDS was not at the forefront of their concerns. Whereas for the teachers, abstinence and sexual virtue formed certain discursivities around the topic of HIV AIDS, their moral panic was centered on the dissolution of discipline they perceived at home.

GITHOGORO

It is difficult to understand how acutely visible I was when I walked with my students around Githogoro. "Mzungu, Mzungu", "Hello Mzungu, how are you mzungu?", stares, and obvious side commentary encased my unexpected penetration in the place most of

my students called home. My intent to draw in the families and communities of the students into this research may seem obvious to the reader, but to be explicit, I can explain in the following ways. First of all, my students wanted me to pay visits to their parents. My visits strengthened my relationship with the keener students. Some of those who took me to their homes would become the peer educators in the health education class, and a year later some would help coordinate interviews. Second, I wanted to determine for myself what my students' parental cultural and home atmosphere comprised off, rather than accept their teacher's villanized portrayal.

In the framework for our metonymy, Githogoro represents not only the students' parental culture, but vis à vis the State, which is partly invested in the school apparatus, it stands in as the larger society which the educational structure is supposed to serve. Alternatively, in relation the ruling class controlling the formal sector, Githogoro encloses the urban poor engaged in the informal sector. These labels do in fact produce certain simplifications, but the force of our metonymy only functions by deducing from these pieces presented the more general and abstracted unit of power.

Before starting, I had objectively anticipated a diverse sample that included community members of all ages, of all occupations and language groups, to justify the link between my empirical findings and its metonymic entity. Inevitably, the biases of ethnography tilted my sample, obfuscating the significance it carried to understand the population group.

I conducted my interviews in English which clearly increased the bias of an already self-selected sample of Githogoro residents

willing to talk to me. Gradually, as my presence became known, and people got word of the compensation I offered, I was approached, and not longer resorted to my students' networks of adult acquaintances. Their social networks certainly consisted more of their own linguistic and ethnic group, although amongst themselves five groups were included. In the end, I had conduced fifteen parent interviews (11 mothers and 5 fathers) of students that I had previously or currently taught. I also had 35 interviews with mostly young adults, many of whom still qualify as "youth" normatively defined by the Kenyan census as between the ages of 15-24. Many were young women under the age of 30, who were married with young children in primary school, along with their male counterparts of the same age based peer group. A minority represented individuals above the age of 30, with older youth or adults as their children. These unanticipated biases required that I shift how I would conceptualize Githogoro as an ideological apparatus. In addition to providing insight into my students' household experience, the participation of young informants allowed me to gage the possible life trajectories my students could embark on when they finished or left the school system.

Looking at demographic trends helps justify the apparent youth bias. High fertility, on average 5 children per woman, coupled with an average lifespan of 51 years give shape to a true pyramid graph for the population's age distribution (UNAIDS, 2006). Figures for Kibera, the second largest slum in Africa, and the largest in Nairobi approximate that half of the population is under the age of fifteen; this helps relate the young bias in this semi- urban population. Many individuals cited their primary motive for remaining in Githogoro was to gain money, which in order for them to do so assumes certain capacities and

dispositions, favoring certain bodies over others. Also, the overrepresentation of women can be accounted for by the fact that they were more likely to be home during the day, which for security reasons was the only time I went to Githogoro. Finally, few informants were employed full time, not to mention in the formal sector. Although most residents controlled no wealth of their own, there were certain individuals who had deeds to permanent residences on a strip of Githogoro. These individuals, excluded from these findings, would have been less enticed by the compensation I could offer for a recorded conversation, and perhaps excluded from the inner core of my students' networks. As such, only one of my informants fell in this elite category and his interview contributed more to my historical understanding of Githogoro, as he had lived in the vicinity when Runda's lands were a collection of coffee plantations.

Mariam, to whom I am greatly indebted, was introduced to me by one of my old students Boniface. She let me use her house to conduct many of the interviews, and recruited her friends and acquaintances for my interviews. The geographic position of her house was conveniently located for my purposes and those residents who entered and exited Githogoro frequently, but was in one of the extremities of Githogoro's amoebic layout. Her house, neighboring a sizable landfill, internally isolated but central to external communication would definitely impact the composition of my informants, some of whom were travelling towards my two week station in her home.

Now that these disclaimers testify to the circumstances governing my research, the content my questions elicited amounted to a collection of personal histories which tracked how my interlocuteurs first learnt what sex and HIV AIDS were, their

first sexual experiences, subsequent encounters, and how HIV AIDS entered their consciousness thereon out. After talking about their internal lives, our conversations focused on their construction of HIV and sexuality and how these two issues shaped their interactions with their children, their spouses, their care-takers, families, community and country. These findings are supplemented with youth focus group data which centered on their household culture. The category of youth is constantly evoked or is the demographic identity categorizing the informants. The triangulation offered is a myriad social constructions which inform the nebulous mythology of HIV AIDS produced by a diverse urban population. The circulation of messages is much more difficultly disambiguated into stages of manufacture, consumption and reinvestment as was possible in the school context. bricolage of subjectivity as it is framed in the home by sexuality betokens the ideological family apparatus, and the relations entertained between its diffuse kinship branches.

Badly Behaved

What can be directly extrapolated from the discourse generated in interviews is the social etiology of AIDS. In the consciousness of this agglomeration of Kenyan civil society, the root causes of HIV AIDS encompassed personality traits, structural affects, and cultural phenomena. "Bad behavior" was most frequently cited, but was only intermediary effect of a non-moral cause. If one had such "bad behavior", then she was confronted with the full risk of HIV. However, "bad behavior" did not accrue solely from personal choice, but was produced from events and circumstances outside the individual's control. Elaborated in what follows are the regularly identified catalysts for inculcating "bad behavior" in youth.

Janet, 29: "Where I am from, don't get married so young, don't socialize with men. We are afraid. In the cities we are scared because we are aware because [there is a] great chance of sin".

Just as in Janet's statement, as she distinguished the strict homosocial mores maintained outside the city, and temptation's ubiquity in the urban space, many others echoed the inextricable urban character of the HIV pandemic. After his experience teaching HIV prevention in school, Maxwell, 21 noticed that "people in the city have more sex and are less disciplined". Somehow, the combination of population density, and "modernity" subdues the agent and depletes her discipline. Maxwell attributed television to its high prevalence, common mostly in the cities of Kenya. He concluded by saying, "even if you ignore the bible, [HIV] is a killer disease".

The media was another origin of risk flagged because it sanctioned early exposure to sex. The agent becomes precociously aware by an act of voyeurism. The precocity seen to predispose the individual to HIV AIDS in the imagination of many Githogoro residents actually reduces risk according to the construction of disease disseminated by global health agencies. Within this latter ideological position, youth must know the dynamics of the sexual encounter laden with gender imbalances, emotional investments, cultural expectations, and health consequences before enduring the experience personally. Otherwise, without full knowledge, the agent is vulnerable. What precisely early exposure constituted varied. The age threshold for when information no longer detrimental or risky was vaguely connoted.

While voyeurism and mass mediated information increased risk, the stigma reigning over household discussions about HIV and sexuality was also found by the younger mothers to vulnerablize the youth to disease. Evelyn, 28 on the topic of HIV asserted, "it's a big problem, parents don't monitor [youth] don't understand what this love means". When I ask her to elaborate, she tells me "parents don't talk to their children about sex, it is because parents fear that they will think that their parents are bad…they don't want their children to know what happened to them". Evelyn ultimately remarks on intricacies of transparency, since implementing the appearance of self evidence can undermine parents' authority just as the attempt to consolidate it.

One informant wishing to remain anonymous explained HIV in the following way: "Poverty causes people to be idle and consume alcoholism amongst men. Many of those men see prostitutes". "Prostitutes" is effectively a category synonymous with HIV. The isolation of disease to risk groups, the use of which is now considered outmoded by HIV prevention orthodoxy, holds currency in Githogoro's social imagination. James, 18, "HIV is because of prostitutes and homosexuals; I am not scared of getting it". Prostitutes were mentioned in most conversations, but no one could tell me where they could be found. As Peter, 26 recounted, "they don't believe they are prostitutes". Based on these comments, prostitution could signify a range of behaviors on the spectrum of sexual behaviors, not only a person who survived exclusively on clientele for income. Despite the amorphous classifications, disease was easily attributed to members of risk groups, because their sexually aberrant actions quintessentially embodied the "bad behavior" equated to HIV.

Believing in the Material or the Spiritual

David, 56: "If you don't have a job and joke with sex, you lose everything. In speaking about the youth specifically in regards to HIV AIDS, "first thing they must believe in Jesus, if you are saved nothing can happen to you".

Maxwell 21: "I am God fearing···you always do the right thing".

Janet, 29: "Trust yourself and you won't get HIV".

In these replies, there is an equivalence made with structural integration or with religious adherence to risk reduction. In effect, fear of or faith in, or both, the metaphysical conferred protection, just as an assigned role in the economy exacts a certain insulating habitus. Other common replies focused on corporal and hormonal restraint, placing the etiology within the agent's body, as if she were fighting against herself. As for the physical methods of prevention, most cited going to VCT with their partners while condom use appeared to be less common.

The importance of material arose around how youth could secure relationships in the first place. Although men seemed to have an earlier debut than women, by their late adolescence and entry into their twenties, men needed money to stay sexually active. Whereas, men perceived women as having more chances to enter romantic engagements after terminating their schooling, women acknowledged being swayed by feelings of shame, or feeling powerless rather than attempt to negotiate the terms of sexual intercourse because of their financial dependence.

Fanwell, 17: "Girls can get married even after Standard 8...Girls don't want us because we don't have money to give them".

George, 21: Met his girlfriend in Church seven months ago. After three months, "he agreed to her". He wants give her the opportunity to finish school. As a Christian, we are saved and a virgin". "Life is not stable, money is not enough to carry that lady".

Jenga, 21: "Girls like people with money, they are asking for too many expenses". About sex, "If you are to do it, you must have money…I don't want to spoil someone's life"

Community Ethos

Directing the conversation towards the problems present in Githogoro yielded discussions about the "village vices", as Steven, 22 put it to me. Loitering in public space was cited as indication of moral degeneracy. Instead of being at home, where one contributes to the household, loitering is associated with deviating from the integrating and wholesome functions of the family. In this moral economy, the virtues of productivity and purpose oppose erring whether spatially or psychologically. For instance, many women identified poor parenting in those parents who allowed their young children to roam Githogoro's thoroughfare without supervision.

For Steven, "village vices" specifically makes reference to drugs, liquor and *changaa,* the illegal brew. In parallel to problematization behavior, poverty and unemployment were invariably and evidently mentioned, often too the lack of schools. These absences explained the incidence of school drop-outs, early marriage, pregnancies and prostitution. When commenting on the

"village vices", those who had identified such behaviors as such also elaborated on how they made sense of these behavioral aberrations.

Evelyn, 28: "most people have different behaviors which you learn how to deal with…[you] have to accept it, don't say its bad…I can't change people's choice… have to accept it".

Janet, 29: "I like Githogoro because I can get something" "I don't want to be social here, people have born here, just want to get money". As for her husband, who was born into this community "if he has a lot [of friends with him], I'll leave him so I don't want to know".

These attitudes highlight a looming suspicion between fellow community members, as well as the strictly functional aspect of shared space. Frustrated with prevailing patterns of socialization, it seemed that many residents retreated into their immediate concerns, disinterested in upholding a community ethos. There seemed to be division between natives and migrants to Githogoro, which appeared divisive by some characterizations.

Another clear division took place in Githogoro between Whenever I requested to be introduced to any HIV positive individuals, my informants and students were never certain as to where exactly they lived or how to reach them. Everyone cited rumors of people with HIV, but it seemed that none socialized with them, or didn't wish to tell me so. The one woman Mariam knew of never left the house, and refused visitors. Also indicative, was that residents and students based their diagnosis of these invisible victims on their chronic illness, alienation from the community, and perceptible physical weakness. From these subjective assessment of symptoms, rumors proliferated.

Githogoro towards Cheleta

Those who could afford private school preferred to send their children there for their primary education. Cheleta Primary School and other public schools were discredited for their low quality standards and corruption. As Evelyn, 28 put it "no one knows what they teach at the public schools", choosing to send her daughter to a private school inside Githogoro. Most of the youth who were parents, or those who started to be parents when they were youth, and now over 24 did not benefit from free primary education. Close to all made it to standard 8. Those who continued secondary school could not afford to pay to complete all four forms. Location was Cheleta's main appeal. In the majority of cases, it was parents' and caretakers' only choice. One James, 32 directed his criticism against Universal Primary Education which has made his daughter's school overly crowded. The increasing use and desire for more private schools in Githogoro was mentioned frequently.

Hesitant Sexualities

The work environment was repeatedly cited as a place of interaction where romantic and sexual engagements could potentialize. Following initial introductions, sometimes followed by courtship where uncertainty and opacity kept the two partners at a distance, they would become a couple. No one had been in a relationship before marriage that their parents had explicitly encouraged. All youth romantic relationships were discrete and remained either unacknowledged or unknown by the youth's authority figures. Marriage was in effect the product of secret relations, which by external or internal will is made public. Through series of lies to the external world, couples built their base of future stability. Parents may not have approved of their marriage choices, but eventually informants said their spouses

were accepted. Few had resisted pre-marital sex, those who did cited strong religious beliefs or deep seated myths: Janet, 29 said she learnt in social studies not to play with boys and, said "my sister told you that if boys touch your breasts you get your menses". This convinced her to avoid her male peers in school. Moreover, for no one was pre-marital accepted in their household.

Not a single person had planned for their first sexual encounter. Depending on their emotional and temporal distance, they expressed fondness, regret, or hilarity towards that memory.

Sara, 24: "The first time [together], I wasn't free with him..[he] asked to visit my mother and friends." At some point after they had also visited his parents, her husband asked her to sleep with him, she "felt ashamed to refuse because of they he treated [me]".

Lois, 18: Chuckling, she says "I was in adolescent state". "It was his first time, don't know why I did…I fear he was very stubborn, he could beat me". Her parents knew "because people started spreading when they went to his house". Her parents started "being harsh to me".

James, 18: When asked about sex, he said his friends had "forced him". He said it "was not a good idea.. the day will come".He forgot about using a condom, "I have not mind that". He insisted that "she took him".

Only my sexually inexperienced informants were clear as to when they would choose to have sex, and proved reasons for upholding their virginity.

Jacquilene, 16: She has never had a boyfriend. She was told "not to engage in such behaviors". "Others are disturbing…boys

trying to play at you···People like to talk on the phone [with boys] but I don't know why".

Fanwell, 17: "I am too young to have sex".

Youth Sexuality

Youth romance was kept away from parents' knowledge. If discovered, parents could take drastic measures. When Monica's mother found out she was sexually active, she said that Monica, 21 was "dead to her" and urged her to hold off for a few years. Sara, 24 had to lie to her parents and tell them she was visiting her cousins when she went to Mombasa with her boyfriend, now husband. Her parents strongly disapproved of her pre-marital sexual relations but she remarked "what can they do to stop me?". They eventually kicked her out when they found out, and as a result married her husband. "Now they [her parents] approve.

In fewer cases, parents accepted the situation without condoning the behavior. Instead they were offered practical guidance. Ann Toki, 22 quoted a conversation with her mother "if I choose that I continue doing it, I must not go out, stick to that one". One father speaking about his teenage daughters: "Whatever I dislike, she will do··· Nowadays, life is very hard, don't roam, just stick to one···If you got a girlfriend, just get one". He himself had sex after he finished his schooling. "By that time, it was very simple, you can trust people". He remarked "sex, you can't teach- very difficult, they will learn just the way you do".

Men said that they could not discuss matters about sexuality with their daughters. This kind of encroachment was deemed disrespectful. For Maxwell, 21 and his children, he says that at the age of 12 he thinks it would be the right time for his

daughter to know about sex. "As a father, you can't talk to your girl…[it] doesn't create a good picture…". He found out about sex at school and in church seminars which he thinks is the right way. The veneer of purity which these silences between parent and their youth are supposed to protect, is also and always a reminder of the fact that the youth are viewed as a threat of and threatened by moral corruption. On the other hand, Young mothers, who would talk to their children about sex, singled out those who didn't as being fearful of their own children. They cited embarrassment, as well as facing the risk of having to divulge their own "deviances".

Intergenerational interface

As evinced by the menaces of sexually active teen becoming "dead" to their parents, or physically abandoned, other deviations can come with serious material consequences. Youth had the option of satisfying the various expectations placed on them or to be alienated, at least in the short term. Conversations reveal little negotiating power with their parental generation. James, 18 attended Cheleta in 1998. After his mother got in trouble with the police for brewing *changaa* and left for Ruaka, his stepfather kicked him out of his house. "I failed because my parents abused me because I didn't do chores".

Of the women in their twenties, they had professed different standards of behavior for their children from what they had been brought up into. This was particularly evidenced in discussions with those who had daughters. Such attitudes encouraged further education, and greater discussion of sexuality at home.

Mariam, 32: For her daughter, she says that she doesn't want her to stay at home, "in the old system, girls would stop at

standard 7 (which is what she attained), but now they must complete Form III···I will let her go to the level she feels like".

Monica, 21: She told me her husband frequents bar, and often is drunk "How many friends calling him". He "is faithful she says, but he won't change". She told me "I don't want my mother's life", so she has remained married.

In choosing their spouses, both men and women most frequently listed the criteria that they be caring, loving, kind polite and good. Women noted that their spouses out to be financial stability before committing to matrimony.

Circumcision then and now

Circumcision for all the ethnic groups in Kenya, except for the Luos marks the individual's initiation into adulthood. Anthropological accounts mention both the corporal and mental transformations which occur during these rites. The crucial elements manifest during these rites boil down to strengthening peer solidarity, receiving from the elders sexual knowledge, and the youth's outlined responsibilities according to their community's gender norms.

According to sociological studies by the Royal African Society, indigenous Kikuyu education took place in gender segregated lodges, with the acquisition of knowledge calibrated to the age and needs of the youth. Otherwise, "since knowledge was, amongst the Kikuyu, almost entirely confined either to practical or to social matters there was no need of theory or of formal schooling" (McGlashan, 1964; 54). One acquired knowledge in observing one's seniors, "much the same as an old-fashioned apprenticeship" (McGlashan, 1964; 54). Explicit dissemination

took place through mother's stories, told to children for their moral content. In these representations of local customs, anthropologists saw that as parents taught their children the order of things, they produced progeny that "[...] were happy, uninhibited and carefree..." (McGlashan, 1964; 55). Formal instruction was implanted at the time of initiation and marriage. For men, the participation in the lodges required certain gestural salutations before prohibitions and customs were articulated. In particular, the reversal of taboos if trespassed, instructions and permissions for love-making were prescribed. During initiation, young women and men would be allowed "[...] heavy petting and secondly a form of mutual masturbation" (McGlashan, 1964; 55). In addition to knowledge men acquired, their instruction stressed their "rights, and indeed duties of a wife to refuse her husband at certain times, since she too would become ritually unclean by accepting him. (McGlashan, 1964; 56). Later in their adulthood, distinguished men could acquire more formal education if they were chosen to join the circle of elders.

McGlashan's work falls squarely with majority of anthropological knowledge on initiation dating to early colonial penetration, whereas few authors have made note of any processes of hybridization or erasure impacting these rites in the globalized postcolony. From our findings, it appeared that not only Kikuyu initiation rites, but the general trend in circumcision is moving towards medicalization. Undertaking male circumcision in the hospital has ensured but its institutionalization has caused the mental transformations previously integral to these rites to disappear. There is no longer any sexual education taking place simultaneous to the surgical procedure.. Moreover, female initiation practices were

considered outdated in all of my informants views, although it is still practiced in the rural Samburu and certain Masaii communities. On account of this gendered asymmetry shaping initiation practice, students in focus groups primarily defined manhood by a superficial change to the genitalia, whereas they defined womanhood relative to marital status, the degree of care taken in the household and her fertility.

Janet, 29 retold her experience she was eight years old. For her "they select one part". As for why she thought it was done, "I heard that it stops the girl from having sex...It's part of culture, others are doing it". However, "in this generation can't think of doing that". For her son, when he is a teenager he will be circumcised, "that's when he's adult".

May, 20: "Girls can't get it done at the hospital because of disease". As for her son, he will get it done at the hospital". I asked if he would learn about sex during that time, she said no.

James, 18: After he finished class 8, he was circumcised. Why? "Tradition, it is a must, if I didn't happen, they could hit you, those Kikuyu, they are dangerous".

Kenneth, 22 explained circumcision as making him "brave and mature". At the age of 16, at home "in the bush" or the low plains of the savannah, a "doctor" did it for him. "It teaches how to be responsible, respect elders, respect initiation···With 20 other boys, we did hunting and cultivating". His mother was also circumcised, and he noted that "when she grow up, [she] made a good wife".

Social Location of HIV in Githogoro

With the exception of the discussion on the changes that have altered circumcision practices, we have laid out the collective imagination and experience with HIV and sexuality.

Certain norms stand out from these empirical findings that can be extended to reconstruct an ideological position which (partly) structures health and sexuality in the social imagination of Githogoro residents.

Clearly, there is a governing secrecy over youth sexuality produced by intergenerational barriers to communication. Sexuality for youth is verbally packaged as a threat, or can tangibly bring about the execution of a looming threat. While two sided discussion about sexuality is largely accepted as positive, households members do not always appoint themselves to do so for fear of undermining gendered roles and hierarchies of power. With the medicalization of circumcision, generational patterns for sexual education fade away. The workplace and school prove to be most fecund site for heterosocial meeting and romance. However, the commons or the shared communal space is treated as a residual affect, occupied by the liminal and amoral tendencies of human life. Unsafe sex and HIV are the result of environmental factors, such as loitering, voyeurism, "careless parents" impacting the individual's actions, and resulting in "bad behavior". Poverty makes "bad behavior" more prevalent, but the individual still retains control over her health risks. In contrast, safe sex is normatively defined not only by fulfilling standards of behavioral but also by one's structural position.

What also stands out is the lack of control intimated in my informants' discourse. HIV merely emblematized many other risk

and challenges present in the lived experience for Githogoro's residents. As such, it did not figure as the primary concern of parents or community members for their youth. Rather, parents concerned themselves with ensuring proper schooling, delegating household chores, and insisting on their standards for appropriate behavior, enforced through corporal discipline. HIV was treated as symptomatic of larger problem, the scale of which trumped discussion based solution.

Being healthy was not isolated from being well positioned in society. The ideology determining this belief local to Githogoro agrees with the orthodox ideology framing international health agencies analyses of health. Both structures of knowledge- power approach health from a holistic vantage point conceiving the agent's risk to HIV as the mediation of structural (political economy), cultural, and individual forces.

Households tended to look to the church and the school as their support, and expected that they carry most, if not an essential role in carrying out the full scale of prevention. Admittedly, they held that professional relationships entertained between the teacher and student circumvented the arising discomfort during family conversations about sexuality. In addition, the teachers' cultural capital, in the form of institutional accreditation, bestowed more justifiable claims to accomplishing the task than their incomplete certifications.

YOUTH AT THE NEXUS

[A]rguments have flourished at all levels of social life largely because of the ability of discourses of youth to address issues at the heart of the social imaginary…Not only does youth

index immediate sets of social relationships, but its indexical power shifts discourse into the domain of the metasocial as well (Durham, 2004; 590).

From the myth of HIV, we see the deposits it has made on to the social imagination of youth, agency and sexuality. If we are to take the tenets of participatory grassroots development seriously, ethnographic reconstructions of the meta-social is the only way to know where our next step towards HIV prevention should be directed.

What has curious been laid patent is a greater local acknowledgement of structural and material factors conditioning risk than acknowledge by the experts from Global Health Initiative. This falls in line with the many depoliticizing symptoms of Ferguson's anti-politics machine. Although there is no doubt that poverty is the main explanatory variable for disease, the Global Health Industry fails to streamline poverty alleviation with prevention programs. The school on the other hand conditions disciplined students in order to acquire their only hope for social mobility.

Heavy moralist stance at home is not enforced by the same regime of discipline explicitly rationalizing all activities conducted in the school's social space. The silence between parents and their youth, should not be read as lack of communication, as the Global Health Industry assumes. Rather, it is way of placing an expectation of behavior whose delivery replicates the message's content itself- a message of respect and purity communicates its own virtue. Still it is visible from the responses that a shift is occurring in the way older youth wish to handle HIV AIDS. The transforming attitudes towards household

discussions of sexuality points to the "fresh contact' only made possible by the youth. What he means by this are the procedures of social reproduction carried out by the youth, since they are the ones who must select, discard from the old and generate the new to produce new sets of social interactions, and its norms. (Cole, 2004; 575, Mannheim 1972; 294) . This attempt to hone in on the youth at the nexus of prevention efforts, on the verge of their fresh contact unties the neatly packed fictions that have unleashed the simulation of moral panic only to show that the universal and ahistoric conditions of disease and poverty do not beg for decontextualized solutions.

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i Elaborating upon Ferdinand de Saussure's seminal work in which he distinguished the signifier ("Human Immunodeficiency Virus"), the signified (a retrovirus), and their functional bridge, the integrating linguistic sign (HIV), Barthes' work superimposes a second semiotic system, the meta-language or the language *through which we speak of the first* (Barthes, 1957; 222). The meta-language's system appropriates the linguistic sign as its signifier. The meta-language functions by appropriating the original linguistic product. In this way, the signifier becomes a "language object" which allows the myth to preserves the original concept on top of which another concept is layered. This superimposed meaning veritably expresses the intentions of authorship, or the context in which the sign is cited. In other words, the myth exists when the language object references not only the original concept but also carries the weight of the signified concept at a particular juncture in time and space. The myth generates signification, furnishing a social meaning and subjective purpose to the original signified concept. In our case, the myth is formed when the term HIV is abstracted from its historical specificity: instead, when invoked, the very term conjures the nebulous collective of elicited representations. The same term, but serving as a myth, now also speaks about itself as a fixture in our collective consciousness. Each instance in which buzz words such as HIV appear, there is a myth because at that instance the term expresses the imagined relationship between the originally and linguistically signified concept and the ways in which it has been spoken about.

ii Please refer to Morrison-Beedy D, Carey MP, Aronowitz T, Mkandawire L, Dyne J. *Adolescents' input on the development of an HIV risk reduction intervention.* J Assoc Nurses AIDS Care. Jan-Feb; 13(1):21-7, 2002.

iii During my time there, most of the graduating youth from Cheleta, scoring more that 200/500 on the KCPE made their way to *harambee* schools (literally in Swahili- pulling together; in this case locally funded). On average 20 students would not make it to secondary school, close to 40% of the class, in line with the national transition average (UNESCO Nairobi, 2006; 23).