

Father-son sexual communication: A qualitative study in Western Cape communities

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**Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
(Psychology) at Stellenbosch University**



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March 2018

Declaration

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Abstract

The current study sought to investigate sexual communication within Coloured father-son dyads living in the Western Cape areas. Connell's theory of masculinity informed the study and the aim was therefore to identify if and how dominant notions of masculinity underpin or feature in father-son sexual communication. A qualitative research design was used to gain an in-depth understanding of this phenomenon. Fifteen dyads participated in the study. After fathers and sons were interviewed separately, the data were transcribed verbatim and analysed by using Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis method. The findings indicate that, although both fathers and sons believed that fathers have an important role to play in the sex education of sons, the sexual communication in these dyads were often indirect, once-off and consisted of father-centred warnings or speeches. Furthermore, these communications were laced with hegemonic ideals of masculinity, sexuality and gender norms. It is concluded that more needs to be done to change these hegemonic ideas and to consider innovative ways in which men could be educated to support their sons' sex education.

Opsomming

Die huidige studie het ten doel gehad om seksuele kommunikasie in Kleurling pa-seun eenhede in Wes-Kaapse stedelike areas te ondersoek. Die studie is gegrond in Connell se teorie van hegemoniese manlikheid en 'n spesifieke doelwit was dus om vas te stel of, en hoe, dominante idees van manlikheid hierdie vorm van kommunikasie onderlê. 'n Kwalitatiewe navorsingsontwerp is gebruik om 'n dieptegang begrip van hierdie verskynsel te verkry. Vyftien eenhede het aan die studie deelgeneem. Na afloop van individuele onderhoude wat apart met pa's en seuns gevoer is, is die data verbatim getranskribeer en aan die hand van Braun en Clarke se tematiese analise metode ontleed. Die studie het gevind dat beide pa's en seuns geglo het dat pa's 'n belangrike rol te speel het in die seksopvoeding van hul seuns. Desnieteenstaande, was die seksuele kommunikasie tussen pa's en seuns dikwels indirekte, eenmalige, pa-gesentreerde waarskuwings of preke. Verder het die data aangedui dat hierdie kommunikasie deurspek was met hegemoniese idees van manlikheid, seksualiteit en geslagtelike norme. Die gevolgtrekking van die studie is dat meer gedoen moet word om hierdie hegemoniese idees te verander en dat ondernemende wyses gevind moet word waarop mans bemagtig kan word om 'n effektiewe bydrae tot hul seuns se seksopvoeding te maak.

Acknowledgments

Most importantly, I thank God, as it is through him alone that I have made it here today.

To my mother and father, thank you for giving me the opportunity to pursue my dreams, being there for me when I needed you, supporting me when I thought all hope was lost and for always going above and beyond throughout this long journey.

I would like to thank my friends (you know who you are); you guys have been my rock throughout this tough journey, whether it was helping me where ever you could, being there for me to vent or just being a shoulder to cry on; you guys were always there to help me hold my head up high and push through.

I would also like to give a special thanks to my supervisor, Dr Elmien Lesch, for keeping me on the right path throughout my journey. To Dr Rose Richards, thank you for all the help and advice you provided to me during times of struggle.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Risky sexual behaviour, such as having unprotected sex with multiple sexual partners (Pearce, 2006), can be linked to possible health risks for many young people (Cha, Kim, & Doswell, 2007). Often these risky behaviours are due to a lack of knowledge about the dangers of these behaviours, or simply a lack of knowledge about the sexual act itself (Kesterton & Coleman, 2010). While many studies have found that peers play an influential role in the development of young people's sexual attitudes and behaviours, others have found that these attitudes are first modelled in the home (Kapungu et al., 2010; Walker, 2004). Kapungu et al. (2010) therefore note that parents play a crucial role in the development of sexual attitudes, which may lead to the prevention of risky sexual behaviour. Kapungu et al. (2010) further state that whether or not an adolescent engages in risky sexual behaviour may be dependent on whether or not he/she has received positive or negative messages regarding sexual behaviour.

Studies have shown, however, that often parents do not know how to communicate with their children about sex (Bastien, Kajula, & Muhwezi, 2011; Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mukoma, & Klepp, 2009; Namisi et al., 2013), which may result in a complete lack of sexual communication. Moreover, research has indicated that gender plays an important role in sexual communication (Biddlecom, 2004). However, there seems to be a differentiation between how, as well as what, is communicated depending on the gender of both the parent and the child (Biddlecom, Awusabo-Asare, & Bankole, 2009). In other words, sexual communication between mother and child may differ from that of father and child. Connell (2012a) argues that the way in which sexuality is expressed is informed by the way that

gender is constructed within that particular social context. Therefore, when looking at how sexual communication takes place within the father-son dyad, notions of masculinity may impact not only on how fathers communicate with their sons, but also on how boys understand and express their sexuality (Cohan, 2009).

According to Kapungu et al. (2010), a large amount of research has been done on parents' role in adolescents' sex education, particularly in North America and Asian countries, while Biddlecom et al. (2009) and Namisi et al. (2013) note the limited research conducted in Africa, particularly South Africa. Recent South African studies have mostly been conducted with low-income, Black participants (e.g., Cain, Schensul, & Mlobeli, 2011); hence many researchers argue that more knowledge concerning parent-child sexual communication in other racial groups is needed. Moreover, South African studies tend to focus on HIV awareness and how parents should communicate with their children about HIV prevention rather than the broader sexual communication process (Biddlecom, 2004; Namisi et al., 2013). Existing research is therefore limited and, according to Coetzee et al. (2014), more research needs to be conducted to further understand South African parents' roles in their children's sex education.

Guilamo-Ramos et al. (2012) and Bastien et al. (2011) found that the bulk of studies on parent-child sexual communication utilised quantitative methods. Quantitative methods, however, do not sufficiently capture the nature and significance of subjective experience (Shaughnessy, Zechmeister, & Zechmeister, 2009; Walker, 2004). Authors such as Bastien et al. (2011), Guilamo-Ramos et al. (2012) and Wilson and Koo (2010) argue that more qualitative data, specifically on father-son sexual communication, is needed to provide knowledge about fathers' and son's subjective experiences in this area.

As most qualitative studies on parent-child sexual communication have been conducted with mothers and daughters, there is a gap in understanding how fathers and sons engage in and experience sexual communication (Kesterton & Coleman, 2010; Millings, 2010).

Furthermore, when studies do involve fathers and sons, they often do not focus specifically on the father-son dyad, but rather on the broader parent-child context (Kesterton & Coleman, 2010), such as whether a father communicates with his children (boys and girls) (Millings, 2010). It is important that the nature of the sexual communication in the father-son dyad is investigated, as studies have indicated that fathers importantly influence their sons' sexual attitudes and behaviours (Harris, Sutherland, & Hutchinson, 2013).

Additionally, as most studies on sexual communication are conducted on high school adolescents (Biddlecom, 2004; Biddlecom et al., 2009), it is important that we look at other groups of youths, particularly young men at the end of their adolescence (between 18 to 21 years of age) and entering early adulthood (the period from your 20s to 30s). Furthermore, these young men will be able to provide a more longitudinal view of sexual communication than their fathers.

Therefore, against the backdrop of these limitations in current research (further addressed in the literature review in Chapter 3), the current study proposed an investigation of sexual communication within father-son dyads, specifically focusing on young Coloured males and their fathers living in the Western Cape Metropole. The use of the term 'Coloured' will be explained in the next chapter.

1.1 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 1: Introduction

The chapter introduces the topic and provides a brief overview of the existing literature on father-son sexual communication.

Chapter 2: Conceptualisation of terms and theoretical framework

This chapter discusses the theory underlying the assumptions on which the current study is based. Thus, the chapter will present the framework or paradigm within which the results were interpreted and understood.

Chapter 3: Literature review

The chapter will expand on the brief overview provided in the introduction of available research in the field of sexual communication. This chapter will focus on the various factors that influence sexual communication within the father-son dyad, specific to the target population group.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The chapter will describe the research methods used in the current study that led to its findings. It discusses how the data was analysed and looks at the ethical factors that were taken into account throughout the current study.

Chapter 5: Findings

The chapter will discuss the findings of the current study that stemmed from the analysis of the data.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter will provide the reader with a critical look at the findings of the current study. Furthermore, it will discuss the limitations of the study, and offer recommendations and some closing remarks regarding father-son sexual communication within the South African context.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a conceptualisation of the core construct in the current study, father-son sexual communication, as well as an overview of the theoretical framework of this study, Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity.

2.1 Conceptualisation of Sexual Communication

It is imperative to note that sex education and sexual communication, terms often used interchangeably in the literature on parent-child interactions about sex, should be clearly differentiated from each other (Sprecher, Harris, & Meyers, 2008). According to Sprecher et al. (2008), sexual communication refers to a communication with regards to sex-related topics that either child or parent can initiate, whereas sex education is often seen as information being transferred from the more knowledgeable party to the less knowledgeable one.

According to Kapungu et al. (2010), sexual communication has been conceptualised in a number of ways. It often includes "whether communication has occurred (e.g., 'Have you talked to your teen about using a condom?'), its frequency (e.g., 'How many times have you discussed contraception with your teen?'), the content of communication (e.g., 'What have you discussed about condom use?'), and the value messages conveyed in discussions (e.g., 'Wait to have sex until you are older')" (Kapungu et al., 2010, p. 252).

However, authors such as Bastien et al. (2011) and Sprecher et al. (2008) argue that these conceptualisations are too narrow and the quality and frequency of parent-child sexual communication should also be included. For the purpose of this study, I made use of the

definition of sexual communication offered by Sprecher et al. (2008): a communication with regard to sex-related topics that either the child or parent can initiate.

2.2 Connell's Theory of Masculinity

The way in which we think about men, gender and social hierarchy has been influenced substantially over the past few decades by Connell's theory of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Wedgwood, 2009). According to Connell (2012a), social constructions of gender underpin person-to-person relationships such as parent-child relationships (in this case the father-son relationship), which in turn will affect sexual communication between the two.

As masculinity research expanded it became clear that the concept of masculinity has been constructed in multiple ways (Connell, 2012b, 2014, 2016; Jewkes et al., 2015) and that masculinity is, therefore, not a universal and fixed construct (Connell, 2012b). Masculinity practices and values advocated in one social context may differ from those in another social context (Jewkes et al., 2015). Men position themselves and others according to a masculinity hierarchy in their specific context and through this position they are rendered powerful, envied and desirable, or they are marginalised and stigmatised (Lusher & Robins, 2009; Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, & Hamlall, 2013). Connell has identified four major forms of masculinity: hegemonic, marginal, complicit, and subordinate (Kirkman, Rosenthal, & Feldman, 2001).

Connell (2002) and Wedgwood (2009) note that the term 'hegemonic masculinity', which first emerged in the 1980s, acknowledges the connection between two social patterns. It is described as "the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allows men's dominance over women to continue" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). Additionally, Connell (2016) states that within the masculinity hierarchy,

hegemonic masculinity (at the top) connects both the subordination of women to men and the subordination of marginalised groups of men as well. It is the ideal masculine image linked to strength, power, heterosexuality (Kirkman et al., 2001), and is used to legitimise the ideals of patriarchy (Morrell et al., 2013). These patriarchal ideals centre on a man's role as ruler and provider in the household, and a woman's as caretaker of the house and children (Morrell et al., 2013). Therefore, Jewkes et al. (2015) argue that hegemonic masculinity constructs a position that "is as much 'not gay' as it is 'not female'" (p. 113).

Hegemonic masculinity constructed in this way may not necessarily resemble the lives of the majority of men or even the lives of rich and powerful men, but it expresses ideals and desires, providing model relations with women and 'naturalises' the gender hierarchy (Connell, 2002). In other words, although hegemonic masculinity is assumed to be enacted in a minority of men, it is the embodiment of the most widely revered way of being a man (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), often represented by the masculine heroes depicted in films and books (Kirkman et al., 2001). In addition, it compels other men to position themselves in relation to it, further legitimising the subordination of women to men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012).

The other three forms of masculinity identified by Connell are assigned depending on their relation to hegemonic masculinity (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015). Both subordinate and marginal masculinity concern a man's place in the hierarchy – whether or not he is part of a group that is subordinate to the dominant group (Demetriou, 2001; Morrell et al., 2013). The concept of complicit masculinity is used to describe men who receive "the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). Complicit masculinity is ascribed to men who place themselves, consciously or unconsciously, in line with dominant hegemonic ideals as a way of maintaining their masculine identity (Morrell et al., 2013). Complicit masculinity can be

seen as having some sort of alliance with hegemonic masculinity, whereas in the case of subordinate masculinity, it is dominated by hegemonic masculinity (Lusher & Robins, 2009; Smith, Parrott, Swartout, & Tharp, 2015). Moreover, there seems to be a positive relationship between complicit and hegemonic masculinity, as opposed to the negative one between subordinate and hegemonic masculinity (Lusher & Robins, 2009).

According to Morrell et al. (2013), all men in some way benefit from the patriarchal dividend (the chance to benefit individually from patriarchy) no matter where they find themselves within the masculinity hierarchy. In other words, even though a man might not embody hegemonic masculinity, he can still benefit in some way or another from the patriarchal dividend (Coles, 2009; Schippers, 2007). Additionally, this patriarchal dividend is said to advantage men in various aspects such as having command and power over women (Coles, 2009). Thus, men are seen as inclined to support masculine hegemony as it reinforces patriarchy and domination over women (Coles, 2009).

When compared to hegemonic ideals, subordinate masculinity is seen as 'other' and inferior to hegemonic masculinity (Coles, 2009; Schippers, 2007). Much research has been done on the subordination of many homosexual men by heterosexual men, as gay men are stereotypically seen to embody subordinate masculinity (Schippers, 2007). Lusher and Robins (2009) and Smith et al. (2015) note that homosexual males are often subordinated because of their stereotypically feminine behaviour (e.g., expressing an interest in general appearance and clothing, lacking toughness, etc.), further strengthening the notion of hegemonic masculinity as heterosexual.

Coles (2009) and Schippers (2007) highlight that, while hegemonic, subordinate and complicit masculinities are seen as aspects of the gender order, marginal masculinity is seen as characterising the interconnected relationships among men that result from class, race and

gender. In other words, men who embody a marginalised masculinity are those who form part of subordinated racial/ethnic or class groups (Coles, 2009; Schippers, 2007). Schippers (2007) notes that there is a sense of authority conferred on hegemonic masculinity (mostly seen as embodied in Whiteness and middle-class status) that marginal masculinity does not possess. The latter author, therefore, asks: if masculine hegemony is tied to White middle-class heterosexual men, how does it apply to those who are of other racial and class groups?

Lusher and Robins (2009) argue that culture and cultural expectations play a critical role in one's social life, i.e., cultural norms shape the way individuals in a particular context behave.

As culture is said to define what is valued as normative by a particular group, this in turn affects how individuals negotiate these norms in public (Lusher & Robins, 2009). Moreover, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that each culture has its own way of understanding and practising masculinity. This is of particular importance in the diverse cultural and socio-economic South African context (Morrell et al., 2013; Shefer, Kruger, & Schepers, 2015).

For example, studies conducted on masculinity in Cape Flats Coloured communities indicate that hegemonic masculinity is kept in place by the dominant gender discourses in those communities (Morrell et al., 2013; Schepers & Zway, 2012). These dominant discourses in each culture shape how male sexuality is viewed, expressed and passed on to other generations (for example, passed down from father to son) (Cooper, 2009; Salo, 2002; Schepers & Zway, 2012).

In reviewing the literature on masculinity studies, Connell (2014) notes that there is an imbalance in knowledge creation which may be attributed to greater emphasis being placed on research conducted in the global north (e.g., American and European studies), with limited acknowledgement of research conducted in other parts of the world (e.g., Africa, the Middle East, etc.) (Connell, 2008; 2014; 2015; 2016; Hearn & Morrell, 2012). Connell (2003) and Christensen and Jensen (2014) note that research seems to be lacking in terms of

how different forms of masculinity are spread across different population/social groups. Similarly, the concept of hegemonic masculinity itself has been brought into question in recent years (Connell, 2003). Connell (2003), therefore, argues that the field of masculinity studies is in need of reconstruction, but adds that it is unclear whether the concept of hegemonic masculinity should be reconstructed or whether it should be disregarded entirely. Connell (2016) questions whether the idea of hegemonic masculinity applies to those living in the non-western world. Researchers have highlighted that forms of masculinity need to be reconsidered in contexts where poverty and violence prevail, for example in large parts of Africa (Connell, 2014; Hearn, 2014; Hearn & Morrell, 2012; Ratele, 2013a). According to Connell (2016), Western ideas of hegemonic masculinity should not necessarily be discarded, but historical and traditional social contexts should be taken into account as masculinities are not only context-specific but carry a historical imprint as well (Connell, 2014; 2016; Connell & Wood, 2005; Gibbs, Jewkes, Sikweyiya, & Willan 2015; Hearn & Morrell, 2012; Jewkes et al., 2015; Silberschmidt, 2004).

Connell (2012b; 2014) points out that when looking at masculinities in various cultures, there seem to be a 'traditional' idea of masculinity and then 'modern' masculinities. 'Traditional' masculinity is often described as patriarchal and violent, whereas 'modern' masculinity is egalitarian and non-violent (Connell, 2012b; Everitt-Penhale & Ratele, 2015). Ahluwalia (2003) and Ratele (2014), however, contend that the concept of hegemonic masculinity may not be an appropriate way of describing traditional and other masculinities (i.e., those that do not form part of the Western world). In other words, in this case marginal masculinities may be mistaken by others for hegemonic ones (Ratele, 2014). For example, these men may not necessarily be expressing hegemonic masculinity and may be considered by other men as marginal along with poor men, unemployed men, disabled men and gay men. Ratele (2014) notes that 'traditional masculinity' is often carelessly linked to Blackness, whereas modern

masculinity is linked to Whiteness. Ratele (2013b) further notes that tradition is rarely addressed in sexuality studies of men. He (2013a, 2014) states that hegemonic masculinity can be seen as representing White culture, thus Black cultural practices and traditions may not fit with hegemonic ideals. Furthermore, these hegemonic ideals may be seen as part of colonial and/or apartheid rule (Gibbs et al., 2015; Ratele, 2013b; 2014).

Everitt-Penhale and Ratele (2015) note that a lack of clarity characterises local understandings of ‘traditional’ masculinity. Furthermore, when the term ‘traditional’ masculinity is used, it is often described as a static entity and inherently negative (Everitt-Penhale & Ratele, 2015). Often this form of ‘traditional’ masculinity, particularly in the South African context, has been found to endorse patriarchal and heterosexist ideologies (Everitt-Penhale & Ratele, 2015). Numerous authors have noted that the construction of ‘traditional’ masculinity may not be the same across different contexts, e.g., in the United States (US) it may be speaking to the majority (i.e., White heterosexual males) whereas in South Africa it is linked to Blackness (Everitt-Penhale & Ratele, 2015; Ratele, 2014).

Researchers have highlighted that hegemonic masculinity may not always be the culprit in harmful masculinities (Jewkes et al., 2015), stressing that hegemonic masculinity does not necessarily mean a violent masculinity (Connell, 2012b). Destructive masculinities can also be seen in socially marginalised men in townships (e.g., those experiencing adversities such as poverty, unemployment, etc.), where an emphasis is placed on power and force (Gibbs et al., 2015; Jewkes et al., 2015). These forms of masculinities are said to be not entirely separate from hegemonic masculinity, rather they develop as a result of men’s inability to meet hegemonic ideals (Jewkes et al., 2015). Ratele (2013a) draws attention to the fact that in these social contexts someone may express both hegemonic and subordinate masculinities simultaneously.

Morrell et al. (2013) note that, although Connell's theory is not without merit, the concepts do not always fit in all contexts. For example, they question whether the idea of hegemonic masculinity applies to homosexual men, Black men, working class men and men in non-Western societies, such as the global South (Morrell et al., 2013). Moreover, large groups of men may be overlooked if they do not fit satisfactorily into one form of masculinity (Coles, 2009; Morrell et al., 2013). It has been found in the South African context that at least three groups expressed their own form of hegemony (in their respective spheres), namely White masculinity (although there is a divide between Afrikaans and English White men), Black masculinity (urban), and African masculinity (rural) (Morrell et al., 2013). This may become problematic when men are classified stereotypically based on their behaviour (e.g., Black men as sexually aggressive, gay men as hyper-sensitive, etc.) (Coles, 2009).

South African masculinities have been transitioning over the years and Moolman (2013) raises the question whether 'new' notions of Whiteness, Colouredness and Blackness play a role in how masculinity is constructed in the various racial groups. Given the current socio-political situation in South Africa, Moolman (2013) argues that Blackness can no longer be seen as a unifying category related to Black men as opposed to the category of Whiteness. For example, upper-class Black masculinity may differ from lower-class Black masculinity, as not all Black men are living in conditions of powerlessness and poverty. Thus, wealthy Black South African men do not fall into the category of marginalised masculinity but rather lean more towards hegemonic masculinity (Moolman, 2013).

Jewkes et al. (2015) note that men have a 'choice' as to whether or not they actively take on an oppressive position with regards to women and other men. However, this choice is often controlled and even determined by the social surroundings the individual finds himself in. This has led many researchers in recent years to re-evaluate the ideals of hegemonic

masculinity, indicating that in order to change these ideals, a change is needed on a societal level (Gibbs et al., 2015; Jewkes et al., 2015).

In summary, Connell's theory of masculinity was used in the current study as a guiding framework to explore father-son sexual communication, and if, and how dominant notions of masculinity feature in this form of communication.

2.3 Contextualising the Term 'Coloured' and Western Cape Urban Coloured Communities

2.3.1 Socio-historical context of the term 'Coloured'.

It is important to note that within the South African context the term 'Coloured' is a contentious one that is used to refer to a heterogeneous group of South African people with mixed descent (Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2003; Booyse, 2015; Hammett, 2010; Le Roux, 2015; Quintana-Murci et al., 2015). Although the term 'Coloured' is still commonly used in South Africa to self-identify and/or to redress the inequalities created by the apartheid system, there is no single definition or way of being 'Coloured' (Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2003), as historically there have been various constructions of 'Colouredness' in South Africa (Adhikari, 2004, 2006a; Fransch, 2010; Johnson, 2017).

According to Kamwangamalu (2004), research on the social identities of Coloured communities is scarce, whilst Adhikari (2006b) argues that what little has been done often ignores critical aspects such as how socio-political aspects inform Coloured identity. Adhikari (2004, 2006a) and Western (2002) note that due to a lack of significant political or economic power, Coloured people find themselves a marginal group in South African society. It is also argued that during the apartheid era, Coloureds were used as a buffer between White and Black populations, as they were part White and part Black, which resulted in Coloureds being seen as somewhat privileged while still being disadvantaged

(Hammet, 2010; Johnson, 2017). By the late 1970s the nature of Coloured identity developed into a contentious matter (Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2003; Hammet, 2010; Seekings, 2008) as many who had been classified as ‘Coloured’ (according to the Population Registration Act¹) began rejecting their Coloured identity (Adhikari, 2006a). It was seen as an identity Coloured people could not relate to (Johnson, 2017), leaving many Coloured people feeling robbed of the opportunity to create their own unique identity as, by ‘default’, they were given the identity of a by-product of miscegenation followed by the artificial identity imposed by the apartheid government (Adhikari, 2004, 2006a, 2006b; Lee, 2006; Martin, 2000). Adhikari (2004) argues that Coloured people still occupy a marginal or in-between position in contemporary South Africa, as it is not uncommon among Coloured people to express the opinion that “first we were not White enough and now we are not Black enough” (p. 168).

Recently there has been an upsurge in promoting ‘Colouredness’ on social media platforms such as Facebook, with pages dedicated to Cape Coloured identity, e.g. *Vannie Kaap*, *Coloured Poetry*, *Sep & Simon*, etc. At the start of 2017 Kelly-Even Koopman and Sarah Summers, two Cape-Town based filmmakers, launched a six-part documentary web series in search of unpacking what it means to be ‘Coloured’. The web series, entitled ‘Coloured Mentality’ (found on YouTube, Facebook and Twitter) looked at various local music artists, actors, radio personalities and writers’ opinions on what being ‘Coloured’ means in post-apartheid South Africa (Koopman, 2017).

On 25 September 2017 a *News24* article written by Iavan Pijoos and Nikita Coetzee entitled “I am Coloured” was published. The Heritage Day article focused on Johannesburg Coloured people’s opinions on what makes them ‘Coloured’. Pijoos and Coetzee’s (2017) article

¹ The Population Registration Act of 1950 required all South African citizens to be classified according to three basic racial categories: White, Native, and Coloured (Seekings, 2008). The Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950 ambiguously described a ‘Coloured’ as “a person who is not a White person or a native” (p. 277).

highlighted a number of ways Coloured people are often stereotyped, for instance having gold teeth, a car with a very loud sound system and dropped suspension, teen pregnancy, drug addiction, etc. According to the article, being Coloured is seen as a lifestyle; it is not just a label but a community of individuals who can relate to one another based on traditions, e.g., the way we greet one another, eating pickled fish on Good Friday, celebrating ‘Tweede Nuwe Jaar’, Coon Carnival, etc. (Pijoo & Coetzee, 2007).

2.3.2 Urban Coloured context

Hammet (2010) and Waldman (2006) noted that while identities are challenged and seen as multiple and changeable, research on ‘Coloured’ communities fail to accurately capture identities within these communities. There is also a lack of literature of ‘Coloured’ identities and/or communities. I have used a number of academic databases (e.g., Sabinet, Ebscohost, Google Scholar, Sun Scholar, etc.) to locate literature on the urban ‘Coloured’ context, using various keywords (e.g., “Cape ‘Coloured’ traditions”, “Cape Town ‘Coloured’”, “‘Coloured’ hegemonic masculinity”, “‘Coloured’ identity in South Africa”, “‘Coloured’ population of the Cape Peninsula”, “urban ‘Coloured’ context”, “urban ‘Coloured’ masculinity”, “urban ‘Coloured’ men”, “What is ‘Coloured’ in South Africa”, “Western Cape urban ‘Coloured’”, “Western Cape ‘Coloured’ community”, etc.). The literature that I located mainly focuses on gangsterism, gender-based violence, and drug or alcohol addiction.

It seems, therefore, that research conducted on urban Coloured communities often focuses on these negative aspects and thus contributes to creating a negative image of dysfunctional urban Coloured communities as rife with violence and substance abuse (Anderson, 2009).

This may be a result of research on urban Coloured communities mostly being conducted on the Cape Flats – which consists mostly of poor communities living in challenging circumstances (e.g., Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2003; Brown, Belue, & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Cooper, 2009; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Dixon & Johns, 2001; Friedling & Morris, 2007;

Leggett, 2004; MacMaster, 2008; Moolman, 2004; Salo, 2002, 2003, 2007; Salo et al., 2010; Schepers & Zway, 2012). These areas were created during apartheid, when non-White people living in the Cape Town area were forcibly relocated to the Cape Flats in terms of the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2003). This enforced relocation disrupted the lives of many and contributed to the poverty, substance abuse and violence rampant in these communities (Cooper & Foster, 2008).

Authors such as Erasmus (2001) and Adhikari (2004, 2006a, 2006b) highlight shame and respectability as two key aspects of middle-class Coloured experience, often associated with being neither White nor Black. Respectability in Coloured communities is linked to socially acceptable behaviour, often linked to religious beliefs about moral behaviour. Ahluwalia and Zegeye (2003), Lee (2006) and Van Dongen (2003) note the importance of religion amongst Coloured people in the Western Cape, as it serves as a significant force that unites communities (Taliep, 2001). According to Anderson (2009), religion is utilised as a way to compensate for social vulnerabilities. While being respectable and church-going is seen as important aspects of Colouredness, studies often look at how these aspects seek to balance out violent, alcohol-driven behaviour.

Focusing on Coloured masculinity, Cooper and Foster (2008) note that poor Coloured men on the Cape Flats express violent, tough behaviour as a way to distance themselves from marginalised masculinity (because of their race and socio-economic status) and align themselves with hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, studies often link the violent behaviours of Coloured men to alcohol abuse – noting that it is a way for these men to express their frustrations stemming from their marginalised masculinity (Van Dongen, 2003). Little is known, however, about lower- and upper-middle-class Coloured people and more specifically about constructions of masculinity within these groups.

The above literature points to a need for more research on Coloured masculinity that falls outside of the violent, alcoholic picture often emphasised in current literature on this marginalised social group.

In the chapter to follow we will look at how notions/constructs of masculinity influence young men's sexuality and sexual health, and particularly how it influences sexual communication within the father-son dyad.

Chapter Three

Literature Review: Factors Influencing Young Male Sexual Health and Father-Son Sexual Communication

This chapter focuses on three prominent themes generated from both international and South African literature pertaining to sexual communication between father and son. It is important to note that I could locate only a limited amount of research conducted in South Africa. I found mostly British and American studies that focused on father-son communication. Firstly, the section on *hegemonic masculinity ideals and young male sexuality* describes the ways in which the hegemonic discourse impacts on men's constructions of sexuality. Secondly, the section on *sex education sources for young men* considers the various avenues through which young men learn about sex and how this in turn impacts on the ways in which they express themselves sexually. Lastly, the section on *father-son sexual communication* attends to the various factors that impact on sexual communication between father and son. Within each of these three broader themes a number of sub-themes are identified and discussed.

3.1 Hegemonic Masculinity Ideals and Young Male Sexuality

It is important to keep in mind that there are numerous masculinities and that masculinities can differ from one social context to another (Bhana, 2009; Cohan, 2009). Even though boys may be part of the same place (community/social surroundings), they may differ from one another and express masculinity and sexuality differently (Cohan, 2009). For example, there are some men who consciously choose not to behave according to the hegemonic discourse (Bhana, 2009). These men form part of one of the other three masculinities identified by

Connell (2003) as subordinate, marginal or complicit.² However, studies indicate that hegemonic masculinity and sexuality discourses prevail all over the world (e.g., Allen & Lavender-Stott, 2015; Cohan, 2009; Hilton, 2007; Renold, 2003). Locally, Shefer, Kruger, Macleod, Baxen, and Vincent (2015) note that, although participants from nine different schools (two formerly White, four formerly Coloured and three formerly Black) in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape indicated that there were other masculinity discourses present in their communities, the hegemonic masculinity discourse was still the most dominant in their social context.

Additionally, it is important to note that there are various ideas on hegemonic masculinity that impact on or influence how young men manage and express their sexuality, which in turn affects their sexual health decisions. These different ideas will be discussed in the section to follow.

Upholding heterosexuality and exhibiting a strong sexual appetite are often considered as pinnacle points in hegemonic masculinity ideals (Bantjies & Nieuwoudt, 2014; Macia, Maharaj, & Gresh, 2011; Shefer et al., 2015; Varga, 2003). The hegemonic notion of classifying a ‘real man’ as a male who frequently pursues sex with multiple heterosexual partners seems to prevail worldwide. According to the hegemonic discourse, ‘real sex’ involves the act of heterosexual penetration, whether it is ‘making love’ or ‘fucking’³ (Govender, 2011). For many men expressing themselves as heterosexual entails pursuing and taking the lead in initiating sexual encounters with women (Govender, 2011). Related to the idea of pursuing frequent sexual interaction, sexual inexperience or virginity may subject a young man to ridicule by peers and exclusion from sex-related conversations. Some young

² The definitions/explanations of the various forms of masculinity identified by Connell can be found in the Theoretical Framework in Chapter 2.

³ Govender (2011) notes that words such as ‘getting laid’, ‘making love’ or ‘fucking’ were used by participants to describe so-called ‘real sex’. Thus the term ‘fucking’ is used in this context to describe the act of sex.

men may therefore engage in sexual acts not only to satisfy their sexual desire, but also because of social pressure from peers (Cohan, 2009). Hegemonic ideals, therefore, result in many young men conforming to the expectations of what their community/peer group deems to be a 'real man' (Lynch et al., 2010).

Being sexually active and *having more power than women* in a heterosexual relationship has been reported to be an important aspect of male sexuality in many South African communities (Bhatasara, Chevo, & Changadeya, 2013; Morrell et al., 2013; Osthus & Sewpaul, 2014). Ragnarsson, Townsend, Ekstrom, Chopra, and Thorson (2010) found that in a township just outside Cape Town power inequalities between the genders (often linked to gender-based violence) affect sexual interactions. Furthermore, Cooper (2009), Salo (2002), Salo, Ribas, and Lopes (2010) and Schepers and Zway (2012) found that in Western Cape samples of young Coloured men violence, coercion and objectification of women are often seen as a way of asserting oneself as the dominant partner in a heterosexual relationship in the Cape Flats area. In accordance with the above, Allen and Lavender-Stott (2015), Cohan (2009), Hilton (2007), Limmer (2010) and Renold (2003) also found in United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK) studies that, while there are numerous masculinities, the dominant discourse still prevails producing a man who is hypersexual and misogynistic, i.e., seeking multiple women to conquer sexually.

Moreover, not only is being a 'real man' determined by his sex drive and how many partners he has, but can also be determined by his *ability to perform sexually*. Johnson (2010) stated that in the US the act of ejaculation is seen to embody 'maleness' as boys are taught that all sexual acts should result in ejaculation. This notion can lead to some anxiety for young men, as they may feel pressurised to live up to the expectation of having to ejaculate during every sexual act. This anxiety could possibly lead to complications such as premature ejaculation or erectile dysfunction during sex (Johnson, 2010). Bhatasara et al. (2013) found that young

male Zimbabwean participants indicated being unable to satisfy their partners and premature ejaculation showed weakness and led to peers demeaning their manhood.

Linked to ejaculation, timing (how long he can last before ejaculation occurs) and performance (ability to sexually satisfy his partner) have also been found to be essential for a man to be considered a sexual success in various groups of men (Bhatasara et al., 2013; Johnson, 2010; Hunter, 2005). This may again cause anxiety for young men, as they may not possess the necessary stamina or restraint to last long during sex. As no specific time frame is given as a benchmark, the question of what adequate timing entails and thus how will a man know if he is living up to the ideal standard.

As a man's identity as a 'real man' is thus often demonstrated through his degree of virility, potency and the performance of his penis (Johnson, 2010), the *size of genitals* is another area of concern for many young men. This is directly linked to his ability to satisfy his partner sexually, with a bigger penis seen as a sign of power and strength in many African cultures (Bhatasara et al., 2013; Cain et al., 2011; Govender, 2011). Govender (2011) notes that there are often references to so-called 'big dicks' when talking about sexually satisfying one's partner. It is important to note that physical aspects (e.g., his penis size and the ability to last long before ejaculating) are equated to the ability to satisfy his partner, although there was no specific mention of which sexual act this applied to (e.g., whether it applied only to vaginal or anal intercourse, or whether it applied to masturbation and oral sex as well). The literature therefore indicates that physical aspects and performance are therefore often emphasised in men's talk about male sexuality. Ideas about love, emotional intimacy and other aspects related to a caring relationship seem not to feature much in men's talk about sex.

The impact of hegemonic masculinity on young men's sexual health

Young men's perception of contraceptive methods such as condom use are influenced by hegemonic masculinity ideas. Bhana and Pattman (2011) found that in a KwaZulu-Natal sample, condom use led to peers questioning a young man's status as a so-called 'real man'. This highlights the weight placed on peer acceptance and recognition among young men, and the impact that being seen as a 'real man' has on young men's sexual behaviour. Young men in Cape Town and Tshwane have been found to avoid using condoms as this is seen as 'unmacho', because it inhibits maximum pleasure during sex and a man is supposed to seek maximum pleasure (Kaufman, Shefer, Crawford, Simbayi, & Kalichman, 2008; Lynch et al., 2010).

Diminished physical sensation during sex is said to be a factor that contributes to lack of condom use by many young men. Men also often take longer to reach orgasm due to loss of some sensation, and sometimes even loss of erection, resulting from condom use (Brown, Sorrell, & Raffaelli, 2005; Flood, 2003). These two complaints pose a problem for many young men as the dominant discourse sees timing (how long he takes to ejaculate) and sustained erection (ability to maintain an erection throughout the sexual interaction) as part of being a 'real man'. However, it is interesting to note that taking longer to reach orgasm is not an incentive to wear a condom, even though it could enable a man to 'perform' better in terms of satisfying a female partner with an erection that is sustained for longer.

Limmer (2010) noted that in a London sample young men often did not use condoms for multiple reasons, one of which is that condom use conflicts with the notion that a man should take every opportunity to have sex regardless of whether a condom is available. Many men also believe in living in the moment and thus utilise spontaneous opportunities for sex (Govender, 2011). Thus the potential risks related to not using condoms are superseded by other motivations (Flood, 2003).

As a 'real man' is characterised as strong, healthy and invulnerable, sickness or physical vulnerability contradict the hegemonic discourse, as it requires a man to seek help and hence implicitly expressing vulnerability (Dageid, Govender, & Gordon, 2012). Health-seeking behaviour on a man's part could therefore be viewed as an indication of weakness and being unmanly (Colvin, Robins, & Leavens, 2010; Lynch et al., 2010; Stern & Buikema, 2013). As a result many men from low socio-economic backgrounds do not seek out protective health measures such as getting tested or even seeking anti-retroviral treatment (ART) (Stern & Buikema, 2013).

Lastly, it is important to note that studies on men and masculinity are often focused on gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS (Macia et al., 2011; Shefer et al., 2015; Strebel et al., 2006). Enderstein and Boonzaier (2015) and Shefer et al. (2015) argue that the emphasis research has placed on aspects of risk and danger posed by men against women has limited our understanding of how hegemonic masculinity discourses affect the health and wellbeing of the young men themselves.

3.2 Sex Education Sources for Young Men

The sources through which young men obtain information about sex and sexuality influence their attitudes to and perceptions of sexuality. The literature on the sources of sex education for young men highlights a number of sex information sources: (i) the media, (ii) peer groups, (iii) pornography, and (iv) the school system. Each of these will be individually discussed as sub-themes.

3.2.1 The media

Given the fast-paced, highly sexualised time we live in, it is not unusual for many young men to have their first sexual education encounter through a television, computer or smartphone.

According to Hust, Brown, and Engle (2008), the sexual scripts presented in the media tend

to portray/model the way one 'should' act in sexual interactions/situations. This is said to influence the ideas of sex and the sexual behaviours of many young people. Numerous authors have linked the increase of sexual behaviour of US young men to the increase of exposure to sexuality in the media (Bleakley, Hennessy, & Fishbein, 2011; Carroll et al., 2008; Dunlap, Benoit, & Graves, 2013). Allen (2006), Bhatasara et al. (2013) and Buston and Wight (2006) found that in Australia, Scotland and Zimbabwe movies, music videos and pornography were highlighted as the main sources of sex education for many young men. Many movies (e.g., *American Pie*, *Fifty Shades of Grey*, *Underworld*, etc.) and television series (e.g., *Game of Thrones*, *Grey's Anatomy*, *Lost Girl*, etc.) contain sex or nudity, or scenes that insinuate something sexual in nature, regardless of whether or not they are classified as age restricted. Bleakley et al. (2011) and Ward, Reed, Trinh, and Foust (2011) note that this exposure can be linked to lax attitudes regarding sex, certain preconceived notions/expectations of sex, certain ideas on the sexual behaviour of peers and so forth. When looking at the media, Hust et al. (2008), who analysed and discussed various movie characters, found that males are often depicted as being preoccupied with sex and performance as opposed to pleasure and sexual health. Interestingly, they found that masturbation was largely seen in the media as a way to improve sexual performance such as stamina rather than as a risk-free way to achieve sexual release/pleasure (Hust et al., 2008). Moreover, a great number of music videos and song lyrics centre on acts of a sexual nature, often further legitimising the sexual objectification of women. Hall, West, and Hill (2012) note that America RnB and rap songs often contain some sexual reference. These songs have lyrics that make explicit reference to sexual acts in some or other way. Mora (2013) found in a sample of American boys that many of them idolised rap artists, because they embodied hegemonic notions of heterosexual masculinity and male dominance over women in their song lyrics.

The television/movie and music industries are not the only media outlets that serve as a source of sex information. The way in which sex is portrayed in magazines mostly follow dominant discourses on sexuality depicting heterosexuality as the norm and implying that sex is merely for a man's pleasure (Clarke, 2010). For example, both *Cosmopolitan* and *Men's Health* magazines have articles dedicated to sexual topics such as 'How to satisfy your partner' or various techniques that lead to great sex (Clarke, 2010; Schneider, Cockcroft, & Hook, 2008; Ward et al., 2011). Clarke (2010) noted that when comparing popular female magazines (*Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour*) and male magazines (*GQ* and *Men's Health*), it was found that in both sex was seen as a positive thing and a source of gratification, with more articles about the pleasure of sex rather than on sexual health implications. Furthermore, sex is often depicted as a mechanical act involving body parts (Clarke, 2010), thus failing to provide sufficient information about sexuality and how it relates to intimate relationships. Interestingly, there were more sexual health articles in female magazines than in men's magazines (Clarke, 2010); it could be argued that this is to maintain women's position as primarily responsible for sexual and reproductive health.

The internet has become the go-to source for explicit sexual content (Carroll et al., 2008; Van Oosten, Peter, & Valkenburg, 2015). Although the internet has made access to pornography easier, it is not always something that is intentionally sought out. Often when browsing the internet we are bombarded with pop-up ads depicting sexual acts, mail-order brides or even semi-naked/naked pictures of individuals inviting the viewer to contact them if they want sex. More often than not these pop-up ads depict women and are aimed at heterosexual men. It is not only on pornography sites or via pop-up ads that sexually explicit content can be found. Google and YouTube are two of the many search engines that can be easily used to find pornographic content. For example, many celebrity sex tapes can be found on non-pornographic sites such as YouTube (Haste, 2013).

Many young people are defining and constructing their lives around their cell phones (Allen, 2015). Much research has been done on how cell phones offer a variety of prospects for how young people can view and learn about sex. This has fuelled a phenomenon known as ‘sexting’, a form of texting involving the exchange of sexually explicit material via digital devices (Dobson & Ringrose, 2015). Sexting has various components including sending suggestive pictures, text messages, videos etc. of a sexual nature (Curnutt, 2012; Dobson & Ringrose, 2015). Thus, aspects such as how texting impacts on the sexual subjectivities of young people, and the potential preferences and/or benefits of sexting, among other things, need to be taken into account when looking at how cell-phone usage impacts on the way that young people view and learn about sex (Allen, 2015). For example, Allen’s (2015) study found that young male participants used their cell phones as a means to express themselves sexually. It is not uncommon for boys to request nude pictures or videos from girls in exchange for pictures of their penis via chat sites such as *WhatsApp*, *BBM* or *Mxit*. Social media sites therefore make it easy for sexually explicit material to be passed from one person to another (Dobson & Ringrose, 2015).

3.2.2 Peer group

The social networks men find themselves in have been found to shape their sexual behaviour (Fleming, Barrington, Perez, Donastorg, & Kerrigan, 2014). Besides the role of the broader social community in determining a young man’s sexual behaviour, his inner circle of friends or his peer group is particularly influential in how he constructs himself sexually. Studies by Dunlap et al. (2013), Secor-Turner, Sieving, Eisenberg, and Skay (2011) and Sprecher et al. (2008) found that many young male participants reported their peers as sources of sex information, some of whom identified peer groups as their primary source of sex information. Thus, peer groups are seen as an important factor to consider when examining the sex education of young males.

It was noted that a possible explanation for the importance placed on peers is that sexual communication occurs more frequently among peers than it does with other sources such as parents or teachers (Secor-Turner et al., 2011; Sprecher et al., 2008). Davis, Gahagan, and George (2013) noted that, although Black Canadian participants stated that they used other sources, peers were often their point of reference as they did not feel comfortable discussing sex-related matters with other sources (e.g., parents).

However, peers are often unreliable sources of sex education (Buston & Wight, 2006). Terry and Braun (2009) found in their New Zealand study that participants indicated that as young men they often relied on their male peers for sex information, even though their friends may be just as unknowledgeable as they were. A possible reason for this is that boys often lie about their sexual experiences to fit in, or act as if they are knowledgeable. In other words, they act as if they have had sex, whether or not it is true, just so they fit in. Thus, many males are aware that much of the sex information shared between peers is just provided as a pretence (Terry & Braun, 2009). This is done in order to fit in, as boys are expected to talk as if they have already experienced sex and therefore have a deeper understanding on the subject (Davis et al., 2013; Terry & Braun, 2009). Interestingly, it was found that even though peers were not always seen as an accurate source of information, they still served as a sounding board the boys could bounce ideas off (Davis et al., 2013). It is therefore important to look at the peer group as a source of sex education for young men.

Authors including Secor-Turner et al. (2011), Shefer et al. (2015) and Terry and Braun (2009) noted that there are a number of ways peers can influence sexual behaviours, which include not only the sexual behaviour of peers but the way that peers perceive norms regarding sex, contraceptive measures, unwanted pregnancies, and so forth. Furthermore, peers convey their views on various sexual behaviours through verbal and non-verbal communication (Secor-Turner et al., 2011). In other words, it is not only what young men

talk about but their actions as well that convey their attitudes. As peers share sex-related information with each other, this exchange of information may contribute towards what that specific group of peers identifies as normal sexual behaviour (Secor-Turner et al., 2011). These so-called peer norms are developed through the transmission of values and expectations that are exchanged by those in the peer group (Secor-Turner et al., 2011). Shefer et al. (2015) noted that although formal sources (such as what is learnt at school or in the home) may advocate safe sex practices, many young males often deliberately ignore this as they are expected by peers to be ‘players’ (have multiple partners at the same time) and not to use condoms. Terry and Braun (2009) found that male participants stated that sometimes it was not enough just to talk with their peers as a way of proving that they are knowledgeable, but sometimes proof had to be provided of their sexual conquest/s. Some boys in their study stated that they have had multiple partners and act in a certain way to please their friends, even though they know what they are doing is wrong (Shefer et al., 2015).

Courtney (2000) and Fleming et al. (2014) noted that socially constructed masculinity norms (virility, risk-taking, invulnerability, etc.) are often used by men to raise their social status in peer groups. For example, an American study conducted with a group of diverse young male university students indicated that a man’s status among his peers is elevated by his sexual experience, with greater experience awarded more value than minimal experience (Morrison et al., 2015). Research has also shown that young men and boys discuss sexuality amongst one another, bragging about their sexual prowess as a way to gain social recognition and avoid ridicule (Bhatasara et al., 2013; Buston & Wight, 2006; Govender, 2011). The way men talk about their sexual experiences serves as a way for peers to measure their masculinity (Fleming et al., 2014). Young men who fail to measure up to the dominant discourse are often socially excluded by their peers and often also fall victim to bullying. In order to be seen as ‘cool’ among their peers, many young men therefore conform to the

hegemonic norms of heterosexual masculinity (Govender, 2011). As a result many young men disregard the possible health risks of their sexual behaviour and instead strive to meet peer expectations by conforming to dominant notions of masculine sexuality. One such notion, often influenced by one's community and peers, is seeing sexual intercourse as a rite of passage for a young man.

According to Limmer (2010), peer approval is often determined by sexual expertise, the so-called inherent know-how. Buston and Wight (2006) noted that, according to the dominant discourse, boys are expected to have so-called 'natural knowledge' when it comes to sex. This may inhibit boys from seeking out information on issues such as sexual health as a result of the pressure to behave as if this information is already known (Buston & Wight, 2006). Renold (2003), however, found that some boys fear being caught out in their future sexual relationships for not actually being knowledgeable or having so-called inherent know-how when it comes to sex. Also, fearing social rejection and criticism, men are often hesitant to talk to peers about topics that go against the dominant masculinity discourse, such as protective sexual behaviours or intimacy (Fleming et al., 2014).

Numerous authors have stressed the need for formal sex education (e.g., from teachers) or advocated peer-to-peer teaching strategies with regards to sex education, as this will allow formal sources to tap into the informal ways in which adolescents learn about sex from each other (Secor-Turner et al., 2011). Secor-Turner et al. (2011) state that peers may be particularly suitable as a source of sex education as they are familiar with the sexual norms and attitudes within their specific peer group.

3.2.3 Pornography

Carroll et al. (2008) found that almost half of the young men in their study of US university students reported watching pornography weekly and approximately 1 in every 5 viewing it

daily. Several authors such as Hilton (2001) and Limmer (2010) found in UK samples that, because of a lack of adequate sex information, pornography is often used by young men as a source of information for how to behave in a sexual interaction. Many young men stated that heterosexual pornography addresses aspects such as what to do during sex, how to not only arouse a woman but also how to satisfy her, while still centring on the pleasure of a man (Hilton 2001; 2007; Limmer, 2010). Buston and Wight (2006) and Haste (2013), however, found that, although a large number of young men in their studies identified pornography as a source of sex education, not all viewed it as an educational source and/or viewed it as a source pleasure. Pornographic material was often seen as a disappointment in terms of sex education, because it does not always depict real-life scenarios as it is meant to sexually stimulate rather than educate the individual.

In order to understand how pornography may impact on young men's constructions of sex, I discuss below how pornography involving heterosexual sexual interactions tends to portray men and women as exclusively sexual beings.

There is a long-standing history of heterosexual pornographic material depicting the genders as polar opposites with regards to sex, with women depicted as passive and receptive, and men as active and penetrating (Carroll et al., 2008; Hirdman, 2007). This can be seen not only in how each gender acts in heterosexual pornography films, but also in the way that the two main genres of pornography are described. Thus, it is important that the distinction between soft-core and hard-core pornography be discussed here. Hirdman (2007) states that soft-core pornography depicts scenes involving the visualisation of gazes, gestures and poses by a female. These acts are often an indication of availability: 'I am here and waiting'. Hard-core pornography, on the other hand, involves the enactment of female pleasure and/or pain strictly derived from a man's penis (Hardy, 2004; Hirdman, 2007). By this definition it is only through a man's penis that a woman's pleasure and climax can be achieved. This seems

to promote penetrative heterosexual intercourse as the norm, while other forms of sexual interaction are less valued.

Furthermore, hard-core pornography involves the portrayal of different classifications of women to be penetrated (virgins, big-breasted, school girls, mature women, etc.), the orifice of penetration, and the ‘cum shot’ (normally through masturbatory action rather than intercourse or fellatio) (Hirdman, 2007; Peter & Valkenburg, 2007). According to Hirdman (2007), the function of the latter is to make the male orgasm and ejaculation visible, as ejaculation is the main visual evidence that pleasure has been derived. Hirdman (2007) further noted that in pornography male desire is implicit in the act of sex, which is the performance of sexuality. This suggests a discourse which emphasises the mechanical aspect of sex for a man, where it is his job to maintain an erection and a rhythm that will lead to his climax.

3.2.4 The school system

School sex education is an important source of sex education for many young men, as it is often the only place where they receive trustworthy information about sex and sexual health issues. Bhatasara et al. (2013) and Buston and Wight (2006), among others, therefore highlight the need for adolescent boys to be taught about sexuality at school to prevent poor or misleading information on sexuality that they may receive from other sources.

Francis (2013) noted that sex education in South African schools is only addressed when the child is 12 and older (begins in primary school Grade 7). As children are taught sex education in school from such a young age, Francis (2013) and Helleve et al. (2009) stated that it is important to look at what information is appropriate for them to be taught and what the appropriate age is to be taught about sex. Furthermore, often educators (like parents) believe that talking about safe sex is inappropriate for certain age groups as it would be providing

them with too much information about sex at such an early age (Francis, 2013; Helleve et al., 2009). An interesting aspect to note is that in South Africa, even though some teachers are comfortable discussing sex with learners, it is not permitted in the school context, i.e., teachers are not allowed to have open and free discussions about sex with learners (Francis, 2013; Helleve et al., 2009). This may be due to the surrounding community, parents and other educators frowning upon being open about sex.

Francis (2013) found in his study of Life Orientation (LO) teachers from various schools in Durban that many school learners have stated that often sex information received from school is laced with moral views and is judgmental. This can be seen to impact negatively on how young people learn about sex. Francis (2013) further stated that this leaves a gap in young people's understanding key aspects of sexuality, sex in intimate relationships, condom negotiation and so forth.

The South African LO curriculum seeks to provide a vast amount of knowledge covering a variety of topics. As a result of the high rates of HIV/AIDS and teenage pregnancy, sexuality education in the South African school curriculum has become focused on healthy sexual decision making, specifically geared at the prevention of teenage pregnancy and HIV/AIDS (Francis, 2013; Helleve et al., 2009, National Curriculum Statement, 2011). Hence sex education mainly centres on aspects of safe sex and on avoiding communicable diseases.

Although the information provided in the LO curriculum is said to be for both boys and girls, teachers often focus more attention on informing girls of the negative consequences of unsafe sex (Francis, 2013; Helleve et al., 2009). It is important to note here that the specific sexual education needs of boys may differ from those of girls, therefore parents and teachers need to bear these needs in mind when dealing with sex education (Hilton, 2001).

Although the LO curriculum aims to provide learners with different levels of information in terms of sex education in each life phase, learners often complain about the information being repetitive and uninteresting. Local learners, much like international adolescent learners, feel that sex education should not only consist of dealing with the potentially negative consequences of sexual activity, but should include information on sexuality as a normal part of life experience (Alison & Harrison, 2013; Buston & Wight, 2006; Helleve et al., 2009). When drawing up sex education teaching material, educators therefore need to approach the task with open minds and seek to include aspects that will hold the attention and sustain the interest of boys. According to Biddulph (2007) and Haste (2013), teachers should try to use appropriate and accessible language to explain the material on a level that will engage the learners. The approach should also take the point of view of the learner into account (Helleve et al., 2009; Hilton, 2007).

Hilton (2001) stated that topics such as penis size, matters of health and dealing with prospective romantic and/or sexual partners can possibly be subject matter that will keep boys captivated in the lesson. The majority of young men would also like topics linked to sexual competence, such as 'how to do' sex, to be addressed in sex education lessons (Buston & Wight, 2006). Allen (2008) found that 50% of young male participants wanted more information about 'how to tell if a female is turned on'. Although seeking more information may threaten a young man's façade of being inherently knowledgeable, many young men show interest in this topic as it is linked to the ability to satisfy their partner sexually (Allen, 2006, 2008; Allen & Carmody, 2012; Hilton, 2001, 2007).

However, providing sex education to adolescent boys in the school context is a challenging task. Gacoin (2010) noted that the school system helps perpetuate the construction and maintenance of heterosexuality as the norm rather than questioning how masculine privilege is socially constructed by implicit normative gender roles. This can be seen not only in the

ways boys behave in class, but also in the lesson content being taught. Allen (2008) and Buston and Wight (2006) emphasise that boys may seem uncooperative during sexual education lessons as they do not want to let their peers know that they do not have this knowledge inherently. Allen (2004; 2006; 2008), Alison and Harrison (2013) and Hilton (2001) note that the school sex education setting often allows for young males to assert the hegemonic gender discourse by creating a space for boys to act out through using sexual innuendos and perverse statements, making female teachers and classmates feel uncomfortable. Gacoin (2010) noted when analysing certain texts in the South African curriculum learning material that statements such as ‘in adolescence we find an increased interest in the opposite sex’ (set apart from the rest of the text in bold and capital letters) but ‘it is quite normal to remain uninterested in the opposite sex and dating’ (normal font part of the paragraph) (p. 433) can be said to highlight heterosexuality as the norm.

Allen (2006) and Haste (2013) noted that an important dilemma faces most sex education teachers, namely how the issue of pornography should be addressed in the classroom. Allen (2006) states that as a result of school sex education failing to address the relation between sexuality and the real body, gives the discourse of pornography more power. Haste (2013) concurs with Allen’s points in emphasising that the inability of the school sex education curriculum to allow young men to express their sexual identity in a positive and constructive manner is what adds power to the discourse of pornography.

It is therefore important to bear in mind that young boys spend a large amount of their day at school. Consequently, it is imperative that not only teachers but those designing the curriculum keep in mind what is being taught to learners, at what age it is being taught and how it helps perpetuate the dominant discourses present in society. Furthermore, it is also important to take into account what young people want to learn about and then develop teaching strategies and learning material that can be conducive to optimum learning for all

students. The ‘one-size-fits-all’ model of curricula is problematic as not all students learn the same way.

Dessie, Berhane, and Worku (2015) note that often the responsibility for sexual education falls on the school system and other sources. Many school educators have pointed to the need for parental involvement in sex education. This phenomenon has led to authors such as Boyas, Stauss, and Murphy-Erby (2012), Kesterton and Coleman (2010), and Millings (2010) highlighting the importance of parent-child sexual communication. For instance, Harris et al. (2013), Michels, Kropp, Eyre, and Halpern-Felsher (2005) and Wilson and Koo (2010), among others, emphasise the importance of this role in the sex education of boys. The role of a parent will be discussed in the section to follow.

3.3 Father-Son Sexual Communication

Two subthemes identified in this broader theme will be discussed below. Firstly, *parental factors influencing sexual communication* highlight how parental involvement impacts on sexual communication between parent and child as well as the importance of sexual communication between father and son. This provides context for the section that follows, *factors influencing father-son sexual communication*, which deals with the various factors that may hinder or enable sexual communication between father and son.

3.3.1 Parental factors influencing sexual communication

According to Blake, Simkin, Ledsky, Perkins, and Calabrese (2001) and Hyde et al. (2013), there are a number of factors of parental involvement that influence the sexual health of young people, e.g., parental attitudes and values about sex, family cohesion, the child’s perception of the parents, and the relationship between parent and child. Some parents feel that if they have the safe-sex talk with their children, it might be seen as if they are giving their child permission to have sex (Dilorio, McCarty, & Denzmore, 2006; Hyde et al., 2013;

Kirkman et al., 2001), while others reason that their children gain sufficient knowledge from school lessons (Hyde et al., 2010).

Parenting style: Blake et al. (2001) and Hyde et al. (2013) note that if the parent takes on a more restrictive parenting style as opposed to a more lenient parenting style, children may not feel comfortable discussing topics of sex with their parent.

Parental openness, according to Kirkman, Rosenthal, and Feldman (2005) and Wilson, Dalberth, and Koo (2010) involves aspects such as willingness to answer questions, honesty and an open-minded attitude. Some studies point to adolescents gaining more sex education at home when there is a sense of openness in the home (Blake et al., 2001; Kirkman et al., 2005). Although some parents not only advocate but practise open communication with their children, they may still have difficulty discussing certain topics of sex. There may be many different reasons for this sense of difficulty. Dunlap et al. (2013) note that a lack of sex education from parents could be the result of generational differences between parent and child. In their study on African American Black men, fathers stated that back when they were younger, their parents never sat down with them to discuss sex and that parents in those days were scared to talk about sex with their children (Dunlap et al., 2013). Another reason may be discomfort with or lack of knowledge regarding the topic at hand (Kirkman et al., 2005), e.g., current terms used for certain sexual acts or the act itself may be something completely new to the parent. An illustration of this was depicted in the television series *Blackish* when the father tried to have “the” sex talk with his son (Junior), only to have his son ask about something known as ‘Triceratops sex’, leaving the father at a disadvantage not knowing what his son was referring to.

Parents’ *own personal values and opinions* regarding sex also play an important role in parents’ openness about discussing sex with their children. (Atienzo, Walker, Campero,

Lamadrid-Figueroa, & Gutiérrez, 2009). Although it is crucial to be open-minded, many young people believe there needs to be a sense of balance between being open about sex and some aspects remaining private. Kirkman et al. (2005) note that there is an art to knowing when openness starts to intrude upon personal privacy. Thus, striking a balance between avoiding the topic of sex and being intrusive is another factor that plays into the level of communication that takes place (Kirkman et al., 2005).

Both parents and children see open communication as important and thus more desired (Kirkman et al., 2005) than receiving merely warnings about the negative consequences of sex (Bastien et al., 2011; Blake et al., 2001). In the study by Atienzo et al. (2009) on a Mexican sample, it was found that most commonly topics of prevention, negative consequences and reproductive aspects are discussed with regards to sexual education of young people. But there does seem to be a difference in the way these topics are discussed depending on the gender of the parent and child (Atienzo et al., 2009; Hyde et al., 2013). It was found that when young men talk to their mothers, it tends to be about the risks, whereas when they talk to their fathers, it is more about prevention (Atienzo et al., 2009). That being said, there was no indication whether the conversation was initiated by the son or the parent.

Hyde et al. (2013) raise an interesting point when they note that although there are studies that look at the way that parent-child communication impacts on the sexual behaviour of young people, it still seems to be unclear whether this communication took place before or after the child became sexually active. Male participants in the study by Kirkman et al. (2005) note that even though he (the young male) has an open communication relationship with his parents, he seldom brought up the topic of sex as he already knew about it. The study does not mention where this knowledge came from.

The aspect of timing can be raised as well. Studies often indicate that parents tend to bring up the topic of sex if they have a sense that their child might be having sex already. The sex conversation is often a result of the child entering into a romantic relationship (Hyde et al., 2013). It would be interesting to establish if this applies only to heterosexual relationships or whether it includes homosexual relationships as well. Atienzo et al. (2009) found that in 45% of cases participants indicated that it was because they were in a romantic relationship that motivated their parents to have the sex talk with them. In their study Buston and Wight (2006) found that some boys felt that they had received sex education too late as it often occurred once they were already sexually active.

Another important point highlighted by Hyde et al. (2013) is that often the categories/constructs used to measure parent-child communication regarding sex may in and of themselves not be sufficient to accurately capture the underlying quality of this communication. In other words, these measures may just look at surface aspects rather than exploring in-depth how this communication actually occurs and what exactly it truly entails, such as what messages are conveyed, who conveys these messages, are there ulterior motives behind these messages, and so forth. Hyde et al. (2013) found that even though parents claimed to be open with their children about sexuality, only a small percentage actually spoke directly on topics of contraception and safe sex measures. Although they may have done so, these open and direct conversations were still only on a superficial level (Hyde et al., 2013), thus missing the finer details that need to be addressed. Moreover, parents tend to use indirect messages when dealing with safe-sex conversations with their children rather than explain the issues in an explicit, detailed manner (Hyde et al., 2013). This results in a large portion of information being left unspoken.

3.3.2 Factors influencing father-son sexual communication

Sexual communication between father and son can be influenced by a number of factors (Allen & Lavender-Stott, 2015; Bjornholt, 2010; Hilton, 2001, 2007; Lehr, Demi, Dilorio, & Facteau, 2005). Dilorio et al. (2006) note that this communication⁴ between father and son is likely to be described as sex education rather than sexual communication. Whatever the case may be, father-son communication seems to have a great impact on a young man's life.

Research has shown that some fathers address the topic of sexuality once their son has reached puberty, as they now see the possibility of sexual initiation taking place (Kirkman et al., 2001; Lehr et al., 2005; Wilson & Koo, 2010). Beckett (2010) found that White American male adolescents reported that their fathers only had the 'talk' with them after they had already had sex. Similarly, Hendricks, Swartz, and Bhana's (2010) South African study on Black and Coloured participants from low socio-economic backgrounds in the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal between the ages of 17 and 24 also mentioned receiving the 'talk' as a once-off discussion after they had already been sexually active. There was, however, no indication as to whether or not the 'talk' happened just before or shortly after the first sexual encounter, or how long before the 'talk' the son was already sexually active.

How comfortable a father feels about discussing sex and sexuality with his son can play an influential role in successful sexual communication. American fathers in the study by Wilson et al. (2010) noted that they felt comfortable dealing with topics such as bodily changes, erections and wet dreams. Fathers stated that as they too went through similar experiences in puberty, they felt successful in educating their sons on such topics (Dilorio et al., 2006;

⁴ It is critical that we remember here that there is a distinction between sex education and sexual communication. It was previously noted by Sprecher et al. (2008) that sex education is seen as information that is relayed from the more knowledgeable party to the less knowledgeable one, whereas sex communication refers to sex-related conversational topics initiated by either party. This differentiation is important to bear in mind as many parents, not only fathers, get confused between the two concepts. This means that often what parents describe as sexual communication is in actual fact is sexual education, and that very little sexual communication takes place.

Wilson et al., 2010). When talking about topics not relating to puberty, a number of fathers stated that they were unsuccessful in addressing topics such as condom use and how it relates to the appropriate timing of sexual intercourse (Dilorio et al., 2006). This feeling of failure may be a result of uncertainties the father may have about what message to pass on to his son.

Dilorio et al. (2006) and Lehr et al. (2005) found that a number of fathers sought to educate their sons about the negative consequences of teenage pregnancy and STIs, often highlighting how it would impact on the son's future. Fathers in this study indicated that they advocated caution when having sex, but did not explicitly state what cautious sexual behaviour entails (Dilorio et al., 2006). This may lead the son to go and find out for himself what cautious behaviour means. Fathers indicated that they felt that they would be sending mixed messages to their son if they showed them how to use condoms, as this would be tantamount to telling his son to have sex (Dilorio et al., 2006; Lehr et al., 2005). Although some fathers felt this way, others believed that advocating safe sex was better than not educating their sons at all (Dilorio et al., 2006).

Dilorio et al. (2006) brought an important aspect to light when they state that several fathers specified that they believed we should start teaching boys that it is okay not to have sex and remain a virgin during their adolescent years. This concept of abstinence goes against the hegemonic discourse that conveys boys should be sexually active. Although this may be true, another factor that may come into play here is religion. In many religions it is believed that sex should be reserved for marriage, and thus many parents advocate abstinence (Burchardt, 2011; Heisler, 2005). This may negatively influence communication between father and son, as the son may not want his parents to know that he has already had sex.

The question thus arises of where should one even begin, or what strategy can be employed when addressing sexual communication?

Sometimes one's own personal experiences can be a starting point for communication. In their study conducted with Scottish school boys, Buston and Wight (2006) found that boys felt that having their father talk to them about the father's own personal sexual experiences helped the boys to grasp the concept of sex better. However, in most cases fathers seldom discuss personal issues such as sex/sexuality with their sons, often leaving the sex education task to mothers or the son's older siblings (Buston & Wight, 2006; Hilton, 2001; 2007). This could be because, according to hegemonic discourses, men are conventionally seen as unemotional, dominant and invulnerable beings who should not share their feelings (Lynch et al., 2010; Roy, 2004; Simpson, 2005). These typical hegemonic traits can create possible complications in terms of sexual communication. Some boys therefore see their fathers as being closed off when speaking about sex-related topics (Allen & Lavender-Stott, 2015; Bhatasara et al., 2013), and feel that as fathers fail to talk openly to them about sexuality, they are forced to learn about it elsewhere.

Many South African men struggle with measuring up to the hegemonic discourse of fatherhood as a result of poverty, high rates of unemployment and the impact of HIV infection (Clowes, Ratele, & Shefer, 2013; Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Ratele, Shefer, & Clowes, 2012; Simpson, 2005). In terms of the hegemonic discourse, a father is supposed to be the head of the household and sole breadwinner of the family. As a consequence of high unemployment rates, many fathers cannot maintain their role as provider, a criterion that is deeply embedded in hegemonic masculinity constructions of fatherhood, leading to feelings of inadequacy or even emasculation (Bhana & Nkani, 2014; Clowes et al., 2013; Hendricks et al., 2010; Lynch et al., 2010; Roy, 2004). Some fathers choose to leave their families as a result of this emasculation; others work at multiple places of employment, causing them to be unavailable or largely absent from their child's life. This absence from the home is likely to negatively influence communication levels in the father-son relationship.

I could not locate any South African studies that focused exclusively on father-son sexual communication in the father-son dyad specifically. Often studies conducted on sexuality in the South African context focus mainly on HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence and sexual education in the school context, specifically referring to the implementation of sexual education in the Life Orientation curriculum (Alison & Harrison, 2013; Shefer et al., 2015; Strebel et al., 2006). Furthermore, studies that have looked at fatherhood in the South African context are often focused on young fathers' experience of fathering a child (Enderstein & Boonzaier, 2015; Hendricks et al., 2010), often as a result of unplanned pregnancies. Therefore, studies do not specifically look at the father-son dynamic, pointing to a gap in research.

Although there has been research involving fathers and sons, whether internationally or nationally, these are generally not specifically focused on the father-son dyad. Studies tend to be focused on either the father's or the son's account of this relationship rather than addressing both simultaneously (Bastien et al., 2011). Bastien et al. (2011) and Helleve et al. (2009) noted that it is important to focus on both the father's and the son's accounts of sexual communication as research often indicates that parents and children experience sexual communication differently, and hence one party's perception does not necessarily give a comprehensive view of the sexual communication process.

The current study sought to explore both fathers' and sons' accounts of how they experience sexual communication within the father-son dyad, with a special focus on how notions of masculinity may inform this interaction. In the next chapter we will look at the methodology used in conducting the current study.

Chapter Four

Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology of the study.

4.1 Aims

The aim of this study was to explore father-son sexual communication in Coloured father-son dyads living in the Cape Metropole area, specifically focusing on whether – and, if so, how – dominant notions of masculinity underpin or feature in this form of communication.

4.2 Research Design

Various studies have shown that research on sexual communication is often conducted using quantitative research methods (Bastien et al., 2011; Guilamo-Ramos et al. 2012) and hence there is a need for qualitative data (Wilson & Koo, 2010) to add more in-depth understandings of parent-child sexual communication. This study therefore made use of a qualitative research design to address the gap in current research on parent-child sexual communication.

4.3 Participants

The participants were Coloured fathers and sons, as South African studies are often conducted using Black or White participants (Cain et al., 2011; Coetzee et al., 2014) and Coloured groups are therefore neglected. Given the challenges with regard to the recruitment of father-son dyads (Gronhoj & Thogersen, 2009), I made use of convenience sampling, which is a form of non-probability sampling involving the recruitment of participants predominantly based on their availability and willingness to respond (Shaughnessy et al., 2009). Furthermore, for reasons of accessibility, participants were recruited who lived in the

same region as I do – Western Cape areas. The inclusion criteria for the study were that the sons in this study had to be between the ages of 18-25 (this group was chosen as they would be able to provide a longitudinal view of the progression of father-son communication over the various developmental phases from boyhood to young adulthood), self-identify as Coloured, and reside in Western Cape areas with a living father that the son has regular contact with. The son would need to be willing to have his father interviewed as well (Recruitment of participants will be explained in the research procedure). Interesting to note here is that when fathers were able to identify their racial group, more than half of them felt that it was unnecessary and irrelevant in the post-apartheid era, indicating that the apartheid categories no longer applied. The sons, however, completed this question without any comment. Participants were located in a number of areas, including Mitchell's Plain, Kraaifontein, Idas Valley, Bellville-South, Southfield, Belgravia, and the Strand. The majority of the participants were from working-class backgrounds. The majority of the fathers were, however, wary and reluctant to state their income, so the income figures in Table 1 may not be accurate. The sons' age group ranged mainly from 21 to 25, with the youngest being 19 years of age, with the fathers' ages ranging from late 40s to early 70s. It is important to note here that participants were asked to select pseudonyms and these were used in all of the research documentation so that the interview data could not be linked to the participant's identity. Table 1 shows the demographic information of the participants.

Table 1

Name - Father	Name – son	Age - father	Age – son	Residential Area -father	Residential Area - son	Father estimated monthly income	Father employment	Son employment
Randall	Keenan	46	22	Kraaifontein	Mitchell's plain	19 000	Clerk 1 – municipal worker	Student
Keith	J.J	59	23	Bothasig	Bothasig	41 000	Pastor/ business owner	Student
Mervyn	Jonathan	54	23	Durbanville	Bellville	40 000	Admin supervisor	Student
Spencer	Brandon	47	19	Northpine	Northpine	37 000	I.T. technician	Student
Malcolm	Chad	52	20	Idas valley	Idas Valley	35 000	Supervisor - municipality	Student

David	Don	49	25	Elsies River	Elsies River	28 750	Book-keeper	Part-time work (Retail)
Mark	Harry	56	20	Hermanus	Bellville- South	30 000	Self-employed (import/export)	Student
George	Gareth	57	25	Strand	Strand	17 500	Carpenter	Student
Basil	Brett	72	25	Kenilworth	Cape Town CBD	Retired	Retired	Self-employed (musician)
Andre	Johnny	55	21	Sandbaai	Sandbaai	42 500	Electrical engineer	unemployed
Peter	Pablo	51	23	Hermanus	Table View	38 500	Self-employed	Self-employed (musician)
Joseph	Kevin	63	25	Brackenfell	South Field	40 000	Real-estate agent	Full-Time (Retail)

Andrew	Dean	60	25	Belgravia	Belgravia	Retired	Retired	Desktop support (I.T)
Rodney	Earl	49	19	Bellville	Kuilsriver	47 000	Teacher	Student
Victor	Ethan	58	20	Mitchell's Plain	Mitchell's Plain	23 000	Construction worker	Student

4.4 Data-Collection Tools

Semi-structured, individual interviews were used to collect data. Gender congruence has been proven to be an important factor when dealing with sensitive topics such as sexuality in qualitative interviews (Broom, Hand, & Tovey, 2009). Broom et al. (2009) noted that gender congruence between participant and interviewer assists in the interviewing process and encourages the enactment of ‘manliness’ when a male participant interacts with a male interviewer (Broom et al., 2009). I therefore recruited a young Coloured male – a 24-year-old university graduate with good interviewing skills and experience – to conduct the interviews. However, as explained in the research procedure below, he could conduct only four interviews (2 dyads) and I conducted the rest of the 13 dyad interviews because I could not manage to obtain another suitable male interviewer.

The interviews were audio recorded, with the participants’ permission, for transcription and data-analysis purposes. The fathers and sons were interviewed separately. This was done so that both the father and son could express themselves freely without editing their responses for the sake of the other. The open-ended questions that were asked were intended to probe for fathers’ and sons’ individual perceptions and experiences of father-son sexual communication (see Appendices 6 and 7 for original interview schedules). After the first five dyads were interviewed, the questions in the interview schedule were amended (see Appendices 8 and 9 for amended interview schedules) as some questions seemed repetitive and not sufficiently focused on the research question.

The interviews were started by reassuring the participants that there were no right or wrong answers and that they should feel comfortable about answering the questions honestly. Some fathers and sons were initially somewhat nervous, but warmed to the process as it progressed, while others felt comfortable from the start. Participants (both fathers and sons) reported that

they thoroughly enjoyed the interview, stating that it was a good opportunity for them to reflect on their relationship with their father/son and identify any areas that they would want to improve on. Two fathers and two sons talked about painful past experiences in the home that affected the father-son relationship. These participants were therefore reminded at the end of the interview (during debriefing) that they could obtain free counselling services from LifeLine. The LifeLine details were provided on the information and consent forms.

4.5 Research Procedure

Participant recruitment and data collection commenced once ethical clearance and institutional permission were obtained for this study. Initially I planned to use two recruitment strategies, as outlined below.

4.5.1 Recruitment strategy 1

The first recruitment strategy involved making use of male students attending a Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) institution located in the Western Cape Metropole area. This TVET institution was selected because many young Coloured males living in the Cape Metropole area follow programmes at the various Cape Metropole campuses of this institution. It was agreed with the institution's management that the research flyers (see Appendix 5 for information flyer) would be passed on to the selected campus managers and they would then distribute them to their male students. Unfortunately, this recruitment strategy did not yield any participants and as a result recruitment strategy two was put in effect.

4.5.2 Recruitment strategy 2

I reached out to various people in my social network (via social media platforms, telephonic conversations, email and face-to-face encounters) and asked them to assist in recruiting participants for the study. I provided them with a brief background to the study and sent the

information flyer to them via email to distribute to people they may know who would be interested. I made it explicitly clear that this should not be someone that I know personally or have contact with in any way. In addition, I made them aware that the father-son dyad needed to be living in the broader Cape Metropole area and meet the inclusion criteria. Furthermore, these potential participants were asked to refer other father-son dyads to the study. Contacts in my social network handed out the information flyer at their institutions (UWC and UNISA), workplaces, as well as at NGOs (e.g., Desmond Tutu HIV Foundation).

An advertisement consisting of the information on the flyer was also placed on the highly-used advertisement forums Gumtree and Indeed. Additionally, I placed an advertisement on my Facebook page and asked online friends to share the link on their pages. The above strategies resulted in six sets of participants. It is important to note here that while approximately thirty-three potential participants (sons) were referred to me by those in my social circles, eighteen withdrew from the study, most often because their fathers did not feel comfortable with the topic. Given the slow progress in recruiting participants, my supervisor and I decided that I would broaden my search to areas that fell on the outskirts of the Cape Metropole area: e.g., Stellenbosch and Hermanus. This strategy resulted in a final number of fifteen father-son dyads.

4.5.3 The interviews

After potential participants' contact details were referred to me by my social contacts, I contacted them via phone or via sms to set up convenient dates and times. All the interviews (except one) were conducted in private and safe venues (e.g., the participant's home). The one interview had to be conducted per telephone because the participant was unavailable for a face to face interview and requested a telephonic interview. Upon meeting the participants, their informed consent was obtained before the interviews took place. Subsequent to that, demographic information was collected, e.g., age, residential area, father's income,

population group. The interview schedule drawn up was not adhered to strictly to allow the discussion to flow freely, while still keeping within the parameters of the research topic. The interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to an hour.

The male interviewer conducted interviews with two dyads, which I transcribed and sent to my supervisor to determine if any adjustments needed to be made to the interview schedule and/or the interviewer's style of interviewing. However, at this stage the male interviewer was no longer able to continue as an interviewer and I could not locate a suitable replacement. My supervisor and I decided that I should conduct an interview myself and compare it to the male interviewer's interviews to see if the interview material differed substantially. We took this decision because we argued that I have the necessary skills and experience to effectively navigate the issues usually associated with gender incongruence in sexuality research interviews: I am a 26-old Coloured female who grew up in the Cape Metropole. I am a registered psychological counsellor as well as a Senior and Further Education and Training (FET) Phase Life Orientation teacher. I therefore have first-hand experience in fostering comfortable relationships with young people, and especially discussing sexuality issues comfortably with young men. Once my supervisor and I compared the interview material and determined that my interview material was actually more comprehensive than that of the male interviewer, and that participants interacted comfortably with me about sex, we decided that I would go ahead conducting further interviews. In total I conducted twenty-six (thirteen dyads) of the interviews, with the male interviewer conducting only four (two dyads).

After the first five sets were conducted and transcribed, I began coding the data to see if the data collected was rich in detail and if any amendments needed to be made. The interview schedule was amended by removing certain questions (e.g., questions eleven to thirteen were removed from the sons' interview schedule), rearranging questions (e.g., question ten of the

initial sons' interview became question three on the amended sons' schedule) and adding questions (e.g., added a question about masturbation to the amended sons' schedule). A similar process was done for the fathers' interview schedule. Subsequent to the amendment, the second and third waves of interviews were set up and the amended schedule was used as a guideline for these interviews.

4.6 Data Analysis

The transcribed data were analysed by the researcher using Braun and Clarke's (2006, 2013) thematic analysis method. This method entails the following six phases: familiarising yourself with your data, generalising the broader general codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

After the interviews were transcribed, I read through the transcripts several times noting ideas and understandings of the data as a way to familiarise myself with the material. Next I began coding the data by generating labels for important factors relevant to the research question and organising the data according to these codes. This process was done numerous times with the help of my supervisor. Once the data had been coded, it was sent to my supervisor so that it could be checked for accuracy and to ensure that nuances were not missed/misinterpreted.

The next step was to identify themes in the coded data and combine data particular to each potential theme. In order to do this I began combing through all the coded data thoroughly. As a way to familiarise myself with the different codes, I looked at the coded data from various perspectives. Each individual participant's codes were then cross-checked for similar codes in their coded interview (colour-coded to identify similar groups). Next I looked at common themes within each father-son dyad, after which I checked for common codes across the sons as a group, doing the same with the fathers. Once I had become thoroughly familiar

with the coded data, I began sorting them out into potential themes together with my supervisor.

I then reviewed the themes to check whether they were in line with the coded data as well as with the data set as a whole. Through further analysis I began to clearly name and define each theme. The last step was to produce the report by selecting the most prominent themes relating to the research question and previous literature, and organising it into a logical argument. The data analysis was informed by Connell's theory of masculinity in that I specifically looked for the way that constructions of masculinity featured (or not) in participants' accounts. (See Appendix 10 for a brief mind-map of the data analysis process).

4.7 Trustworthiness

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the data should be transcribed to an appropriate level of detail, with the transcriptions checked for accuracy. Firstly, I transcribed the data verbatim and my supervisor then checked the transcription for accuracy, which served as a form of triangulation. Trustworthiness of both the data analysis and the final reported conclusions was ensured by having them checked by my supervisor. In addition, enough time was allocated to complete each phase of the analysis to an adequate level and the language and concepts used in the written report were consistent with the informing theory, i.e., Connell's theory of masculinity.

Furthermore, I continuously reflected on the research as it progressed (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Shenton, 2004) as this allowed for an exploration of how I, the researcher, influenced the research. Shenton (2004) noted that the use of a reflective commentary means that the researcher monitors and keeps a record of initial interpretations of data collected and emerging themes as well as the researcher's own developing constructions. This is important as it allows the researcher's subjectivity to be documented (Lynch et al., 2010). In this study I

made use of a research diary in order to become aware of and keep track of my own subjectivity. I noticed that I could personally relate more to some of the issues brought up in the interviews than others, which may have influenced how I asked follow-up questions and responded during the interviews and the subsequent data-analysis process.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical clearance was obtained from the University's Human Research Ethics Committee and permission to recruit participants was obtained from the head of the chosen institution before commencing the study (See Appendix 11 for Ethical clearance letter). The following ethical principles were adhered to in this study: Informed consent was obtained from participants by explaining the research objective, procedure and possible consequences of the study, as well as giving them an opportunity to ask questions about the research and their involvement. If they agreed to take part in the study, they were asked to sign an informed consent form. Participants did not receive payment for their participation in the study, but an incentive of a R100 airtime voucher was offered to the sons as encouragement to participate and as a gesture of appreciation for their participation (six sons accepted the incentive).

The confidentiality of the participants was safeguarded by the following measures.

Pseudonyms were used in all research documentation. The interviewer was also duty bound to maintain the confidentiality of the participants. Permission was obtained from the participants to audio record their interview. Only my supervisor and I were allowed access to the audio recordings and interview transcripts. The electronic transcriptions are kept under a password-protected login and any physical transcript copies are kept in a locked cabinet in a secure room. All the data collected in this study will be kept for at least five years and destroyed once it is no longer necessary for the purposes of completing my degree and journal publications.

Participants were made aware that their participation is voluntary and that they may choose to withdraw at any time. All participants were also made aware of the possibility that the interviewing process may bring about an awareness of personal or father-son relationship problems or issues. All participants were therefore provided with contact details for LifeLine and encouraged to use these services if needed. In addition, at the end of each interview a short debrief was implemented in which each participant was asked how they experienced the interview and if they became aware of any personal or relationship issues which they might need to address. The interviewer was trained to conduct a short debriefing at the end of the interview. In such cases, participants were reminded about the contact details for LifeLine and encouraged to use these services.

In summary, this chapter outlined the research methods used in the current study which led to its findings. It discussed how data were analysed and looked at the ethical factors taken into account throughout the current study. In the next section we will look at the findings of the current study.

Chapter Five

Findings

In this chapter I present the findings of the thematic analysis of the data. I also draw on relevant literature to discuss these findings. The current study set out to investigate sexual communication within the father-son dyad, with a specific focus on whether –and, if so, how – dominant notions of masculinity underpin or feature in this form of communication; excerpts from the interviews with the fathers and sons will be presented to highlight the interactional or dyadic component of each theme. Two main themes emerged from the data, namely: *Reproducing hegemonic constructions* and *Father-son sexual communication: ideals versus practice*. Each of these themes is supported by a number of sub-themes, which will be presented and discussed below. Table 2 provides an overview of the thematic summary of the data.

Table 2

Theme 1: Reproducing hegemonic constructions	Theme 2: Father-son sexual communication: ideals versus practice
Fathers as providers: “if she falls pregnant you must provide”	Sexual communication ideals
“I feel that’s not what a man should take”: men’s view of women	Sexual communication in practice
Heteronormativity: distancing themselves from homosexuality	
Men as sexual performers: boys will be boys	

5.1 Reproducing Hegemonic Constructions

Father-son dyads mostly reproduced hegemonic masculinity ideals. However, I also noticed minor contestations of these hegemonic ideas and will note these where relevant. The sub-themes of this overarching theme are presented below.

5.1.1 Fathers as providers: “If she falls pregnant you must provide”

Similar to other South African studies (e.g., Bhana & Nkani, 2014; Clowes et al., 2013; Hendricks et al., 2010; Lynch et al., 2010; Morrell et al., 2013; Roy, 2004), both fathers’ and sons’ understandings of manhood centred on the provider role. For example, when asked what it means to be a man, Harry said: *“He should be able to provide”*, whilst his father Mark emphasises that young men should be mindful of the possibility of fatherhood and its provider obligations: *“So if you do engage in sexual activities and there is something that is happening there, the girlfriend falls pregnant, you must be able to provide”*.

The provider role was strongly linked to the notion of taking responsibility for one’s actions, in this case taking responsibility for providing for your child, as illustrated below by Peter (father) and Pablo (son): Peter recounted his own father’s words with regards to impregnating a girl:

“all that he said was we where we made dirty, we must clean up your mess, so now this means you got to get married...you know what you have done, you must accept responsibility and accept the consequences of your actions...if you going to make a girl pregnant don’t think they going to dump the child by me or, or by my wife, they must accept responsibility”.

He then went on to say that he believed that *“part of being a man, I would say the main thing, is to provide for your family...I have made my wife pregnant but at the time I had like a good job...”*

According to Pablo, his father reiterated a similar message to him when his girlfriend fell pregnant: *“my dad was like you have to go find work now, you know what this means, you are not even gonna have a life, you have to work...all your time’s gonna be taken away from you...you must suffer the consequences”*.

David (Don’s father) believed that women could expect the paternal grandparents to support the child if the father cannot. He did not want this responsibility and he therefore reminded Don to obtain a good job before having children:

“because he wasn’t working at that time and he is still not permanently employed so that’s, that’s why I, I always I’m always...how’s he gonna provide, who would need to provide then?...because then certain girls would make demands and will say listen here, uh I know your father has got a good job so, so, so, so he must organize to have this and that and that”.

In his interview, Don confirmed that his father does indeed emphasise this message: *“mostly his main message is settling down with like ja being stable, getting married, having a good job”*.

While Brandon also stressed the provider role by stating *“you need to provide for your child”*, his father Spencer said that a man would be seen by women as less desirable if he did not have a job and was therefore unable to provide: *“Because the women say ‘jy’s a lys gat’ [lazy ass], I don’t want you”*. He also questioned whether women were ready for a gender role reversal when it comes to financial provision:

“But it also comes to the fact where a lot of males who are not able to find jobs who now needs to become the house man. Is the female... uhm ready to accept that reverse role to say but the husband is going to be at home every day cooking and cleaning and caring for the children and I will provide?”

Joseph believed that a father should role model the role of provider for his son:

“And to be a good provider, like if I use an example, you will be at work and not lay at home and not jump from job to job and say to your child this is actually what you should be, because when you become a husband this what you need to be, you can’t just jump from job to job, you need to provide for your family”.

He further believed this role is supported by biblical ideas: *“Yes even from a biblical point of view the fathers have always been going out to go work and provide, not like today where society has no jobs for a man, the woman must go out and you can already think the distortion”.*

Although Kevin (Joseph’s son) indicated in the next quote that he is aware of societal changes with regards to the role of provider, his personal belief concurred with his father’s: *“Like I said in today’s life some men don’t work and the females have to carry the family and be a working person, so you can’t say a man must look after his family back in the day, okay I also believe in a man should support his family”*

There seems to be a common thread among this group of men: the importance placed on the man’s role, specifically a father’s role, as a provider, seemed to be passed from father to son. While fathers did inform their sons that they would need a job in order to provide, they did not explain in detail what fatherhood entails nor whether provision is only in the form of financial assistance, or whether there are other forms of provision as well.

5.1.2 “I feel that’s not what a man should take”: Men’s view of women

There are two components to this subtheme: (i) how the young men in this study talked about women in their interviews, and (ii) how the dyads view women’s gender roles. While fathers spoke in a more respectful and in what I experienced as a somewhat politically correct manner about women (perhaps in respect to myself as a female interviewer), sons often used crude sexual terms when they talked about women, as illustrated by the following father-son

dyad: Malcolm, the father, believed a woman should be spoken to with respect and not be seen as a sexual object:

“I mean we looked at ladies with respect in our time, I mean we didn’t look at a girl as a sex, sexual object and say this is what this person is for, no (shakes head) we looked at the person and respected him or her, for the fact that she is who she is...and if you do not understand (pause) the value of that person, you obviously gonna approach the person in that manner which is gonna be your, gonna be like just an object”.

His son Chad, however, in justifying how boys talk to women, argued that “talking dirty” to a woman could help a man to charm (“bowl”) a woman: *“they get dirty real quick (laugh) about stuff though and everything you say is dirty...classify as dirty, like for instance I’m saying do you want a muffin [cunnilingus] or do you wanna eat (laugh)...sometimes girls love that (shrug) so they laugh and stuff maybe if you wanna bowl a chick and then someone throws something dirty”.*

Additionally, a son J.J mentioned how men sexually labelled women based on physical aspects, e.g., their body parts, race and even nationality: *“But there’s two Black girls in Namibia, but I must say that all of their bodies is nice, I dunno what they eating, but their bums is like...but their faces aren’t (laugh)...I slept with a French girl once (laugh)...it was good and the American chick (laugh)”.*

J.J’s statement illustrated what his father Keith meant when he explained the sexual boasting that young men tend to do: *“When boys you will downsize a girl, even if you didn’t have it with that girl and then you will downsize, hey I did this and I did that with her and I did this, uh that’s boy talk”.*

Similar to the findings in existing research (Morrell et al., 2013), the participants in this study were also politically aware of role constructions based on gender equality, but held on to

hegemonic views of gender roles. For example, Malcolm (Chad's father) believed that: *"I mean, to me what's important I don't care what's happening outside my house, but inside my house I want soundness, I want my wife to be a mother and a carer (pause) and I want to be and I am a father for my kids"*.

Likewise, the father Mark said: *"There's certain things that a girlfriend must do, certain things that a boyfriend must do...The boy's thing to go out and make sure that he starts proper work, a good income (pause) to provide you see, make sure there's safety and all that, a girl's thing is to look after the house"*.

In his interview Mark said that he expressed this view to his son Harry when he felt that his son was doing things that his girlfriend should have been doing. This seems to have influenced Harry's own beliefs, as seen by Harry's statement below:

"Nah it's just a general thing, because I mean these days you get women that tell you, they think they wear the pants...so they gain independence which is respectable - nobody wants to take your independence away from you...so they would feel if a man had to go and tell them listen here make me some food, then they feel offended...the new age way...I feel that's not that's not what a man should take".

While the majority of the men in this study adhered to hegemonic ideals, Ethan and his father Victor seemed to be more open to changing gender roles:

"over the years things have really changed where guys are very good at doing hair, but they don't have to be gay, they just good at their job...things are really evolving, females can be better than guys in some things, so that doesn't bring down the masculinity of the guy, he is still a guy, he is still doing guy things, it's just females can also be good at the same time that guys do".

Likewise his father Victor said: *“I mean a woman and a man should just be themselves, there is no specific to say they must be like that and each individual have its, its own uh, uh can I say unique way of being”*. Perhaps Victor’s stance has influenced his son to adopt more gender fluid and equal ideas.

5.1.3 Heteronormativity: Distancing themselves from homosexuality

Although none of the men in this study was asked to indicate their sexual orientation, all the young men, except for Gareth who self-identified as gay, of their own accord explicitly identified themselves as heterosexual during the course of the interview. They therefore explicitly distanced themselves from the idea of same-sex attraction. Johnny (Andre’s son), viewed heterosexuality as being the natural/right way: *“Cause I’m not gay that’s why I uh prefer vagina...if I think about it, I don’t get even the slightest bit (shakes head and pulls disgusted face)...I am straight, I’m attracted to females but that’s just the natural order of things how I see it”*. It is evident from his non-verbal behaviour that he cannot think of being attracted to another man without feelings of disgust/distaste, a common thread amongst these sons. Similarly, the other young men (with the exception of Gareth) also explicitly distanced themselves from same-sex attraction. Interestingly, even Gareth privileged heteronormativity.

While fathers did not feel the need to explicitly state their heterosexuality, they found another way to distance themselves. David further believed that, as he is not homosexual, his children will not be homosexual: *“...uhm the seed I have sown into their lives would then just make up your mind, this is not for you (shakes head), this is not me, this was not your dad”*. This suggests that he believed that sexuality is role modelled by a father and that a heterosexual father would automatically lead to his son having a heterosexual orientation.

Ethan (Victor’s son) believed that males are inherently heterosexual: *“the thing is I do think if you are born a male you a male, and I think gender is a thing it’s a term to make things to*

make it easier for you to, to not be homosexual...I just think you a man (laugh), all men are into females”. Gareth (gay participant), similarly believed that heterosexuality is genetic.

“But what I’m saying we had an argument of him telling me we were made like this and I had the argument we were born like this...born like that, it’s in my genes, its flowing through my blood here...when someone walks past uhm I’ve no control over that feeling, I’ve no control over not looking at a woman”.

However, later he added that due to life circumstances, e.g., unstable home environment or trauma, a person can be ‘made’ homosexual.

In addition, similar to existing research (Lusher & Robins, 2009; Smith et al., 2015), which speaks to the subordination of homosexual men by heterosexual men, these men discriminated against gay men, especially those who exhibited feminine traits.

Don mentioned making fun of boys who participate in typically feminine activities: *“we would call him a moffie [a derogatory term used to describe a gay boy with feminine behavioural traits] tease him and bully him stuff like that...”*, which his father David confirmed: *“Look the thing is I know he’s been exposed to gay people as well and he’s always uh, uh, uh there’s always his side of making fun of gay people”*.

Even Gareth (the only gay participant) notes the discrimination against effeminate gay men that prevails even in the homosexual community and which emphasises the hegemony of masculinity in this community:

“I think I would be easier for me to handle if he [referring to a possible son] is not feminine, you mos get your, your guys that are very feminine (flipping hair movement), because there’s a lot of discrimination in the gay community and I, I, I’m guilty of it sometimes...uhm so I think I’d be very judgemental if my son had to be very feminine I, I[be] probably embarrassed”.

Brandon nonchalantly stated that although he and his father Spencer never spoke explicitly about sexuality, they often made fun of gay men: *“Not directly no...by the way, when we see someone in the shop or so on, then I would say: ai jinne daddy kyk dai gertie”* (pointing out a gay person as ‘gertie’, the abbreviation of the name Gertrude, which is another term for ‘moffie’). This indicates that within this dyad making fun of gay men is not seen as speaking about sexuality but as standard social practice.

Some of the fathers and sons did, however, evince some tolerance towards gay men, e.g., according to Spencer’s (father) remark, he and his wife have attempted to foster a more accepting approach towards gay people in his son: *“we’ve been open with him and saying you know uhm nowadays you cannot anymore judge a person by their sexual orientation”*. Furthermore, although Victor (father) to a great extent ‘others’ gay people, there is some indication that he realises that gay people deserves “respect”: *“I mean you, you try I, I always try to, to keep a distance but I don’t disrespect them”*, stating that: *“...if you sort of come down on them that they are lower than you or...that they not the same as you”*, it is disrespectful. Jonathan (Mervyn’s son), also highlighted that society is becoming more tolerant of a diversity of sexualities: *“Uh to, to a point, but I think it’s changing a lot with homosexuality and uhm but ja there is, I, I feel personally like it’s becoming less, ‘cause I mean there’s so many different types of how can I say sexualities nowadays, it’s, it’s crazy so like how can I say there’s a, there’s a answer for everything, so you can’t necessarily how can I say have to be a manly man, but it depends on who you are at the end of the day”*

While there is some evidence of growing tolerance, this was tolerance at a distance as they were clearly homophobic when in closer contact with gay men. But these men still illustrated some form of homophobia; for example, Ethan stated: *“I don’t mind you sitting next to me...I will lay on the same bed with them, I don’t mind”...what I don’t like, like a moffie ja, he mustn’t (pause) try anything”*.

Likewise Johnny stated that, while he does have gay friends: *“But it’s not that I judge gay people...one of my first gay friends wanted to suck my dick, so I was like dude what the poes [swear-word used to express extreme shock] (shocked face), like no I was like nigga please (pause) yor I was like holding my heart (holds chest) like what the fuck, wat gaan dan nou hier aan, I couldn’t comprehend...ja fuck it dude it’s just this one thing, I don’t mind being friends with a gay dude, he must just not...ja he must just not become lastig [nuisance] or whatever”*.

Additionally, both fathers and sons believed that homosexuality was against Christian beliefs: Harry said: *“And then you need to teach them that it’s not the Godly way, okay I wouldn’t say it’s not the Godly way but it’s not the way that God wanted it to happen, it boils down to your beliefs again”*, while his father Mark noted: *“it’s not right, it is a sin even in the Bible you will see it’s described”*.

Although Don stated that he was not ‘getting biblical’, he still made reference to his religious beliefs: *“it states that in the bible also so...exactly where it says no male shall lay down with another male same as with a female, it’s a[n] abomination”*. Similarly, his father David said: *“Look the thing is...to me to be gay...it’s not what you know from a spiritual side...it’s still not acceptable” (shakes head)*. David further said that a sexuality that cannot procreate (*“nothing can be produced through that”*) is not what God intended sex for. Likewise Keith (J.J.’s father) believed God created sex for humans to procreate: *“God especially made male and female for purposes you know...he made the women for the man (pause) and the man for the woman”*.

It is interesting to note that although these men stated that homosexuality is wrong and against their religious beliefs, they also indicated that it would have been accepted by fathers in this study if sons were to come out as gay. Mark (father), for example, said: *“I would’ve, I*

would've, I would've felt uncomfortable if he was, but I mean I would've accepted it, there's nothing I can do", while his son Harry, when asked how his father would handle it if he were homosexual and not heterosexual, said:

"I don't know I don't honestly I can't tell (pause) how a parent loves a child...I don't think he will write me off (shakes head), but because of disappointment if I had to just come out of the closet at this stage (pause), obviously he's gonna think I don't know you anymore...due to disappointment I think he would there's gonna be some distance for quite some time".

Although Andrew (father) was unsure about how he would take to his son being gay, his remark still suggests that it was an alien idea to him: *"uhm I wouldn't know to be honest with you, maybe I'll comfortable maybe I won't...you won't know until it happens, I wouldn't know, I haven't experienced anything like that yet"*, while his son Dean was very adamant about his own son needing to be a proper man: *"honestly no I'd make sure his right he needs to be, I'll make sure he does manly things to be manly, you will drive a race car, you will be a man"*

Thus, while there was a sense that it would not be easy, fathers indicated that they would accept their son/s being gay, sons seemed less accepting. Similar to Dean above, they said that they would try their utmost to ensure their son is straight. For example, although Earl (son) initially stated he would eventually accept it if his future son were gay, he would still try to change him: *"Ja I will lock you in the room with a girl for a weekend"*. Likewise, Johnny (son) initially mentions accepting it, but later indicates that he would use physical force to ensure heterosexuality: *"I would prefer him to have uh females...I'll beat the fuck outta him 'til he's straight"*.

Therefore, it seems that while there is a small sense of tolerance, men are still far away from fully accepting homosexuality.

5.1.4 Men as sexual performers: Boys will be boys

While sons reproduced the hegemonic notion that young men should be sexually active and have multiple partners, fathers advocated for being sexually responsible.

While Johnny (son) stated that he was encouraged by other men (friends and family) to have sex, stating: *“yay man you still young, you supposed to pomp [have sex] and all that”*, his father Andre did not endorse this view, stating: *“wat ek se altyd vir (Johnny) as jy weet jy het seks gehad, jy gat ‘n kind maak en jy gan jou lewe weg gooi”*. Don (son) nonchalantly stated: *“okay us guys, males, it’s in our nature (shrugs)”* to sleep around... *“When a guy sleeps around he’s cool and kwaai [cool], he’s that ou [he’s that guy]”*

Don (son) additionally illustrated how boys lie about having sex to avoid being ridiculed by peers:

“we would tell them, yay jy’s nog n toe pakkie [‘closed packet’] or so, or jy is nog ‘n sealed deal [you are still a virgin] stuff like that...then tomorrow they will just come like okay no they broke their virginity with this girl and we would also make gat with them [ridicule them] and tell them yay but you can’t be skommeling [masturbating] and then you say ja you broke your virginity, stuff like that”

Don’s above statement further serves as an illustration of ‘boy talk’, which is similar to what Kevin (son) refers to when he said: *“I think every boy does that [brags to his friends] it wasn’t like slept with her, I got a stukkie [a sexual hook-up] from her, I did this with her, I did that with her”*, a point his father Joseph also pointed out: *“What happens you had sex with this girl...obviously this will become a topic between the friends, so you will now discuss with the friends...that’s a slut, don’t go to her and stuff like that”*.

In providing a possible reason for bragging, Pablo (Peter’s son) said: *“I think that’s normal for boys ‘cause you know boys, they are always on that level of you know I just wanna be a*

bit better than others”, while Harry (Mark’s son) believed boys brag because: *“most people do it because they want to fit in or they want to feel like they fit in”*.

However, whether or not they speak to their friends about their sexual endeavours depends whether they are in a relationship with the girl or if she was just a random hook-up. This can be seen in the comment by Johnny (Andre’s son): *“well uhm that actually depended uhm like if it was just a fuck or if it was in a relationship with a girl, if it was in a relationship I wouldn’t speak about stuff...they wouldn’t know the details”*, and in the admission by Jonathan (Mervyn’s son): *“well like uhm I won’t lie now, how I used to talk to my friends about it is a bit different ‘cause in the past I just splurged everything, now I’m like it’s not really a concern, I don’t want this guys to know that about my girlfriend...Ja to look at her a different way”*, indicating a limit to what boys will brag to their friends about to protect their girlfriend’s reputation.

Furthermore, these young men reproduced the hegemonic notion that being a virgin is seen as weak and unmanly, illustrated by Jonathan (son) who said: *“Ja I also think it’s like a it comes back to that manly thing, you don’t want to seem like a like the weaker one that hasn’t lost his virginity type of thing”*. Kevin (Joseph’s son) who “broke” his virginity at the age of 18, as he *“was always scared about AIDS and...uh wanted to be the appropriate age”*, stated that as *“everybody thought I broke my virginity at a young age”*, when he eventually had sex he *“couldn’t tell your friends because they thought you did it long time ago”*. A possible reason why he did not correct others’ perception that he was not a virgin was probably because: *“if you don’t break virginity at a young age, then you kind of a loser”*.

Keenan (Randall’s son) who “broke” his virginity at the age of 19, which he felt was *“late”* for a man, said: *“but I don’t care, I didn’t still worry about you know how to experiment, I want to experiment, it’s not because someone told me go do it, I done it out of my own”*. He

did, however, mention participating in ‘boy talk’ with his friends that eventually led to his having to “prove himself” to them.

Similar to findings in other studies (Bhatasara et al., 2013; Johnson, 2010; Hunter, 2005), these young men mention the timing of ejaculation, i.e., how long before ejaculation occurs as a factor linked to male sexual performance. Don mentions how boys would make fun of each other when he said: *“The one is a choekoe [ejaculates quickly] ‘cause he’s a two-minute noodle, we would like laugh at them”*. Kevin (Joseph’s son), however, mentions that it is all relative as it depends on how quickly the female partner reached orgasm: *“I don’t think timing is an issue, it’s just girls take generally longer than men to come [orgasm] but if you can make the girl come quick, then you don’t have a problem ‘cause then you can let go, ‘cause then she already*. In a similar vein, Jonathan (Mervyn’s son) said: *“I read up and I found quite interesting that like, like I said the cause of it is males putting like stress basically putting pressure on themselves to perform, so ja I think that that’s the major problem and I’m talking about something like 70 to 80% of guys put too much pressure on themselves to perform”*. Although Jonathan seems open to reconsider masculine sexual performance, he does still go along with the norm by making fun of his friend for being a virgin: *“I do gaan aan [tease him] with him every single time... (laugh) he have no right to talk type of thing, but ja but I do, I do see sometimes it can like you know get to him and (pause) like I said there is I’d definitely say there is pressure on, on a guy that’s a virgin at this age”*.

Therefore, according to Chad (Malcolm’s son): *“to be a man is sometimes just like (pause) everyone expects you to be like that and then you must almost like give the crowd what they want”*, indicating that he felt that he has to conform to the way society expects him to be.

These sub-themes make it evident that hegemonic masculinity is still very much the “default setting” in how these men see manhood, as shown in other studies (Allen & Lavender-Stott,

2015; Cohan, 2009; Hilton, 2007; Limmer, 2010; Renold, 2003). There were, however, some minor or marginal contestations of these hegemonic ideas, but apparently these views were not yet powerful enough to change the young men's own behaviour – even if it meant lying to their friends about their sexual prowess

5.2 Father-Son Sexual Communication: Ideals versus Practice

Both fathers and son highlighted a number of ideals linked to optimal sexual communication, but these ideals did not seem to translate into practice. The following sub-themes will look at these ideals and factors that may influence how sexual communication between father and son unfolds practically.

5.2.1 Sexual communication ideals

Although sons did not experience their fathers as helpful sources of sex information, both fathers and sons believed that fathers could and should play a more prominent role in sons' sexual education. For example, Victor (Ethan's father) states: *"no it is important that the father should tell him... I mean for him to hear it from his father is more important"*. Mervyn (Jonathan's father) believed that it is a father's responsibility to teach his son about sexual responsibility at a young age:

"teach the boy that what you have between your legs you can't just use it willy-nilly because you know there's repercussions if you just use it...it's very important a boy know that that when you use that thing, there is responsibility attached to it, it's not just using it"

Therefore, along with a father's responsibility, aspects such as openness and having a 'close' relationship were highlighted as important factors in father-son sexual communication.

Similar to other studies (Kirkman et al., 2005; Wilson et al., 2010), both fathers and sons emphasised the importance of openness between father and son, believed by Spencer

(Brandon's father) to be important because of *"all the issues that we face in society today where sex is concerned*. When asked what openness meant, Joseph (father) stated that it should:

"Be a freeness where the person can actually talk to you about anything. About what must I eat, what I must wear, how I must treat a woman, what must I do if somebody just actually says to me, come we gonna have sex, things like that"

His son Kevin felt that in order for a father to bond with his son, *"there shouldn't be a limit to what you can talk about, you must be open-minded as a parent"*, further stating that openness means: *"you can come to your father with anything, speak to him about anything, and he won't be judging you, he won't be pushing you away and there won't be a fight about what you have mentioned, even if he don't like it"*

Not having a 'close' relationship with one another was found to influence sexual communication, as illustrated by J.J. when he noted that talking to his father Keith about sex-related topics is *"a bit tough because uhm (pause) me and my dad have a very funny relationship, we can't really speak to one another, well we can but it's not on that kinda level...he couldn't acknowledge me as a like a man 'cause I had my views and he had his views"*.

Another example is Joseph and his son Kevin. When asked about their relationship, Kevin stated that: *"At the moment there's no relationship with me and my father I don't think there ever was a relationship"*. His father Joseph confirmed that currently they have no relationship, stating: *"it's a no go, it's like a dead situation"*, and went on to state: *"in the past when I did speak to him, it was like surface level and obviously like I said 'cause of the situation [referring to their relationship] you would not actually go into detail because you*

know that, that blockage actually will block you to have any discussion or it will be a one-way discussion”.

These ideals about father-son relationships, however, did not seem to be implemented in practice when it came to sexual communication, as the interview material indicated that often such “open” sexual communication did not take place.

5.2.2 Sexual communication in practice

Overall, there seemed to be a lack of true communication between father and son. Even though they (both fathers and sons) advocated the importance of communication, there still seemed to be significant gaps in communication as well as it consisting only of surface level discussions, i.e. deeper levels of conversation are avoided altogether. Sexual education conversations were often one-sided, once-off and out-of-the-blue superficial conversations. When asked whether he spoke to his son about sex, Keith said: *“I still speak to him”*, while J.J. recalls only one incident: *“I was about 19...He couldn't, I don't think he ever spoke to me before that about it...he only spoke to me about it once”*. Even though J.J. mentions that his father spoke to him only once, he felt that: *“I actually was surprised at the time and I was surprised at how he's doing it you know...I enjoyed it I actually enjoyed it”*.

Jonathan, similar to J.J., points out that his father Mervyn spoke to him only once: *“I was sitting at the kitchen counter, he just comes up to me, he's like I know you and so and so you know [implying had sex]...that was, was basically it, he was just basically letting me know that he knows uhm, but we never really got into detail talking about and that's the only time I can actually recall”*. Mervyn then confirms: *“we were sitting around the table and I said to him (pause) did you and your girlfriend have sex (pause) and there was silence, total silence (pause), and so I said you don't have to answer because, because your silence is the answer”*.

Moreover, fathers tended to talk about sex indirectly rather than have explicit conversations about sex. Brandon mentioned that he and his father Spencer would more likely speak about women than sex, but that *“my father will always throw hints, hints about sex”*. Although Spencer does not mention such indirect communication, he confirmed that he had not had specific conversations with his son about sex. Don stated that his father David *“would crack a joke...he’ll just mention a girl...then I’ll like look at him like what you talking about now and then it would be like as in to jy is jy stadig en so, jy wiet mos wat het jy gedoen* [referring to him cheating on his girlfriend]”. David, however, said that *“I sometimes come out dry with something, but then I know the message gets carried through”*, adding that: *“it’s going to be a hint but...I’m gonna complete the topic and going to approach the topic and discuss the topic”*.

It further became evident from the data that there are still topics that remain private and not talked about. Fathers, when they did talk about sex, often discussed issues such as consequences, protection and responsibility, but glossed over or avoided altogether topics like what puberty entails, masturbation, and how to conduct a loving and caring relationship with a romantic partner.

In the current study both fathers and sons mentioned having a conversation around protection and the consequences of sex. Although being aware of HIV/AIDS and other STDs were found to be somewhat important, often more emphasis was placed on unwanted pregnancies. Spencer (father), for example, mentioned openly speaking to Brandon (son) about this: *“if you have sex with a girl, please make sure that you have protection because the consequences...fatherhood and obviously diseases that you can pick up”*, which Brandon confirms: *“I think the only thing my father has ever said to me is always wear protection”*.

Keith (father) mentioned that although he felt that condoms are not “*so safe*”, he did tell his son: “*Ja please be responsible, you can go the route of condom...you know there’s consequences*”. His son J.J. recalling the only conversation his father ever had with him about sex stated: “*And then he was just saying uhm stuff like don’t make babies (laugh) and stuff like that*”. Often these conversations seemed to be sparked by the son having a girlfriend rather than reaching puberty. This seems to indicate that puberty may not be seen as an important enough milestone to start educating one’s son, raising certain implications about where young men learn about sex during puberty.

While masturbation is seen as what Don (David’s son) stated is “*the norm for guys to do*”, it is seldom discussed because it is an awkward, uncomfortable topic. When asked if he would talk to his either of parents about masturbation, Brandon said: “*no they would make a gaai [fun] of me*”; his father Spencer noted that while he would not take that approach, his wife would joke with Brandon: “*well if he sits too long in the toilet then she would tell him uh, that thing is gonna fall off if you go too rough on with it*”.

Chad (Malcolm’s son) mentioned an embarrassing incident that led to his mother speaking to him about masturbation: “*uhm my brothers made fun of me one time, about like masturbation...they thought I was like masturbating (laugh) in the room...and he [referring to his brother] like uhm he laughed at me...it’s kind of embarrassing but because it’s your mother*”. He did, however, mention that he would have felt more comfortable if his father spoke to him about it rather than his mother. Don noted that having his father tell him masturbation is a normal part of puberty made him feel okay with the whole exchange, again pointing to the importance of father-son communication.

Mark (father), finding it hard not to laugh in his interview, mentioned speaking to Harry (son) about masturbation: “*I said (laugh) when boys grow up there’s certain (pause)*

transformations that's gonna take place...but it's, it's quite natural". However, it was also found that teaching your son about masturbation would be strange, as indicated by Harry when he said: *"how do you educate your son, your son about that about masturbation, I will find it strange"* When asked why, he responded confused: *"why would you go and teach your son how to pluk [masturbate] (confused face)"*

Similarly teaching your son how to have sex (another topic not spoken about) would also be strange, as seen in the comment by Keenan (Randall's son). Although he initially said *"I will tell him [referring to a future son] everything about sex, I would even tell him how to do it"*, he later stated: *"okay I'm not gonna tell him how to do it, no I think that's weird, no I'm not gonna tell him how to do it"*. When asked why it would be weird, he stated: *"that's stuff you need to learn on your own"*.

Additionally, although romantic intimacy is often not a topic of conversation, fathers and sons did identify the difference between making love and having sex, with the main difference being according to Brandon: *"I always say that there's a difference between having sex and making love, so the one is just pure enjoyment [referring to sex] and the other one is a sensual feeling and as they say it's where you give a part of you to the other person [referring to making love]"*.

Kevin believed that while there is a difference, he felt: *"in a relationship I believe you need both making love and you need sex"*. His father Joseph links 'making love' to being in a fixed relationship, stating that: *"making love to a person you should be like being in a married relationship, whereas sex is actually like a once-off thing"*, indicating that there seems to be a difference in opinion between this dyad.

As indicated in other studies (Dilorio et al., 2006; Wilson et al., 2010), how comfortable the son felt played an influential role in sexual communication, which Mark noted stating that

when he spoke to his son Harry about sex, *“He was, he was first (pause) (laugh) uncomfortable”*. Harry then elaborated stating: *“Well (pause) for me personally when it comes to things like that, I’m not really comfortable, so if need be (pause) I (pause) yor I don’t, I wouldn’t really feel comfortable speaking about it”*.

Likewise, Malcolm felt that if he were to speak to his son Chad about sex, the conversation would automatically stop: *“Basically once you start (pause) talking about stuff like that they just say daddy whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa”*. Chad, however, stated: *“okay he can speak about sex but not in that (pause) in that way like how my friends and I speak about sex...he must speak on a fatherly level not the friendship level, then I would feel very comfortable like speaking about, about sex”*, indicating a certain boundary line that these young men feel should not be crossed.

Brandon, however, limits his openness out of respect: *“I don’t mind talking to them [his parents] but there’s a barrier that I do not cross...because they still my parents, so there’s a level of respect and things like that”*. Similarly, Harry, when asked if he would speak to his father in detail about sex, stated: *“Nah (shakes head) that’s something you keep to yourself, I mean (pause) I wouldn’t probably (pause), I wouldn’t think that he’s gonna think I’ve got actual priorities if I had to go and tell him that”*.

It is therefore evident that there is a disconnection between what is believed in theory with regard to sexual communication and what actually happens in practice. This may be due to the limited nature of the relationship between the fathers and sons (e.g., Joseph’ and Kevin’s strained relationship), level of comfort in talking about the topic (e.g. mentioned by Malcolm), or the limit placed on ‘being open’ (e.g., mentioned by Brandon). This is seen to negatively influence the sexual education of young men as they have to seek out other

avenues to acquire information rather than gaining this much needed insight from their fathers.

Furthermore, school sex education may also have a role to play here as fathers believed that their sons obtained sufficient factual sex education at school, illustrated by the comment made by Peter (Pablo's father): "...*they* [referring to children] *are already informed 'cause they learn it from school'*". Dean (Andrew's son), however, stated: "*look to be honest, it's a gloss over...in school you gonna get it just raw like just like that, it's there, whereas in a real-life situation when you actually understand it's gonna be a different perspective...they* [referring to school sex education] *dilute it greatly*", highlighting a major pitfall of school sex education, i.e., it lacks useable practical information related to young men's real-life experiences (this pitfall will be discussed further in the critical discussion in the next chapter).

The findings outlined in the current chapter indicate that hegemonic masculinity notions are reproduced in father-son dyads, and that sexual communication ideals do not necessarily translate into practice within father-son dyads. These findings will be critically discussed in the chapter to follow.

Chapter 6

Critical Discussion

In the introductory chapter I noted that studies on parent-child sexual communication often neglect communication within the father-son dyad. The current study therefore focused on this phenomenon within a specific social context: Coloured father-son dyads living in urban/peri-urban communities. In the previous chapter I highlighted that my findings indicate that hegemonic masculinity notions are reproduced in father-son dyads, and that sexual communication ideals do not necessarily translate into practice within father-son dyads. In this chapter I will critically discuss these findings and the implications for further research. The chapter will also look at the strengths and limitations of the study.

6.1 Reproduction of Hegemonic Masculinity in Father-Son Dyads

The finding that hegemonic masculinity is reproduced in the father-son dyads in this study is not surprising, as several other South African studies have reached similar conclusions (e.g., Salo, 2002; 2003; Shefer et al., 2008; Ratele, 2014; Viitanen & Colvin, 2015). Several authors offer explanations for this phenomenon. According to Shefer et al. (2008), Ratele (2014), and Viitanen and Colvin (2015), traditional gender notions still dominate the way that people in many South African communities view gender and sexuality, with hegemonic ideals being the most practised in these communities. Many young men go along with the discourses of dominant masculinity out of fear of being subjected to teasing by peers as well as by women (Shefer et al., 2015b), as several participants (both fathers and sons) in the current study indicated. Furthermore, Dolan (2014) highlights that while contemporary society appears to encourage fathers to take on aspects of an alternative masculinity in their roles as fathers, e.g., being more attentive and nurturing towards their children, the dominant

gender norms still deter them from taking on these new roles. I therefore agree with gender researchers who (i) advocate that more and more intensive intervention programmes are needed to transform masculinity norms on a community level (Ratele, 2014; Viitanen & Colvin, 2015), (ii) encourage and support fathers to supplement their constructions of fatherhood as primarily entailing being providers and disciplinarians, to also include fathers as emotional carers who are capable of fostering emotionally close and trusting relationships with their sons. Perhaps manhood programmes (e.g., using research such as Ratele (2014), Clowes et al. (2012), Enderstein and Boonzaaier (2015), Hendricks et al. (2010), etc.) can engage men to think about such alternative ways to perform the role of a father with their sons.

6.2 Improving Sexual Education

6.2.1 Father-son sexual communication

Similar to the findings by Bastien et al. (2009) and Namisi et al. (2013), my study indicates that fathers did not know how to communicate with their sons about sex-related aspects; or thought that they knew and did attempt to communicate about sex, but their views did not correspond with what their sons reported. When looking at the bigger picture, many in the field of educational research have looked at how to involve parents in their child's learning process. For example, Epstein's typology of parent involvement looked at how schools and parents can work together towards achieving optimal learning for learners (Van Wyk, 2010). While Epstein's model consists of six types of parental involvement (Van Wyk, 2010), *Type 1: parenting* and *Type 3: volunteering* are of particular relevance to this context. *Type 1: parenting* involves schools assisting parents with parenting skills to help them understand the development of their child, while *Type 3: volunteering* involves parents being recruited and

trained as volunteers as a way to support learners (Van Wyk, 2010). Models such as Epstein's therefore can also be considered in involving fathers in the sex education of their sons.

According to Sector-Turner et al. (2011), parents have a unique opportunity to reinforce sex education information in a way that school educators do not have as a result of limited teacher-student interaction. Researchers such as Atienzo et al. (2009) and Secor-Turner et al. (2011) have indicated the need for programmes to assist in parent-child sexual communication. For example, school educators and school counsellors could develop a programme that is specifically geared towards equipping fathers with the necessary skills to effectively communicate with their sons about sex-related matters. In addition, this programme could seek to also train fathers to run workshops in the community to assist/mentor other fathers in the skills learnt at these programmes. A challenge here, however, is to encourage community buy-in/co-operation, since talking openly and directly about all components of sexuality (i.e., not only about safe sex and abstinence) with children and young people is still seen as dangerous and undesirable by many parents. Furthermore, many parents do not respond to schools' calls for involvement and support.

6.2.2 School sexual education

Fathers in the current study often relied on sexual education taking place at school and did not think that they could add to the information imparted there. The sons' reports, however, indicated that they did not experience school sex education as providing the information and skills they needed. The literature review indicated that numerous suggestions have been made (Allen, 2006; Alison & Harrison, 2013; Biddulph, 2007; Buston & Wight, 2006; Francis, 2013; Haste, 2013; Helleve et al., 2009; Hilton, 2001; 2007) regarding how to make school sex education more engaging for boys. With many learners, including the young men in the current study, complaining about the repetitive, boring nature of lesson content, a new and innovative approach to sex education is needed. I want to make suggestions here as to how

school sex education could be implemented in a way that would engage young men with the material.

Although educators should engage with learners by involving them in the lesson, many educators choose not to do this, instead opting to strictly provide what is given in the textbook. Aside from what Gacoin (2010) noted in the literature review, there is not much ‘meat’ in the LO textbook to work with aside from a few paragraphs indicating the need for additional resources to be used in conjunction with the textbook as recommended by the Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) for LO. Furthermore, educators should make the lesson an interactive one, perhaps including a discussion lesson in which the learners are provided with a safe space to ask and discuss questions. This may be of particular relevance to boys who choose to flaunt their ‘inherent’ sexual knowledge. Educators can use this kind of knowledge, in interaction with the learners, to unpack young men’s assumptions about sexuality and identify their knowledge and skill needs.

6.3 Strengths, Limitations and Recommendations of the Study

Although the current study contributes to qualitative understandings of father-son sexual communication in a specific social context, it cannot necessarily be generalised to others in the same social group or to other South African communities. The current study made use of convenience sampling which located a small non-random sample, which may limit the generalizability of the study. Further research is therefore needed to explore father-son sexual communication in other socio-economic, cultural and age groups. Furthermore, as I myself grew up in an urban Coloured community with a father and a brother, I could recognise and understand participants’ experiences. Although this insider view could be considered a strength as I could understand and foreground the participants’ voices accurately, it could also be viewed as a limitation as I may have neglected to identify nuances that I took for

granted. Furthermore, the interview schedule being adapted after data collection had already commenced as well as the female interviewer dynamic being introduced, which may have inadvertently reproduced particular response patterns in the interviews, can be seen as limitations to the current study.

6.4 Conclusion

While both fathers and sons noted the importance of sexual communication, the current study found that sexual communication in these dyads often involved only brief and superficial interactions. Overall, while there seemed to be a lack of sexual communication between fathers and sons, the communication that did occur was often informed by a mutual acceptance of hegemonic ideals of masculinity and male sexuality. It is evident that sexual communication between father and son could be better harnessed to inform both fathers and sons about sexuality and gender.

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Addenda

Appendix 1: Informed Consent Form for Individual Interviews (Sons)



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STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Father-son sexual communication: A qualitative study in Western Cape communities

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. S Brooks, a Masters student from the Psychology Department at Stellenbosch University. The results will contribute to a Master's thesis in Psychology. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a male aged 18 – 25 from the Cape Metropole area and have a living father with whom you have regular contact. Currently, there is very limited knowledge about fathers' and sons' sexual communication. Your participation in this study will therefore help us to make more knowledge available.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to understand and explore fathers' and sons' communication about sex.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

- A convenient time and convenient, private and safe venue will be negotiated with you for an interview which will be conducted by a male facilitator. The interview will last approximately 60 min and will be audio-recorded.

- If necessary, you may be asked for a follow-up interview.
- The last ten minutes of the interview will be spend on a debriefing conversation in which you will be asked how you experienced the interview.

2. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

During the research process it is possible that you might feel some discomfort when discussing your experiences. It is also possible that you may become aware of problems or issues that may need professional assistance. In order to address this possibility, all participants will be provided with the contact details below of organisations that will be able to provide free or affordable counselling services: LifeLine Southern Africa. LifeLine is an organization that provides counselling services free of charge to any person experiencing personal crises. Contact details: (Landline): 021 461-1111 (telephonic counselling) **from 09h30 to 22h00 or WhatsApp Call 063 709 2620 from 10h00 to 14h00. To book a face to face counselling session, call 021 461 1113 Monday to Friday during office hours.** If you live in the Cape Town calling area, all calls to LifeLine are however charged at the local call cost rate. You may terminate your participation in the research study at any stage if you feel too uncomfortable to continue.

3. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Through the research study the researcher will gain a better understanding about whether or not fathers communicate with their sons about sexuality as well as how sons experience sexual communication with their fathers.

4. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive payment for their participation, but an incentive of a R100 airtime voucher will be offered to son participants to encourage research participation.

5. CONFIDENTIALITY

Your permission to audio record the interview will first be obtained before proceeding with the interview. Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of keeping the transcribed interviews in a secured file and in a locked room. No data will be made available to anyone outside the research team. All the data collected in this study will be destroyed once it is no longer necessary for use in academic and journal publications. All data gathered will remain confidential and will not be shared with your father and will only be available to the researchers involved.

Audiotaped data will not be made available to anybody outside of the research team; however participants who wish to review the tapes will be allowed to do so. Audio-taped data will be destroyed once it is no longer needed by the research team for dissemination purposes.

Results from the research will be published in the final thesis as well as academic articles; however no identifiable information will be printed and the confidentiality of research participants will be maintained.

6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. Should you wish to withdraw from the study, your interview will be destroyed. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

7. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dr Elmien Lesch (Supervisor) at el5@sun.ac.za and 021 808 3455, or Shannon Brooks at shanbrooks@vodamail.co.za and 072 991 8112.

8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty.

You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE
--

The information above was described to [*me/the subject/the participant*] by [*name of relevant person*] in [*Afrikaans/English/Xhosa/other*] and [*I am/the subject is/the participant is*] in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to [*me/him/her*]. [*I/the participant/the subject*] was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to [*my/his/her*] satisfaction.

[*I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study/I hereby consent that the subject/participant may participate in this study.*] I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Subject/Participant

Name of Legal Representative (if applicable)

Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____

[*name of the subject/participant*] and/or [his/her] representative _____

[*name of the representative*]. [*He/she*] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any

questions. This conversation was conducted in [*Afrikaans/*English/*Xhosa/*Other*] and [*no*

translator was used/this conversation was translated into _____ by

_____].

Signature of investigator

Date

Appendix 2: Informed Consent Form for Individual Interviews (Fathers)



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jou kennisvenoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Father-son sexual communication: A qualitative study in Western Cape communities

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. S Brooks, a Masters student from the Psychology Department at Stellenbosch University. The results will contribute to a master's thesis in Psychology. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a father of a son that is aged 18 – 25 from the Cape Metropole area and with whom you have regular contact with. Currently, there is very limited knowledge about fathers' and sons' sexual communication. Your participation in this study will therefore help us to make more knowledge available.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to understand and explore fathers' and sons' communication about sex.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

- A convenient time and convenient, private and safe venue will be negotiated with you for an interview which will be conducted by a male facilitator. The interview will last approximately 60 min and will be audio-recorded.
- If necessary, you may be asked for a follow-up interview.

- The last ten minutes of the interview will be spend on a debriefing conversation in which you will be asked how you experienced the interview.

2. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

During the research process it is possible that you might feel some discomfort when discussing your experiences. It is also possible that you may become aware of problems or issues that may need professional assistance. In order to address this possibility, all participants will be provided with the contact details below of organisations that will be able to provide free or affordable counselling services: LifeLine Southern Africa. LifeLine is an organization that provides counselling services free of charge to any person experiencing personal crises. Contact details: (Landline): 021 461-1111 (telephonic counselling) **from 09h30 to 22h00 or WhatsApp Call 063 709 2620 from 10h00 to 14h00. To book a face to face counselling session, call 021 461 1113 Monday to Friday during office hours.** If you live in the Cape Town calling area, all calls to LifeLine are however charged at the local call cost rate. You may terminate your participation in the research study at any stage if you feel too uncomfortable to continue.

3. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Through the research study the researcher will gain a better understanding about whether or not fathers communicate with their sons about sexuality as well as how sons experience sexual communication with their fathers.

4. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive payment for their participation, but an incentive of a R100 airtime voucher will be offered to son participants to encourage research participation.

5. CONFIDENTIALITY

Your permission to audio record the interview will first be obtained before proceeding with the interview. Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of keeping the transcribed interviews in a secured file and in a locked room. No data will be made available to anyone outside the research team. All the data collected in this study will be destroyed once it is no longer necessary for use in academic and journal publications. All data gathered will remain confidential and will not be shared with your son and will only be available to the researchers involved.

Audiotaped data will not be made available to anybody outside of the research team; however participants who wish to review the tapes will be allowed to do so. Audio-taped data will be destroyed once it is no longer needed by the research team for dissemination purposes.

Results from the research will be published in the final thesis as well as academic articles; however no identifiable information will be printed and the confidentiality of research participants will be maintained.

6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. Should you wish to withdraw from the study, your interview will also be destroyed. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

7. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dr Elmien Lesch (Supervisor) at el5@sun.ac.za and 021 808 3455, or Shannon Brooks at shanbrooks@vodamail.co.za and 072 991 8112.

8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty.

You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE
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The information above was described to [*me/the subject/the participant*] by [*name of relevant person*] in [*Afrikaans/English/Xhosa/other*] and [*I am/the subject is/the participant is*] in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to [*me/him/her*]. [*I/the participant/the subject*] was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to [*my/his/her*] satisfaction.

[*I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study/I hereby consent that the subject/participant may participate in this study.*] I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Subject/Participant

Name of Legal Representative (if applicable)

Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____

[*name of the subject/participant*] and/or [his/her] representative _____

[*name of the representative*]. [*He/she*] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any

questions. This conversation was conducted in [*Afrikaans/*English/*Xhosa/*Other*] and [*no*

translator was used/this conversation was translated into _____ by

_____].

Signature of investigator

Date

Appendix 3: Information Sheet (For Sons)

Name: _____

Age: _____

Residential Area: _____

Population group (race): _____

Contact details: _____

Are you interested in participating in this study: _____

Father-son sexual communication: A qualitative study in Western Cape communities

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. S Brooks, a Masters student from the Psychology Department at Stellenbosch University. The results will contribute to a master's thesis in Psychology. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a male aged 18 – 25 from the Cape Metropole area and have a living father with whom you have regular contact.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to understand and explore fathers' and sons' communication about sex.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

- A convenient time and convenient, private and safe venue will be negotiated with you for an interview which will be conducted by a male facilitator. The interview will last approximately 60 min and will be audio-recorded.
- If necessary, you may be asked for a follow-up interview.

- The last ten minutes of the interview will be spend on a debriefing conversation in which you will be asked how you experienced the interview.

2. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

During the research process it is possible that you might feel some discomfort when discussing your experiences. It is also possible that you may become aware of problems or issues that may need professional assistance. In order to address this possibility, all participants will be provided with the contact details below of organisations that will be able to provide free or affordable counselling services: LifeLine Southern Africa. LifeLine is an organization that provides counselling services free of charge to any person experiencing personal crises. Contact details: (Landline): 021 461-1111 (telephonic counselling) **from 09h30 to 22h00 or WhatsApp Call 063 709 2620 from 10h00 to 14h00. To book a face to face counselling session, call 021 461 1113 Monday to Friday during office hours.** If you live in the Cape Town calling area, all calls to LifeLine are however charged at the local call cost rate. You may terminate your participation in the research study at any stage if you feel too uncomfortable to continue.

3. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Through the research study the researcher will gain a better understanding about whether or not fathers communicate with their sons about sexuality as well as how sons experience sexual communication with their fathers.

4. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive payment for their participation, but an incentive of a R100 airtime voucher will be offered to you to as encouragement to participate and as a gesture of appreciation for your participation.

5. CONFIDENTIALITY

Your permission to audio record the interview will first be obtained before proceeding with the interview. Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of keeping the transcribed interviews in a secured file and in a locked room. No data will be made available to anyone outside the research team. All the data collected in this study will be destroyed once it is no longer necessary for the purposes of completing my degree and subsequent academic publications. All data gathered will remain confidential and will not be shared with your father and will only be available to the researchers involved.

Audiotaped data will not be made available to anybody outside of the research team; however participants who wish to review the tapes will be allowed to do so. Audio-taped data will be destroyed once it is no longer needed by the research team for dissemination purposes.

Results from the research will be published in the final thesis as well as academic articles; however no identifiable information will be printed and the confidentiality of research participants will be maintained.

6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. Should you wish to withdraw from the study, your interview will also be destroyed. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

7. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dr Elmien Lesch (Supervisor) at el5@sun.ac.za and 021 808 3455, or Shannon Brooks at shanbrooks@vodamail.co.za and 072 991 8112.

8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty.

You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

Appendix 4: Information Sheet (For Fathers)

Name: _____

Age: _____

Residential Area: _____

Population group (race): _____

Income bracket (estimated): _____

Contact details: _____

Are you interested in participating in this study: _____

Father-son sexual communication: A qualitative study in Western Cape communities

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. S Brooks, a Masters student from the Psychology Department at Stellenbosch University. The results will contribute to a master's thesis in Psychology. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are the father of a son that is aged 18 – 25 from the Cape Metropole area and has regular contact with your son.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to understand and explore fathers' and sons' communication about sex.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

- A convenient time and convenient, private and safe venue will be negotiated with you for an interview which will be conducted by a male facilitator. The interview will last approximately 60 min and will be audio-recorded.
- If necessary, you may be asked for a follow-up interview.

- The last ten minutes of the interview will be spend on a debriefing conversation in which you will be asked how you experienced the interview.

2. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

During the research process it is possible that you might feel some discomfort when discussing your experiences. It is also possible that you may become aware of problems or issues that may need professional assistance. In order to address this possibility, all participants will be provided with the contact details below of organisations that will be able to provide free or affordable counselling services: LifeLine Southern Africa. LifeLine is an organization that provides counselling services free of charge to any person experiencing personal crises. Contact details: (Landline): 021 461-1111 (telephonic counselling) **from 09h30 to 22h00 or WhatsApp Call 063 709 2620 from 10h00 to 14h00. To book a face to face counselling session, call 021 461 1113 Monday to Friday during office hours.** If you live in the Cape Town calling area, all calls to LifeLine are however charged at the local call cost rate. You may terminate your participation in the research study if you feel too uncomfortable to continue.

3. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

Through the research study the researcher will gain a better understanding about whether or not fathers communicate with their sons about sexuality as well as how sons experience sexual communication with their fathers.

4. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive payment for their participation, but an incentive of a R100 airtime voucher will be offered to you to as encouragement to participate and as a gesture of appreciation for your participation.

5. CONFIDENTIALITY

Your permission to audio record the interview will first be obtained before proceeding with the interview. Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of keeping the transcribed interviews in a secured file and in a locked room. No data will be made available to anyone outside the research team. All the data collected in this study will be destroyed once it is no longer necessary for use in academic and journal publications. All data gathered will remain confidential and will not be shared with your son and will only be available to the researchers involved.

Audiotaped data will not be made available to anybody outside of the research team; however participants who wish to review the tapes will be allowed to do so. Audio-taped data will be destroyed once it is no longer needed by the research team for dissemination purposes.

Results from the research will be published in the final thesis as well as academic articles; however no identifiable information will be printed and the confidentiality of research participants will be maintained.

6. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. Should you wish to withdraw from the study, your interview will also be destroyed. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

7. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Dr Elmien Lesch (Supervisor) at el5@sun.ac.za and 021 808 3455, or Shannon Brooks at shanbrooks@vodamail.co.za and 072 991 8112.

8. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty.

You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

Appendix 5: Information Flyer

Father-son sexual communication: A qualitative study in a Western Cape community

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ms. S Brooks, a Masters student from the Psychology Department at Stellenbosch University. The results will contribute to a master's thesis in Psychology. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a male aged 18 – 25 from the Cape Metropole area and have a living father with whom you have regular contact.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to understand and explore fathers' and sons' communication about sex.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

- A convenient time and convenient, private and safe venue will be negotiated with you for an interview which will be conducted by a male facilitator. The interview will last approximately 60 min and will be audio-recorded.
- If necessary, you may be asked for a follow-up interview.
- The last ten minutes of the interview will be spend on a debriefing conversation in which you will be asked how you experienced the interview.

2. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

Participants will not receive payment for their participation, but an incentive of a R100 airtime voucher will be offered to you to as encouragement to participate and as a gesture of appreciation for your participation.

3. CONFIDENTIALITY

Your permission to audio record the interview will first be obtained before proceeding with the interview. All data gathered will remain confidential and will not be shared with your father/son and will only be available to the researchers involved.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law.

Results from the research will be published in the final thesis as well as academic articles; however no identifiable information will be printed and the confidentiality of research participants will be maintained.

4. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you wish to participate in this study contact Shannon Brooks at shanbrooks@vodamail.co.za and 072 991 8112.

Appendix 6: Interview Schedule (For Sons)

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research study. The interview procedure will be as follows:

- The session will be recorded for future use and analysis. The recordings will not be listened to by anybody but the researchers. The electronic transcriptions will be kept under a password protected login and any physical transcript copies will be kept in a locked cabinet in a secure room. All the data collected in this study will be destroyed once it is no longer necessary for use in academic and journal publications.
- Please feel free to speak freely and openly, there are no right or wrong answers to the questions and no judgments will be made based upon your answers.

All data gathered will remain confidential, anonymous, will not be shared with your father and will only be available to the researchers involved.

Please choose a pseudonym that we will use instead of your own name.

- If at any time during the interview you wish to withdraw from the study, you are free to do so.
- If you understand the procedure and agree to continue, please read through, fill in, and sign the informed consent form.
- The interview questions provided will only be used as a guideline for the first level of interviewing and will allow for the participants to freely express their feelings and perceptions.

Guiding questions:

1. Where did you first learn about sex? In your own words describe the situation.

2. What do you believe is the most important information about sex that a man needs to know?
3. Has your father ever spoken to you about sex? If yes, can you provide an example? If no, do you think there is a reason why he has not spoken to you about sex?
4. Do you currently talk about sex with your father? If yes, what do you talk about?
5. How often do you and your father talk about topics sex related?
6. How comfortable is your father in speaking to you about sex?
7. How many of your questions or what kind of questions regarding sex and sexuality does your father answer?
8. Sometimes parents do not necessarily speak about sex, but one still gets messages about sex from them. What kind of message about sex do you get from your father?
9. What are your feelings regarding talking to your father about things sexual in nature?
10. In your own words, tell me about your relationship with your father.
11. When you and your father have discussed things sex related, how did you feel?
12. What are the kinds of sex related topics that you discuss with your father?
13. Could you describe an incident where you spoke to your father about sex?

Appendix 7: Interview Schedule (For Fathers)

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research study. The interview procedure will be as follows:

- The session will be recorded for future use and analysis. The recordings will not be listened to by anybody but the researchers. The electronic transcriptions will be kept under a password protected login and any physical transcript copies will be kept in a locked cabinet in a secure room. All the data collected in this study will be destroyed once it is no longer necessary for use in academic and journal publications.
- Please feel free to speak freely and openly, there are no right or wrong answers to the questions and no judgments will be made based upon your answers.
- All data gathered will remain confidential, anonymous, will not be shared with your son and will only be available to the researchers involved.
- If at any time during the interview you wish to withdraw from the study, you are free to do so.
- If you understand the procedure and agree to continue, please read through, fill in, and sign the informed consent form.
- The interview questions provided will only be used as a guideline for the first level of interviewing and will allow for the participants to freely express their feelings and perceptions.

Guiding questions:

1. Where did you first learn about sex? In your own words describe the situation.
2. What do you believe is the most important information about sex that a man needs to know?

3. Have ever spoken to your son about sex? If yes, can you provide an example? If no, is there a particular reason why you have not spoken to him about sex?
4. Do you currently talk about sex with your son? If yes, what do you talk about?
5. How often do you and your son talk about topics sex related?
6. How comfortable is your son in speaking to you about sex?
7. How many of the questions or what kind of questions regarding sex and sexuality do you/ are you able to answer?
8. Sometimes parents do not necessarily speak about sex, but one still gets messages about sex from them. What kind of message about sex do you pass on to your son?
9. What are your feelings regarding talking to your son about things sexual in nature?
10. In your own words, tell me about your relationship with your son.
11. When you and your son have discussed things sex related, how did you feel?
12. What are the kinds of sex related topics that you discuss with your son?
13. Could you describe an incident where you spoke to your son about sex?
14. Is there anything else that you would like to share about what a father should discuss about sex with his son?

Appendix 8: Revised Interview Schedule (For Sons)

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research study. The interview procedure will be as follows:

- The session will be recorded for future use and analysis. The recordings will not be listened to by anybody but the researchers. The electronic transcriptions will be kept under a password protected login and any physical transcript copies will be kept in a locked cabinet in a secure room. All the data collected in this study will be destroyed once it is no longer necessary for use in academic and journal publications.
- Please feel free to speak freely and openly, there are no right or wrong answers to the questions and no judgments will be made based upon your answers.

All data gathered will remain confidential, anonymous, will not be shared with your father and will only be available to the researchers involved. Please choose a pseudonym that we will use instead of your own name.

- If at any time during the interview you wish to withdraw from the study, you are free to do so.
- If you understand the procedure and agree to continue, please read through, fill in, and sign the informed consent form.
- The interview questions provided will only be used as a guideline for the first level of interviewing and will allow for the participants to freely express their feelings and perceptions.

Guiding questions:

1. Where did you first learn about sex? In your own words describe the situation.

2. What do you believe is the most important information about sex that a man needs to know?
3. In your own words, tell me about your relationship with your father.
4. Has your father ever spoken to you about sex? If yes, can you provide an example? If no, do you think there is a reason why he has not spoken to you about sex?
5. Do you currently talk about sex with your father? If yes, what do you talk about and how often?
6. How comfortable is your father speaking to you about sex?
7. What are your feelings regarding talking to your father about things of a sexual nature?
8. What are the kinds of sex related topics that you discuss with your father? (or would want to discuss with your father)
9. How many or what kind of questions regarding sex and sexuality does your father answer?
10. Have you ever discussed topics of masturbation/wet dreams with your father? If yes what did you talk about? If no, why not?
11. Has your father ever spoken to you about being romantically intimate with your partner or how to make love to a woman? If yes, what did you talk about? If no, do you think there is a reason why he has not spoken to you about it?
12. Sometimes parents do not necessarily speak about sex, but one still gets messages about sex from them. What kind of message about sex do you get from your father?
13. Do you think a father and son should talk about sex related topics? If yes how often? If no why not?
14. What is your view on the role of a father in a son's life?
15. In your opinion what does it mean to be a man? Where did you learn this?

16. One day when you are a father yourself, what will be your perspective with regards to educating your son about sex? How would you do it? What do you want him to know? Will you do it in the same way as your father? Why?

Appendix 9: Revised Interview Schedule (For Fathers)

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research study. The interview procedure will be as follows:

- The session will be recorded for future use and analysis. The recordings will not be listened to by anybody but the researchers. The electronic transcriptions will be kept under a password protected login and any physical transcript copies will be kept in a locked cabinet in a secure room. All the data collected in this study will be destroyed once it is no longer necessary for use in academic and journal publications.
- Please feel free to speak freely and openly, there are no right or wrong answers to the questions and no judgments will be made based upon your answers.
- All data gathered will remain confidential, anonymous, will not be shared with your son and will only be available to the researchers involved.
- If at any time during the interview you wish to withdraw from the study, you are free to do so.
- If you understand the procedure and agree to continue, please read through, fill in, and sign the informed consent form.
- The interview questions provided will only be used as a guideline for the first level of interviewing and will allow for the participants to freely express their feelings and perceptions.

Guiding questions:

1. Where did you first learn about sex? In your own words describe the situation.
2. What do you believe is the most important information about sex that a man needs to know?
3. In your own words, tell me about your relationship with your son.

4. Have ever spoken to your son about sex? If yes, can you provide an example? If no, is there a particular reason why you have not spoken to him about sex?
5. Do you currently talk about sex with your son? If yes, what do you talk about and how often?
6. How comfortable is your son in speaking to you about sex?
7. What are your feelings regarding talking to your son about things of a sexual nature?
8. What are the kinds of sex related topics that you discuss with your son?
9. How many or what kind of questions regarding sex and sexuality do you/are you able to answer?
10. Have you ever discussed topics of masturbation/wet dreams with your son? If yes, what did you talk about? If no, why not?
11. Have you ever spoken to your son about being romantically intimate with his partner or how to make love to a woman? If yes, what did you talk about? If no, do you think there is a reason why you have not spoken to him about it?
12. Sometimes parents do not necessarily speak about sex, but one still gets messages about sex from them. What kind of message about sex do you pass on to your son?
13. In your opinion what does it mean to be a man? Where did you learn this?
14. What is your view on the role of a father in a son's life?
15. Do you think a father and son should talk about sex related topics? If yes, how often? If no, why not?
16. Do you think you have a different perspective than your own father about educating your son about sex?
17. Have you educated your son similarly or differently to how your father educated/informed you? Why?

18. Is there anything else that you would like to share about what a father should discuss about sex with his son?

Appendix 10: Data Analysis Steps Mind Map

Familiarize with data: Printed out transcripts and read through them numerous times



Coding data: generating labels for important factors relevant to the research question and organising the data according to these codes

Example: school is obvious source of sex information, television is source of sex information, circumstance in the home impact communication



Searching for themes: combing through all the coded data

Example: sources of sex information, message spoken, reason for conversation, openness, etc.



Reviewing themes: to check whether they are in line with the coded data

Example: father's not a source of sex information, private business, and the provider role



Naming and defining themes: clearly name and define each theme

Example: the provider role was absorbed into the reproducing hegemonic masculinity theme



Producing the report: selecting the most prominent themes

Example: Reproducing hegemonic masculinity theme in findings

Appendix 11: Ethical Clearance Letter



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Approval Notice

Stipulated documents/requirements

02- Sep -2016

Brooks, Shannon S

Ethics Reference #: SU-HSD-002616

Title: Father-son sexual communication: A qualitative study in a Western Cape urban community

Dear Ms Shannon Brooks,

Your Stipulated documents/requirements received on 16-Aug-2016, was reviewed and **accepted**.

Please note the following information about your approved research proposal: **Proposal Approval Period:** 23-Jun-2016 - 22-Jun -2017

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this leer.

If the research deviates significantly from the undertaking that was made in the original application for research ethics clearance to the REC and/or alters the risk/benefit profile of the study, the researcher must undertake to notify the REC of these changes.

Please remember to use your **proposal number (SU-HSD-002616)** on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at 218089183.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham

REC Coordinator

Research Ethics Committee: Human

Research (Humanities)

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number: REC-050411-032.

The Research Ethics Committee: Humanities complies with the SA National Health Act No.61 2003 as it pertains to health research. In addition, this committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research established by the Declaration of Helsinki (2013) and the Department of Health Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes (2nd Ed.) 2015 . Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

Investigator Responsibilities

Protection of Human Research Participants

Some of the general responsibilities investigators have when conducting research involving human participants are listed below:

1. Conducting the Research. You are responsible for making sure that the research is conducted according to the REC approved research protocol. You are also responsible for the actions of all your co-investigators and research staff involved with this research. You must also ensure that the research is conducted within the standards of your field of research.

2. Participant Enrolment. You may not recruit or enrol participants prior to the REC approval date or after the expiration date of REC approval. All recruitment materials for any form of media must be approved by the REC prior to their use.

3. Informed Consent. You are responsible for obtaining and documenting effective informed consent using **only** the REC-approved consent documents/process, and for ensuring that no human participants are involved in research prior to obtaining their informed consent. Please give all participants copies of the signed informed consent documents. Keep the originals in your secured research files for at least five (5) years.

4. Continuing Review. The REC must review and approve all REC-approved research proposals at intervals appropriate to the degree of risk but not less than once per year. There is **no grace period**. Prior to the date on which the REC approval of the research expires, **it is your responsibility to submit the progress report in a timely fashion to ensure a lapse in REC approval does not occur**. If REC approval of your research lapses, you must stop new participant enrolment, and contact the REC office immediately.

5. Amendments and Changes. If you wish to amend or change any aspect of your research (such as research design, interventions or procedures, participant population, informed consent document, instruments, surveys or recruiting material), you must submit the amendment to the REC for review

using the current Amendment Form. You **may not initiate** any amendments or changes to your research without first obtaining written REC review and approval. The **only exception** is when it is necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants and the REC should be immediately informed of this necessity.

6. Adverse or Unanticipated Events. Any serious adverse events, participant complaints, and all unanticipated problems that involve risks to participants or others, as well as any research related injuries, occurring at this institution or at other performance sites must be reported to Malene Fouche within **five (5) days** of discovery of the incident. You must also report any instances of serious or continuing problems, or non-compliance with the RECs requirements for protecting human research participants. The only exception to this policy is that the death of a research participant must be reported in accordance with the Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee Standard Operating Procedures. All reportable events should be submitted to the REC using the Serious Adverse Event Report Form.

7. Research Record Keeping. You must keep the following research related records, at a minimum, in a secure location for a minimum of five years: the REC approved research proposal and all amendments; all informed consent documents; recruiting materials; continuing review reports; adverse or unanticipated events; and all correspondence from the REC.

8.Provision of Counselling or emergency support. When a dedicated counsellor or psychologist provides support to a participant without prior REC review and approval, to the extent permitted by law, such activities will not be recognised as research nor the data used in support of research. Such cases should be indicated in the progress report or final report.

9.Final reports. When you have completed (no further participant enrolment, interactions or interventions) or stopped work on your research, you must submit a Final Report to the REC.

10.On-Site Evaluations, Inspections, or Audits. If you are notified that your research will be reviewed or audited by the sponsor or any other external agency or any internal group, you must inform the REC immediately of the impending audit/evaluation.