

**CONSTRUCTIONS OF MALE ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY IN A COLOURED, RURAL COMMUNITY.**

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**Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology) at the University of Stellenbosch.**



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STATEMENT

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

DECLARATION

Financial assistance from the Human Sciences Research Council for this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions given or conclusions reached in this work are those of the author and should not necessarily be regarded as those of the Human Sciences Research Council.

SUMMARY

Statistics indicate that not only HIV-infection and AIDS but all sexual and reproductive health problems are increasing globally. In order to address these issues the socio-cultural context in which sexual behaviour is expressed must be understood. Given that sexual health risks are compounded by socio-political and socio-economic issues, researchers must direct their focus to high-risk, low socio-economic communities.

Adolescents have been identified as a prime target for sexual awareness and preventative programmes and research has stressed the importance of gaining an understanding of adolescent sexuality, in order to address the sexual health risks that threaten adolescents. In addition, there is a paucity of research on especially the role of the male adolescent in the study of sexual and reproductive health.

In the current study, constructions of male adolescent sexuality in traditionally coloured and rural communities were explored. The nature of the research was exploratory and the aims were to determine the range and frequency of sexual behaviour that male adolescents in a specific community engage in and secondly, explore male adolescents' constructions of their sexuality and sexual behaviour in intimate heterosexual sexual relationships.

Multiple methods of data collection were utilised. Self-report questionnaires were completed by 179 male adolescents between the age of 15 and 21, at two schools in the rural areas surrounding Stellenbosch. The data from the questionnaire was quantitatively analysed. Seven in-depth interviews were conducted with male adolescents between the age of 16 and 18. The data from the interviews was analysed qualitatively.

An analysis of the data indicated that male adolescents' ability to take control over safe sex practices are undermined by attempts to defend and conceal their sexual behaviour and sexuality. Male adolescents from traditionally coloured and rural areas distance and externalise their sexual behaviour and sexuality. Sexual behaviour is explained and understood as being directed by external factors and by fear of negative evaluation by peers and parents. Such a construction of sexuality continues to prevent male adolescents from understanding and constructing their sexuality as self-owned and self-directed. In turn this construction continues to result in behaviour that runs counter to safe sex guidelines.

OPSOMMING

Statistieke toon dat alle seksueel-oordraagbare siektes en reprodktiewe gesondheidsprobleme, insluitend HIV-infeksie en VIGS, op globale vlak toeneem. Ten einde hierdie probleme aan te spreek is dit noodsaaklik om die sosio-kulturele konteks van seksualiteit en seksuele gedrag in ag te neem. Gegewe dat sosio-politiese en sosio-ekonomiese omstandighede 'n impak het op seksuele gesondheidsrisikos, word navorsers genoodsaak om hul fokus te rig op hoë-risiko, lae sosio-ekonomiese gemeenskappe .

Adolessente word geïdentifiseer as primêre teikengroep vir bewustheids- en voorkomingsprogramme aangaande seksualiteit. Navorsing toon die belangrikheid aan van insig in adollesente seksualiteit, ten einde seksuele gesondheidsrisiko's in dié teikengroep aan te spreek. Verder is daar ook 'n leemte in navorsing betreffende die rol van die manlike adollesent in seksuele en reprodktiewe gesondheid.

Hierdie studie het die konstruksies van manlike adollesente seksualiteit in tradisioneel "kleurling", landelike gemeenskappe ondersoek. Die navorsing is eksploratief van aard, met primêre doelwit 'n bepaling van die omvang en frekwensie van seksuele gedrag waarin manlike adollesente in 'n spesifieke gemeenskap deelneem. 'n Sekondêre doelwit is om manlike adollesente se konstruksies van hul seksualiteit en seksuele gedrag in intieme heteroseksuele verhoudings te ondersoek.

Data-insameling het 'n kombinasie van metodes behels. Vraelyste is deur 179 manlike adollesente tussen die ouderdom van 15 en 21, komende uit twee skole in die Stellenbosch-distrik, ingevul. Die data is kwantitatief geanaliseer. Verder is sewe in-diepte onderhoude met manlike adollesente tussen die ouderdom van 16 en 18 gevoer. Data uit hierdie onderhoude is kwalitatief geanaliseer.

Die analise van die data het aangedui dat manlike adollesente se vermoë om beheer te neem oor veilige seksuele praktyk, ondermyn word deur pogings om hul seksualiteit en seksuele gedrag te verskans. Manlike adollesente vanuit tradisioneel "kleurling", landelike gemeenskappe distansiëer hulself van en eksternaliseer hul seksuele gedrag en seksualiteit. Seksuele gedrag word betekenis gegee en verstaan as gedrag wat deur eksterne faktore en die vrees vir negatiewe evaluering deur ouers en die portuurgroep, beheer word. Hierdie konstruksie van seksualiteit verhoed dat manlike adollesente hul seksualiteit in 'n konteks van

selfbeheer en selfbesit kan betekenis gee. Sulke konstruksies dra daartoe by om veilige seksuele gedragryglyn te ondermyn.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND MOTIVATION

1. Adolescent sexual and reproductive health in South Africa

Kelley and Kalichman (1995) estimated that by the year 2000, 38 to 110 million people will be infected with Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), mostly in the developing countries within Africa and Asia. The reality is that a conservative estimate of approximately 33 million people are presently infected with HIV throughout the world, with many HIV infected people still remaining unaware of their HIV positive status and many more already having died as a result of HIV infection and the resultant Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) virus. The World Health Organisation stated that at least 20% of all people who have AIDS, are in their twenties and most of them have in all likelihood become infected with HIV as adolescents (Visser, 1996). Whiteside (1988) predicted that in the best case scenario, by 1995 there would be 3634 cases of AIDS in South Africa while as in the worst case scenario there would be 176 128 cases of AIDS. The reality is that there were approximately 6852 reported cases of HIV on 3 March 1995 (Lachman, 1995). Although statistical reports do vary, a dramatic increase in reported HIV infection, has far exceeded Whiteside's prediction with the more recent estimated figures of HIV infected individuals in South Africa, presently being estimated to be 3,8 million people (Strachan, 1999). In all age groups, HIV infection in South Africa continues to increase. Women in their twenties have the highest rates of HIV infection, at 17,74% for the 20 - 24 year old group and 15,33% for the 25 - 29 year old group. Of particular concern is the prevalence rate of HIV infection in pregnant women in their twenties being 12,9%. The statistics indicate that 157 272 HIV infected babies have been born since 1990 (Department of Health, 1997).

As HIV and AIDS continue to be researched, it appears that while progress is being made in the understanding of the nature of the disease, how it can be contracted and how the progression of the illness in the body can possibly be slowed with the use of limited medication options, there has been limited success in preventing the contraction and spread of this disease, especially amongst the youth of our nation. The Doyle Impact Model predicted

that there will be over one million children orphaned through AIDS in South Africa by the year 2005, many of whom may end up as so-called street children (Lindegger & Wood, 1995).

In addition to HIV infection, the number of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and teenage pregnancies also cause concern. It was estimated that approximately 2,5 million adolescents throughout the world, are infected with STDs each year (Slonim-Nevo, Ozawa & Auslander, 1991). Teenage pregnancy figures in 1996 in the Boland-Overberg area alone, revealed that 1506 babies were born to teenagers between the ages of 10 and 19, with the coloured¹ population group accounting for 1274 of those births (Department of Health, Information Management, 1997).

The reporting of statistics and documenting of HIV and STD infection and teenage pregnancy however, can in no way capture what it is for individuals and families to live with and manage HIV and STD infections and teenage pregnancy in South Africa. In addition to the statistical reporting of the reproductive health issues and the molecular study of HIV and STD infection, it appears that an understanding of human sexuality is central to the reproductive health issues that must be confronted. If sexuality research is to make a worthwhile contribution to reproductive health and social issues, attention will have to be given to studying why people put themselves at risk (Lachman, 1995).

Socially-marginalised groups or minorities as well as rural-communities have been identified as having an increased risk of HIV and STD infection as well as teenage pregnancy due to factors such as poverty, limited access to adequate education and health care (Lachman, 1995; Lindegger, 1995; Macleod, 1999). The traditionally coloured and black rural areas in South Africa have a history of racial, social and economic marginalisation, which has therefore resulted in these communities having increased reproductive health risks.

The Stellenbosch Hospital statistics (1998), for the years 1994 to 1997, reflect that the number of teenage births at this hospital alone, being 207 for the year 1994 and 192, 185 and

¹ The following categories have been used to classify people in the past: white, black, coloured, indian. The term coloured will be used to refer to a specific group of people and the intention is not to maintain or confirm derogatory forms of population classification.

205 for each following year, respectively. In the Boland-Overberg area alone, 442 adolescent coloured females, between the ages of 10 and nineteen, received treatment for STD infection in 1996 (Department of Health, Information Management, 1997). These statistics emphasise the need for more data concerning adolescent sexuality and risk-taking sexual behaviour in these specific communities.

2. Ineffectiveness of preventative programmes

Adolescents have been identified as a prime target for sexual awareness and preventative programmes. Adolescents are in a developmental stage that involves exploring and experimenting with various lifestyles and it is during this stage that behaviour patterns are formed and lifestyle decisions are made (Visser, 1996). In addition, previous studies have indicated that once adolescents have established behavioural patterns, it is extremely difficult to modify these patterns (Buysse & Van Oost, 1997). HIV infection cases among women are growing at a faster rate than cases among men (Campbell, 1995). Van Coeverden De Groot (1996), stated that women are the fastest growing segment of the population becoming infected and that there is no doubt that women, particularly in their teens, are significantly more susceptible to HIV infection than men.

In order to address the ever-increasing rate at which adolescents are contracting the HIV virus, STDs and the high number of teenage pregnancies, health organisations around the world advocate preventative programmes, with the adolescent population as a key focus or target population group. Research has shown, however, that the preventative programmes focusing on adolescent sexuality have not been effective in teaching adolescents to manage their sexuality responsibly (Kirby, 1992), The First AIDS Kit, and AIDS and lifestyle education programme for teenagers developed by the South African Department of National Health and Population Development in 1992, did have positive effects on students' awareness of and knowledge of AIDS and their attitudes towards people who have AIDS. The effect on knowledge and attitudes was, however, not accompanied by significant changes in behavioural intention (Visser, 1996). The fact that teenage pregnancy, STDs and HIV infections remain a threat to especially the adolescent population of the world, also indicates

that an increased knowledge and awareness of sexual risks are not accompanied by changes in sexual behaviour patterns. Risk reduction programmes that merely provide information without paying attention to the orientation and social context of the individual will perhaps not be enough to result in changes in sexual behaviour (Joffe, 1996; Kelley & Kalichman, 1995; Lachman, 1995; Langer & Warheit, 1992).

3. Gender imbalances in reproductive and sexual responsibility

Many of the preventative programmes focus on women as the target population, possibly because traditionally women have been responsible for the health of their families and have therefore been easier to reach as a result of the resultant contact with the health clinics and social services (Campbell, 1995; Lachman, 1995). The role of the male adolescent has not been in the foreground of sex education programmes (De Gaston, Weed & Jenson, 1996). Schlebusch and Cassidy (1995), questioned whether prevention programmes that focus on women as the target group for infection control and safe sex, continue to reinforce perceptions of this being "women's work". Preventative programmes focusing on women have not taken into account the possibility of disproportionate control of men in power-imbalanced heterosexual relationships (Kalichman, Rompa & Coley, 1996). This places limits on the success of women to effect risk reduction behaviour change, if men are resistant. Although the attention to women's risk is important, it has perpetuated traditional beliefs about gender roles and has therefore served to free men from taking responsibility for their own health and that of their female partners (Campbell, 1995). Preventative programmes should not only be directed at females, but should include the male adolescent, as there are widespread implications for both male and the female adolescents (Keogh, 1988). Campbell (1995), concluded that one half of the heterosexual partnership is not receiving information and that not enough attention has been paid to the way in which gender socialisation contributes to perceptions about sexual identity, sexual responsibility-taking and sexuality in general.

4. Neglect of the heterosexual context

Health promotion approaches, preventative programmes and research studies, focus on the individual and have failed to take cognisance of the dyadic nature of sexual interaction and decision-making (Campbell, 1995). The role of individual volition in health behaviour, particularly sexual behaviour, is restricted by others who may subtly or coercively exercise their control (Joffe, 1996). Langer and Warheit (1992) emphasised that adolescents are often motivated to behave so as to avoid or reduce perceived possible rejection by other individuals and therefore would attempt to avoid perceived rejection by their sexual partners. With regard to sexual behaviour therefore, the role of the sexual partner and the interaction between both partners, needs to be explored more carefully (Campbell, 1995; Joffe, 1996; Kashima, Gallois & McCamish, 1993; Langer & Warheit, 1992).

Although sexual intercourse, in adolescence, is more likely to take place within a committed dating relationship or in the "going steady" phase rather than in a relationship with little or moderate commitment, there are still many differences in the sexual behaviour of various adolescent subgroups (Miller, Christopherson & King, 1993). Although some of these differences can be accounted for primarily by social and cultural forces such as race, family and religion, we do not know how these factors influence adolescent sexuality. In the next sections different aspects that pertain to the heterosexual context of sexuality will be discussed.

Other than through blood transfusions and from mother to her foetus, HIV is always transmitted in the context of a dyadic, interpersonal relationship (Fransman, Van der Velde & Hussey, 1996). Although HIV infection and AIDS have traditionally and incorrectly been associated with homosexual practices, transmission of HIV infection in Africa is overwhelmingly heterosexual (Van Coeverden De Groot, 1991; Lachman, 1995). In addition, teenage pregnancy is obviously also a result of heterosexual dyadic interactions. Therefore attention has to be paid to the heterosexual dyadic context in which human sexual behaviour is expressed and sexual decision-making takes place.

5. Neglect of male adolescent sexuality

Whilst there has been much research conducted with women concerning AIDS there has been very little research that has focused on heterosexual men and AIDS, their sexual behaviour and the other sexual risks that men face (Macleod, 1999; Strebel, 1995). It is extremely important for these sexual health issues to be re-framed in order that they will be viewed as a problem for all members of the society (Strebel, 1995). An inevitable result of this "reframing" will be that male sexuality will have to be investigated.

6. Summary and Conclusion

From the above it is clear that adolescent sexual and reproductive health issues need urgent attention due to the high rates of teenage pregnancy, STD and HIV infection. Despite the implementation of many preventative programmes, the adolescents of South Africa still remain at risk of contracting the HIV virus, STDs and falling pregnant. In order to address these risks, it is suggested that efforts will be more successful if preventative programmes take greater account of the factors related to the socio-cultural and dyadic context of sexual behaviour. Given that HIV transmission in South African is overwhelmingly taking place in heterosexual sexual interactions, a greater understanding of heterosexual sexual contexts, are needed. The paucity of research focusing on heterosexual male sexuality as well as the focus of preventative programmes on women, highlight the need to focus attention on male adolescent sexuality. The goal of this study was to explore male adolescent sexuality in a coloured community.

In the following chapter a conceptualisation of the key concepts used in the current study, will be presented. In chapter three a critique of relevant theoretical frameworks will be provided, thereafter the theoretical departure point of the study, namely social constructionism will also be presented. Chapter four follows with the presentation of the research methodology. In chapter five and six respectively, the quantitative and qualitative results of the study will be presented and discussed. Finally, the study will be concluded in chapter seven. In this chapter a brief summary of the research results will be discussed. In addition, a review and reflection

upon the entire research study will be presented with the aim of highlighting recommendations for possible future research studies which have male adolescent sexuality as the focus.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUALISATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

1. Adolescence

According to Louw (1991), for centuries adolescents were regarded as adults in Western Europe and it is only in more recent years that adolescence has been viewed as a separate developmental stage between childhood and adulthood. This understanding of adolescence as a separate developmental stage has focused attention on various developmental tasks and adjustment problems that are unique to the adolescent stage. The following developmental tasks that the adolescent is expected to accomplish during this stage of development have been identified:

- acceptance of his or her changed physical appearance;
- development of masculine or feminine sex-role identity;
- establishment of heterosexual relationships;
- development of a strong emotional bond with another person;
- preparation for marriage and family responsibilities;
- development of independence from parents and other adults;
- acceptance of self as a person of worth and the development of an own identity;
- development of socially responsible behaviour;
- acceptance of and adjustment to certain groups;
- development of intellectual skills and concepts so that the individual will in due course be able to fulfil adult responsibilities;
- selection of and preparation of a career;
- achievement of financial independence;
- development of a value system based on a realistic and scientific world view;
- development of moral concepts and values that can serve as guidelines for behaviour; and
- development of a life philosophy (Louw, 1991).

The adolescent period sets both multiple and extremely challenging goals for the adolescents to achieve. Sexuality plays an important role in the adolescent's development and relationships and it contributes to the development of social and emotional maturity

depending on the manner and degree to which these sexual developmental tasks are achieved and controlled (Louw, 1991).

2. Adolescent sexuality

Adolescent sexuality is understood as being part of a broader context of adolescent developmental or transition tasks. The conceptualisation of adolescent sexuality as part of a developmental or transition process, highlights the importance of adolescent sexuality not being understood as simply a single act or behaviour but rather a process or collection of varying and overlapping behaviours, attitudes and experiences. In addition, adolescent sexuality is understood to be part of a context of behaviours and developmental processes (Rodgers, 1996).

In the past adolescent sexuality has either been approached and defined as a biological drive which initiates certain sexual behaviours, or as a social problem which jeopardises the adolescent's successful progression to adulthood as well as the existing adult and family structures (Maddock, 1997). The focus of research exploring adolescent sexuality has been directed towards reproductive health issues and fertility control. Researchers have focused their attention on documenting the range and frequency of adolescents' sexual behaviour and contraceptive usage (Brooks-Gunn & Furstenberg, 1989). Little has been reported about the context, relationships and social dynamics associated with adolescent sexuality and the increasing sexual intercourse among adolescents (De Gaston, Jensen, & Weed, 1995; Lachman, 1995). As Brooks-Gunn and Furstenberg (1989), pointed out: "almost no information exists as to how teenagers initiate sexual activity... clearly, we are limited in what may be said about every aspect of sexuality except fertility control..." (p. 256).

3. Male adolescent sexuality

Much of the information that has been recorded and researched has focused on the female adolescent. As a result thereof, information about the dynamics of male adolescent sexual behaviour is virtually non-existent (Finkel & Finkel, 1983). The reason for this is that the focus

of research has been directed towards fertility control since it is generally the female who comes into contact with the health system, seeking help for fertility-related reproductive health issues. Although there is an increasing awareness of the importance of the inclusion of the male partner in reproductive health research, the few studies which have attempted to address this, have once again, as with female adolescents, begun to initiate studies that only record the range and frequencies of male adolescents' sexual behaviour and contraceptive usage (Campbell, 1995; Finkel & Finkel, 1983). This information has been used to compare sexual behaviour patterns and trends between firstly, female and male adolescents and secondly, between different community and population groups (Finkel & Finkel, 1983).

Such comparative studies however, still do not provide a clear definition or understanding of male adolescent sexuality or how adolescent males experience their sexual behaviour and sexuality. Attempts to understand the male experience have been provided by the psychoanalytic school but many of these studies or theories do not focus specifically on male sexuality and rather focus on the concepts of masculinity, innate male patterns or archetypes and gender differences (Bolen, 1989). It is only in more recent years that researchers have begun to explore the concepts of masculinity and make use of qualitative or phenomenological methodology to explore the male experience of masculinity and sexuality (Kimmel, 1987). These studies have focused on the male gender role and gender socialisation as important to the understanding of male sexuality (Kimmel, 1987; Pleck, 1976). It seems that an understanding of gender socialisation, male gender roles, sexual risks and responsibility, homosexuality, as well as the social context of sexual behaviour are important factors in the understanding of male sexuality.

3.1 Gender socialisation as an important process in male adolescent sexuality

Social scientists have written extensively on sex role and gender socialisation and research investigating gender roles have predominantly understood male and female sexuality in terms of gender differences. Two main approaches to gender seem to exist in the literature namely the essentialist paradigm and the social constructionist paradigm (Kaminer & Dixon 1995; Lotter & Kuriloff, 1992). The essentialist paradigm views gender as an inherent quality or

attribute that remains unchanged by social, cultural and historical processes. Differences between men and women are viewed as universal, dichotomised and enduring. The essentialist paradigm has been challenged both theoretically and in society.

The theoretical challenge has come from the social constructionist paradigm. The social constructionist approach to gender advocates that gender is culturally, socially and historically constituted. Individuals must re-negotiate gender across different contexts and situations. The social constructionist understanding of gender is that gender is fluid and contextually flexible. The constructionists attempt to expose the essentialist viewpoint as continuing to reproduce gender inequalities (Kaminer & Dixon, 1995; Lotter & Kuriloff, 1992; Schlegel, 1989; White, 1992).

Feminist writers have also challenged the essentialist view of inherent or biologically determined gender or sex role differences between men and women in our daily society. Feminists have supported the social constructionist view of gender as being socially constructed and historically located within a matrix of intersecting social, economic and cultural factors (Strebel, 1995).

According to Zani (1991), in all societies the behaviour of men and women is differentiated, and women and men are expected to hold different positions, exhibit different patterns of behaviour and manifest different personality traits. With the advent of the feminist movement there have been social changes over the last thirty years that have had a profound effect on gender roles (Zani, 1991). However, despite these changes that have tended towards an inter-gender convergence, there still remain important sexual differences of degree between the behaviour of men and women and in the way they elaborate their psychosexual identities. Although ideas and attitudes about sex role behaviour may be changing, further research is needed to determine whether these changes in thought and attitude are accompanied by similar changes in behaviour between males and females, especially between adolescents (Peplau & Hammen, 1977).

Kimmel (1987) also stressed the extent to which conceptions of masculinity and femininity, namely the content of male and female sex roles, are relational and as a result the understanding of the one depends on the understanding of the other. Although "male" and "female" may have some universal characteristics one has to understand the social construction of one in reference to the other. It appears therefore that, not only the content of the changing concepts of gender but the different meanings that are assigned to masculinity and femininity by men and women need to be explored (Narus & Fischer, 1982). It is clear that traditional gender socialisation promotes different values for men and women and about sex. Both the traditional and more recent shifts in gender socialisation therefore need to be examined (Campbell, 1995).

Although there has been some research on sexuality that has focused on similarities between the sexes, much of the research has tended to focus on the differences between males and females with regard to motivation for sexual activity (De Gaston, Weed & Jensen, 1996). In addition, although there are numerous studies that have focused on women's sex roles and sexuality, there is considerably less research focusing on male sex roles and male sexuality, as well as masculinity per se (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). Relatively little attention has been paid to the study of masculinity within psychology and the social sciences (Kaminer & Dixon, 1995). However, the male sex role is emerging as an important and legitimate complementary topic to the interest in the female sex role in the social sciences and wider culture that has resulted as a consequence of the feminist movement (Pleck, 1976).

It is clear that more research is needed to understand how and why men interact sexually, both with other men and with women (Campbell, 1995). A greater understanding of gender, gender roles and sexuality and specifically, masculinity and male sexuality in the South African context, is needed (Kaminer & Dixon, 1995; Macleod, 1999).

3.2 Description of male gender roles

3.2.1 Introduction

In the previous section it was indicated that the process of gender socialisation has contributed to the defining of male and female sexuality. In this section the content of the male gender roles that have been traditionally prescribed, will be described.

One of the major factors that have motivated men to examine their sex role has been the dramatic change in women's definitions of themselves and their place in society (Biddulph, 1995; Bly, 1991; Pleck, 1976). According to Thompson and Pleck (1986), the terms "male role" or "masculinity" refer to the social norms that prescribe what men should do and feel, in contrast to what they are perceived as actually feeling and doing. Thompson and Pleck view this as a sensitising comparison that emphasises the expectations that men face because of their sex.

3.2.2 Traditional male gender roles

Masculinity has traditionally been associated with those traits that imply authority, dominance and mastery. Femininity has been associated with those traits that suggest passivity and subordination (Kimmel, 1987; Pleck, 1976; Thomson & Pleck, 1986). According to traditional normative standards, men are expected to be independent ("sturdy oak"); status and achievement orientated ("getting ahead"); incompetent in all feminine activities ("no sissy stuff"), they should suppress emotion, be level-headed and self-contained ("staying cool"); they should be active, physically strong and aggressive in the appropriate situations ("give em hell"); and dominant in interpersonal relationships (Branon, 1976; Cicone & Rubin, 1978; Hartley, 1959; Pleck & Sawyer, 1974; Thompson & Pleck, 1986; Turner, 1971).

Traditional male and female role-playing has also extended to sexual behaviour and beliefs about sexuality are closely linked to conceptions of masculinity and femininity (Peplau & Hammen, 1977). Traditional sex roles prescribe a double standard of sexual morality.

Traditional assumed sex differences between men and women also encourage the so-called "double standard", namely sexual abstinence for women and sexual permissiveness for men (Peplau & Hammen, 1977). The traditional gender role paradigm views men as being more interested in sex than women, more easily aroused and having a greater need for sex. However, research conducted by for example Masters and Johnson (1966), has challenged this. Traditionally, however, men are expected to be the sexual initiators. Sexuality performance has been identified as one of the crucial arenas in which masculinity is socially constructed and enacted. Masculinity hinges on demonstrable sexual orientation and perceived sexual performance failure would challenge the essence of traditional masculinity or the male gender role (Kimmel, 1987). According to Kimmel (1987), such sexual failure would confront men with the possibility that they are not "real men".

There are many contradictions in the definition of the male sex role and what traits, attitudes and interests men are expected to show or actually do show in contemporary society (Pleck, 1976). An example is an analysis of a national survey of males that was carried out in America in 1988, which evaluated speculations about the extent of promiscuous sexual behaviour among adolescent males. According to Holmbeck, Crossman, Wandrei and Gasiewski (1994), terms such as "sexual adventurers" and "roving inseminators" have been used to describe groups of promiscuous young, males who seek out sexual conquests. On average however, such promiscuous behaviour was found to be quite unusual. To the contrary, the investigators concluded that these young men had surprisingly conservative sexual behaviours. Despite these contradictions however, some elements of the traditional male role continue to persist. Both culturally and in the personalities of modern males, a more socially correct role is accepted but traditional behaviour patterns are resistant to change.

3.2.3 Modern male gender roles

In the previous section, a description of traditional male gender roles was presented. In this section a description of modern male gender roles will be presented. Although these modern gender roles challenge the traditional gender roles, it still remains unclear whether these modern gender roles are actually accepted and enacted by men.

According to Pleck (1976), the modern male gender role encourages interpersonal skills in so far as they promote:

- smooth collaboration with others towards achievement of effective management;
- capacity for tenderness and emotional intimacy when restricted to romantic heterosexual relationships only;
- companionship and intimacy in relationships with women; and
- decreased emotional bonding in same sex activities but a high level of competence in conducting work relationships.

3.2.4 Conclusion

The lack of data on the male adolescent gender roles and sexuality is evident and those studies that have included the adolescent male in their research have shed little light on the male adolescent's exploration of masculinity, sexuality or on his sexual behaviour (Snell, Hawkins & Bell, 1988). This is of concern when one realises that a large percentage of contraceptive use among teenagers is accounted for by methods used by the male partner (Finkel & Finkel, 1983). According to Macleod (1999), research that explores and focuses on gender issues is also lacking in South African research studies. It is important not to forget the male role players in adolescent sexuality research in the unique South African context. Moreover the salience of male role norms may not necessarily be applicable to other groups (Thompson and Pleck, 1986). Gender role norms vary according to age, socio-economic status and birth cohort (Kimmel, 1987).

3.3 Heterosexuality and homosexuality

Traditional gender socialisation has attempted to teach men that a real man is heterosexual (Campbell, 1995, Kimmel, 1987; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). There was an assumption that male sexuality was a heterosexual sexuality. Once again this assumption has been challenged on two fronts.

As feminists have begun to challenge more traditional perspectives of male sexuality, the homosexual community and equal and human rights movements have, politically and academically, begun to challenge the limited view of male sexuality as being heterosexual. Homosexual men have objected to male sexuality being limited to include only heterosexual sexual intercourse. On street level worldwide campaigns and "gay parades" continue to challenge these assumptions (Kimmel, 1987).

On a theoretical front, many studies that have researched homosexuality have shown that male sexuality is not inherently or exclusively heterosexual (Kimmel, 1987). In addition, research has also indicated that not all heterosexual sexuality is about interaction with females and same-sex interaction on varying levels informs both homosexual and heterosexual sexuality (Kaminer & Dixon, 1995; Kimmel, 1987). Both homosexual experiences or experimentation and same sex male bonding in all social interactions and environments, have been identified as informing the sexual development of both homosexual and heterosexual males (Kimmel, 1987).

According to Kimmel (1987) masculinity has to be understood firstly by differentiating it from femininity. Secondly, there needs to be an awareness of the existence of similarities and differences between heterosexual and homosexual sexuality within the concept of masculinity.

The differentiation is important because homosexuality was understood to be feminised for so many years (that is homosexual males were described as men who are like women). As a result it became important for heterosexual males to differentiate themselves from that understanding of homosexuality. Heterosexual masculinity had to be understood in contrast to homosexuality. Homophobia is therefore also viewed as an essential part of heterosexual masculinity (Kimmel, 1987).

Homosexual males also wanted to differentiate themselves from the existing traditional male gender roles and challenged the assumption that the traditional gender roles could be generalised as being applicable and appropriate to all males (Kimmel, 1987).

As the motivation for this study originated in reproductive health issues and since HIV infection and transmission in South Africa has been shown to be predominately heterosexual, the focus of this study will be on heterosexual, male adolescent sexuality (Campbell, 1995; Flischer, Ziervogel, Chalton, Leger & Robertson, 1993; Lachman, 1995; Van Coeverden De Groot, 1991).

3.4 Sexual risks and responsibility

Traditional socialisation has also taught us that "real men" initiate sex and are in charge of sex from beginning to end. In addition, "real sex" must involve penetration (Campbell, 1995). As a result of this, men are taught to believe that they must know everything about sex, that they must appear as if they are always ready and willing to have sex and that men are to be the aggressor and active participants in all sexual encounter. According to Campbell (1995): "Boys learn that sex is something they are expected to do to girls, while girls learn that sex is something that is supposed to happen to them" (p. 206). Campbell emphasised the content of the traditional model by explaining that men are trained to see sex as a conquest with the number of conquests serving as an indicator of their manliness. This obviously runs counter to safe sex guidelines. Traditional sex roles also taught young men that to see how far you can get often serves to affirm masculinity, to acknowledge the woman's sexual attractiveness and to test her virtue (Peplau & Hammen, 1977). Men were taught to exercise positive control in the relationship by initiating sex and women to exercise negative control by refusing sex. Despite research that has documented convergence between the sexes, it still remains unclear whether these changes at the individual level have affected the behaviour of sexual interaction in couples (Peplau & Hammen, 1977). Inherent in traditional male gender roles is a call for young men or boys to take sexual risks or be promiscuous. The impact this has on male responsibility-taking in sexual relationships is questionable. On the one hand, it has been assumed by men that women will take responsibility for contraception. This has been encouraged by the advent of the female pill as a more reliable method of contraception. If contraception was ineffective, the responsibility of pregnancy has also been viewed as the responsibility of women (Campbell, 1995).

In contrast the trend for men to carry condoms seems to challenge the idea that men view women as being responsible for contraception. It is possible, however, that the carrying of a condom rather represents a symbolic gesture indicating sexual manhood or sexual risk-taking which men need to display in order to meet the prescribed gender roles. The carrying of a condom could also indicate the importance for men to be seen as being in control as prescribed by the traditional gender roles. These possibilities, however, show that the carrying of a condom could be more about fulfilling traditional gender roles rather than taking responsibility for the sexual risks related to sexual intercourse. However, with the more recent increasing awareness of the risks of contracting a STD or HIV infection, the carrying of condoms by men might indeed indicate a willingness on the part of men to take responsibility for sexual risks related to sexual intercourse. Further exploration of such a specific behaviour on the part of men, is needed before one can be certain as to the meaning of such behaviour (Kimmel, 1987).

Turner (1970) noted that the effects of sex relations depend upon the meaning that people attach to sex and not upon an innate significance. In a society where various meanings for sex are available, young peoples' interpretations of the sexual behaviour are of great importance and require exploration (Turner, 1970).

3.5 The social context of male adolescent sexuality

According to Visser (1995), HIV transmission in South Africa flourishes mostly in areas characterised by unemployment, homelessness, welfare dependency, lack of basic services and recreational facilities, prostitution, crime, a high school drop out rate and social unrest. The lack of a comprehensive understanding of how these socio-economic factors impact upon communities has in turn limited understanding of the impact these factors have on the success of HIV prevention programmes. Although the impact of such factors is not clear, it is becoming apparent in South Africa, as in most third world countries, that all sexual health risks are compounded by socio-political issues (Lindegger & Wood, 1995). Certain population groups have been identified as requiring particular attention because of their minority status namely women, the poor and ethnic minorities. Lindegger and Wood (1995)

stated that apartheid must also be seen to be the causal factor for unequal access to resources, education and medical care which as a result, continues to hamper attempts to gain control over HIV infection and control over sexually transmitted diseases and health risk behaviours.

It is important to recognise the fact that rural coloured communities in South Africa have a unique history. These communities have been marginalised and racially discriminated against as a result of the apartheid policy. As a result these communities have been characterised by impoverishment, relative to the white rural and urban communities. Teenagers living in impoverished areas have been identified as being more likely to initiate sexual intercourse than teenagers who are not living in impoverished communities (Santelli & Beilenson, 1992). In addition, rates of childbearing are also higher in poor, minority areas.

Looking specifically at the context of reproductive health, the health policies for these communities historically reveal attempts on the part of the state to manage the sexuality of sexually active females. Women were encouraged to make use of the injection as a contraceptive method. Once again, this thereby reinforced the idea of the responsibility of sexuality and sexual behaviour being "women's work" (Schlebusch & Cassidy, 1995). It is important to see this in the light of a community where women are disempowered by the nature of their gender. According to Obbo (1993), women's empowerment depends upon economic and social leverage with regards to vital resources. Men monopolise political and economic power because social ideologies accord them control over resources. It is essential that men recognise the important role they have in controlling the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV and they must take responsibility for maternal, child and sexual health. In addition, Pitts, Bowman and McMaster (1995), pointed out that UNICEF have identified a tendency to view women's health in Africa, simply as part of "maternal and child health" and that although it is true that the maternal period does present health risks, there exist other sexual risks which women face at other times.

Sexuality and sexual behaviour is likely to have a different meaning for adolescents who live in different communities (Perkel, Strebel & Joubert, 1991). Expressions of sexuality occur

within a vast array of relationship, cultural, situational and role contexts that may influence whether safe sex recommendations are likely to be followed. It is therefore necessary to tailor preventative programmes to the specific needs of individual communities, taking into account the traditions, values and religious, cultural, behavioural and educational norms as well as the developmental stage and existing behaviour patterns of the individual living within that community (Visser, 1996). In order to do so it is imperative that data be generated which explores the way in which individuals living in different communities understand and make sense of and construct their sexuality. It is crucial therefore that the unique history and social context of coloured rural communities be examined and acknowledged, if an understanding of male adolescent heterosexual sexuality and sexual behaviour in this community and how coloured male adolescents construct their sexuality, is to be gained.

4. Conclusion

After exploring the concepts and issues that provide the framework of this study, it is clear that:

1. an exploration of male adolescent sexuality is required; and
2. male adolescent sexuality needs to be explored within the unique socio-cultural context in which it is constructed.

The goal of this study is therefore to gain an understanding of male adolescent heterosexual sexuality in a coloured rural community in the Western Cape.

In the following chapter the theoretical framework for this study will be presented.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter a brief critique of relevant theoretical frameworks will be provided. Finally social constructionism will be presented as the theoretical departure point for the current study.

1. Introduction

Since World War One the majority of sexual behaviour research focused on increases in premarital intercourse and speculated on the role of sex in mate selection. One possible source for the limited vision was the increase in out-of-wedlock births and the decrease in age of intercourse, having the result that the research focused almost completely on fertility control (Brooks-Gunn & Furstenberg, 1989). Subsequent research focused on the sexual health risks that faced the population of the time. The focus therefore continued to shift from research on syphilis and other STDs, teenage pregnancies and more recently HIV infection and AIDS. Research did not provide broader perspectives for the study of sexuality, nor did it provide theoretical models to explain sexual desires and behaviour. Little attention has therefore been given to gaining a broader understanding of sexuality. Pertaining to the focus of the present study, the result has been such, that there are research omissions with regard to a broader understanding of adolescent sexuality and how adolescents construct their sexuality.

2. Theoretical attempts to conceptualise male adolescent sexuality

Although the nature of adolescent sexuality has biologically been considered an universal given, both the accounts of adolescent sexuality and the scope of adolescent sexuality are theoretically and historically divergent, contradictory and inconclusive (Downs & Hillje, 1993). Furthermore, the history of adolescent sexuality has typically been one from the vantage point of Western, Christian, Caucasian, heterosexual and married males.

Although historically various vague and inconclusive theories have been described, it was the psychoanalytic school that initiated a new awakening of the interest in sexuality and attempted to include theories on adolescent sexuality in their theories of human development. Since the emergence and development of the psychoanalytic school, numerous theories have attempted to provide an explanation and understanding of adolescent sexuality. There have been theories stressing emotional constructs, biological processes, cognitive determinants, learning processes and socio-cultural factors (Downs & Hillje, 1993). More recent theories such as that of Urdy (1988), Hofferth (1987) and Rodgers and Rowe (1993) have attempted to combine elements of both biological and social explanations in understanding adolescent sexual behaviour (Miller, Christopherson & King, 1993; Moore, Peterson & Furstenberg, 1986; Rodgers, 1996; White & De Blassie, 1992).

In more recent years various models and theories have been used to explain sexual risk behaviour and sexual risk behaviour reduction and change. The World Health Organisation's Global Programme on AIDS developed a proto-typical *Knowledge-attitude-belief-practice*, (KABP) survey instrument in 1987 (Joffee, 1996). As a result the knowledge-attitude-belief paradigm has formed the basis of many of the models and prevention programmes focusing on risk-reduction behaviour. This paradigm rests on the assumption that changes in knowledge levels, attitudes and beliefs lead to behaviour changes.

3. Limitations of available theories

There are numerous theories that attempt to capture the functioning of human sexuality. Whilst some theories have relied on biological or maturational development theories others have focused on socialisation theories. Attempts to combine the workings of both biology and socialisation have resulted in theories that appear to provide a more comprehensive understanding of human sexuality. The critique of such theories however, is that they still do not assist us in understanding why individuals do not always manage their sexuality in a responsible manner.

As the focus of sexuality research has begun to shift to an understanding of sexual behaviour risk reduction and not on an understanding of human sexuality, the theories have not provided a comprehensive understanding of human sexuality but have simply investigated sexual behaviour patterns and trends. Various research studies have set out to gain an understanding of sexuality but have instead only investigated sexual behaviour practices or gender differences in male and female sexual behaviour. Although it is clear that the term sexuality refers to more than just sexual behaviour or practices, the term sexuality is therefore still not clearly defined (Hollway, 1984a).

The weakness in the models and theories that have been based on the proto-typical knowledge-attitude-belief paradigm, is that they have relied too heavily on those used in other areas of health behaviours for example smoking, substance use, seat-belt use and similar phenomena, thus not paying attention to the unique context and dyadic nature of sexual behaviour (Kelley & Kalichman, 1995). In addition, the models have an individual-orientation with emphasis on cognitive appraisal and rational decision-making. The models have resulted in researchers losing sight of the factors that extend beyond the limits of individual control. Emotional factors, interpersonal expectation, social norms and situational survival pressures, unconscious material and the motives of the sexual partner may constrain the extent to which rational decisions or trained skills can be put into practice (Visser, 1996). The existence of an individual rational decision-maker in the context of sexual activity is therefore questionable. These theories do not acknowledge the diversity of human sexuality. They assume that people are sexual in a universal way.

Objectivity and precise counting of specific sexual behaviours have been emphasised in the scientific milieu in which the pioneering research of Kinsey and his colleagues (1948, 1953) was carried out. As a result, little attention has been given to the person's subjective experience in sexual encounters, the meaning attached to sex acts, or to the social contexts in which sexual behaviour occurs. Peplau and Hammen (1977), emphasised this point when they quote Millet (1970): "Coitus can scarcely be said to take place in a vacuum...it serves as a charged microcosm of the variety of attitudes and values to which culture subscribes" (p. 5).

In conclusion, sexuality includes people's identities in all their cultural and historical variety and has to be seen as a complex interaction of biological and socio-cultural and experiential processes (Guggino & Ponzetti, 1997; Holland, Ramazonoglu, Sharpe & Thomson, 1992). This therefore implies that the term sexuality has to be understood as a socially constructed concept which although consisting of a biological component is continuously re-constructed against a backdrop of history, culture, social class, religion, ethnic group and gender roles.

4. Social constructionism as a theoretical departure point for this study

To gain an understanding of human sexuality, and adolescent sexuality specifically, it appears that what is required is that sexuality be viewed in a contextualised way. The social constructionist paradigm offers an appropriate theoretical paradigm (Durrheim, 1997).

The social constructionist position holds that what the majority of people call reality, is in fact a consensus world view that develops through social interaction or interchange (Gergen, 1985; Kimmel, 1987). That which we believe, think, experience or understand about the world and the concepts and language we make use of to describe and understand those thoughts, beliefs and experiences, are understood to be constructed and re-constructed from one situation to another. These constructions are also seen as being constructed and operating differently on different individuals as dependent upon the individuals' interaction with diverse social, historical, geographical and cultural contexts (Campbell, 1995; Gergen, 1985). Diversity rather than absolute truths or an objective reality, is therefore anticipated.

Sexuality and sexual behaviour are understood as a construction of the social context and therefore have to be understood within historical, sociological and social psychological contexts rather than in exclusive individualistic terms (Finchilescu, 1995). The social constructionist view holds that what is constructed can also be re-constructed and sexuality should therefore be understood as a changeable ideology rather than a biological fact. Although individual volition is acknowledged, the focus of the social constructionist movement is on the complexity of social forces, especially, language and discourse, which determine people's behaviour (Finchilescu, 1995). The social constructionist paradigm emphasises the

understanding of these forces and the manner in which they influence the sexual behaviour of individuals. It also emphasises the way in which these social forces influence the meaning individuals give to sexual behaviour.

The way an individual constructs his or her sexuality and his or her world is therefore determined by the social context in which he or she resides and has resided within. Each individual's construction of sexuality will therefore remain unique to the individual. In addition as individuals we are not always consciously aware of that which influences us nor the nature or degree to which we are influenced (Joffe, 1996).

The research implications are such that the researcher is compelled to contextualise sexuality by taking the social context and factors such as race and culture into consideration. An understanding of the context in which the research subject resides is required. In the study of male adolescent sexuality in a South African coloured rural community therefore, the researcher would be required to examine the manner in which the specific historical, political, cultural, racial, religious and socio-economic context has been active in forming the individual's construction of sexuality. In addition, the context from which the researcher poses the research enquiry also has to be examined so as to understand the construction and interchange of meaning between the research subject and researcher.

In this study therefore I, as the researcher, ² used the social constructionist paradigm as the theoretical framework for the exploration of male adolescent sexuality in a coloured rural community, in the Western Cape. I asked coloured male adolescents living in a rural coloured community in the Western Cape about their sexuality and about the meaning they ascribe to their sexuality. I approached all data gathered in the study from the perspective that it was a unique social construction of the individual. In addition, these constructions were not viewed as constants but as socially constructed and socially- or contextually situated. Furthermore the constructions could not be received or presented in their original essence as I, as the researcher, in turn interpreted and socially re-constructed the participants' construction from

² The personal pronoun, I, will be used to refer to the researcher of the present study. This is in adherence to the principle of co-construction of social-constructionism.

within my own social context. Attention, therefore, had to be given to the role of my social context, as this too influenced the manner in which I understood and presented how male coloured adolescents constructed their sexuality.

In the next chapter, I will present the methodology that was used to explore male adolescent sexuality in a coloured rural community.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter a discussion of the research methodology and design will be presented.

1. Research Aims

The goal of this study was to gain an understanding of male adolescent sexuality in a coloured rural community in the Stellenbosch area.

1.1 Specific research aims

- 1.1.1 To determine the range and frequency of sexual behaviour that male adolescents, in a coloured rural community in the Western Cape, engage in; and
- 1.1.2 To explore heterosexual male adolescents' constructions of sexuality.

2. Method

2.1 Methodology

Methodology choices often become either/or choices, where quantitative and qualitative research are treated as opposite and mutually exclusive poles of the methodology scale. According to McLean (1995), almost all of the studies focusing on adolescent sexuality in Africa have been single-method designs. While quantitative methodologies emphasise the necessity of objectivity, qualitative methodologies have embraced the idea and value of subjectivity.

The advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative methodologies continue to be argued in an ongoing empirical debate. The so-called "positivists", in favour of the quantitative methodologies, insist that the researcher approach the object of study in an unbiased, neutral and objective manner and deductively derive and test the research hypotheses. The "anti-positivists" in favour of qualitative methodologies, however, stress the

importance of the contextual and subjective process of interpretation in research. The qualitative researcher is required to recognise the gap that exists between the object of study and the researcher's subjective, inductive understanding and representation of such object (Oskowitz & Meulenberg-Buskens, 1997). A full discussion of this debate however, lies outside of the scope of this research topic. Looking briefly at the differences between qualitative and quantitative methodologies, however, the advantages and disadvantages of each methodology for this specific study can be identified.

2.1.1 Qualitative methodology

The starting point for qualitative methodology is that the process of constructing meaning always takes place in the researcher's individually unique context. The individual context of the research participant and the personal involvement of the researcher in that context, are to be acknowledged and explored (Meulenberg-Buskens, 1997; Riessman, 1993). Qualitative methods have therefore been argued to be the most appropriate paradigm for exploring the meaning and the nature of experiences about which little is known and which are characterised, like the research field of sexuality, by incorrect assumptions and misinformation (Daniluk, 1993). The use of qualitative in-depth interviews in particular, has been encouraged in order to better understand the meanings that both men and women give to their individual experiences of sexual intercourse (Eyre, 1997; O'Sullivan, Byers & Finkelman, 1998). Qualitative methods focus on the need to empower participants to share their experiences and speak in their own voices, without the limitations of the questionnaire format (Daniluk, 1993). In addition, less-structured methodologies are more suited to tapping into non-conscious thinking (Joffe, 1996). The value of verbal data is therefore that it provides the opportunity to understand behaviour from the individuals' unique social perspective, interpretation and social context.

Qualitative research has, however, been subjected to much scientific scrutiny and criticism in terms of validity and reliability. The criticism against qualitative methodology is that qualitative research often does not have clear and specific guidelines, thus making implementation not only difficult but in fact a continual process of trial and error (Oskowitz & Meulenberg-

Buskens, 1997). Although the qualitative approach allows for interaction between researcher and research participant and provides the possibility for new perspectives and issues to be explored, caution must be taken when interpreting the data as neither the method nor the number of participants guarantee reliability (Rosenthal, Leis & Cohen, 1996).

2.1.2 Quantitative methodology

While qualitative interviews and focus groups have been used to describe and interpret the range and diversity of sexual behaviour of individuals in their unique contexts, there are certain limitations in verbal data collection that can be addressed by the use of questionnaires (Dockrell & Joffe, 1992). Questionnaires can provide the individuals with an anonymous opportunity to record their sexual behaviours, especially when discussing sensitive or morally clouded issues. People are often more truthful when answering questions on paper than in one-on-one interview situations (Catania, Gibson, Chitwood & Coates, 1990; Dockrell & Joffe, 1992). Anonymous questionnaires are therefore an appropriate method to obtain a representation of the range and frequency of the sexual behaviour.

The criticism against questionnaire studies of sexual behaviour is that questionnaires do not capture the social contexts that frame young peoples' sexual behaviour (Woodcock, Stenner & Ingham, 1992). The lack of research focusing on contextual and situational factors of sexual behaviour, has resulted because surveys have not been able to sufficiently explore and capture individual knowledge (Eyre, 1997). According to Dockrell and Joffe (1992), questionnaires only provide one with the product of a process and not the understanding of the process.

2.1.3 Combining methods of data collection

By making use of a combination of the two main methods that have been utilised to study sexuality, namely questionnaires and interviews, a greater understanding of sexuality can be gained (Catania et al., 1990; Dockrell & Joffe, 1992; Joffe, 1996). Multiple methods allow for contradictions between responses to questionnaires and to open-ended interviews to be

highlighted, explored, analysed and integrated thus leading to richer understanding (Dockrell & Joffe, 1992; Zani, 1991). In addition, the use of multiple methods can assist in preventing research biases and measurement errors that frequently arise when using single research methods (Catania et al., 1990; McLean, 1995). The accuracy of verbal reports is often said to be unreliable, especially when individuals are asked to discuss events in retrospect (Catania et al., 1990). Although questionnaires can also reflect responses altered by time-lapse, when both interviews and questionnaires are used, they can act as a built-in complementary checking system (Catania et al., 1990; Dockrell & Joffe, 1992; Joffe, 1996; Zani, 1991). Questionnaires can be used to measure specific sexual behaviours and knowledge, and interviews as a means to allow the participants to contextualise and enrich the data captured in the questionnaires. Taking these factors into consideration, it was decided that a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods would be appropriate to explore heterosexual male adolescents' constructions of their sexuality.

The quantitative methodology will be used to address the first research aim, namely, to determine the range and frequency of sexual behaviour that male adolescents in a coloured rural community in the Western Cape, engage in. The second aim, namely, to explore heterosexual male adolescents' constructions of sexuality will be addressed by utilising a qualitative method.

This study was conducted in three stages: pilot study, quantitative data collection and qualitative data collection. Each of these stages will be presented and discussed separately.

3. Pilot study

In order to prepare and become familiar with the context of heterosexual male adolescent sexuality, pilot interviews and questionnaire administrations were conducted to elicit the target population's current sexual practices and their descriptions of safe sexual practices. The pilot study was also conducted in order to assist in the construction of the questionnaires and interview schedules to be employed in the main study.

Appointments with the contact teachers at three secondary schools in coloured communities were made. The research aims were discussed with them and they offered the possibilities for research to be conducted in their schools and the conditions that would have to be met on the part of the researcher. One of the conditions that had to be met was that the students would only be involved on a voluntary basis. Permission from the school governing boards was also obtained to conduct the study.

At one school a further condition to be met was that the students would not be taken out of academic classes and therefore the researcher had access to them only during break-time or during a once-weekly life skills class. The students had the choice to attend a variety of social or sporting activities or life skill programmes or volunteering for this research. Understandably, only a small group volunteered to participate in the research project.

Two pilot focus groups, with eight to ten students, above the age of sixteen were conducted, each one in a different school. An interview schedule was used and discussions were relatively unstructured. In these focus groups the interviewer (discussed in section 5.3.1) attempted to explore the context of adolescent sexuality, practice his interviewing skills and most importantly assess the male adolescents' perceived need for and willingness to participate in a study of heterosexual male adolescent sexuality (Visser, 1993).

An arrangement was made with the male students to meet with the researchers the following week at the same time. I asked these students to bring other male adolescents above the age of sixteen along, and this snowball type of recruitment was used to make contact with other male adolescents. This was done in order for me to run a pilot administration or pre-test of the questionnaire.

From these two pilot focus groups it was established that individual interviews would be more appropriate to explore issues of heterosexual male adolescent sexuality, as the students were not comfortable speaking about their own personal experiences in front of their peers. In fact, they offered very peer-pleasing, joke-telling and humorous responses throughout the discussions. It also became clear that the students were extremely worried about

confidentiality. The students made it clear that they did not want their teachers or parents involved on any level. In both groups there was agreement with the idea that males be allowed and asked to explore their sexuality. In both groups there was a feeling that this was usually a process more encouraged with females and not males.

On arrival the following week, approximately 30 male students arrived to complete the questionnaire. The research assistant and I administered the questionnaire in two groups in two different classrooms. The aim was to ensure that the questions did not exceed the reading level and vocabulary of the students and to determine the duration of the administration. Students were asked to point out to the researchers any questions that were unclear or any difficulties they had with the questionnaire. This feedback was noted and the necessary layout and language and re-formulation adjustments were made to the questionnaire. The research assistant and I compared our experiences of the administration of the questionnaire and sought to establish whether there were any differences in the way in which the questionnaire was completed, as related to whose group the adolescents had been assigned. This was done in order to establish whether gender, race and other socio-cultural factors would effect the administration of the questionnaires. No noteworthy differences were found in the way the questionnaires were completed. This indicated that race and other socio-cultural factors did not meaningfully effect the administration of the questionnaires. It was also established that the completion of the questionnaire and consent forms as well as an explanation of the research and questionnaire took approximately forty-five minutes for both the research assistant and myself.

The male adolescents who participated in the pilot study were as follows:

Table 1

Pilot study sample

	Focus group 1	Focus group 2	Questionnaire	Total
Sample Size(N)	8	10	31	49
Age Range	16 – 18	16 – 18	16 – 18	16 – 18
Mean Age	17	17	17	17
Language	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans	Afrikaans

In the next section each of the methods used in this study, will be described referring to research aims, participants, measures, validity and reliability, procedure and data analysis.

4. Method one: Quantitative method

4.1 Participants

4.1.1 Selection of participants

Although adolescents of all racial groups and communities face reproductive health risks, the statistics of the local clinics and hospitals, have revealed a high number of teenage pregnancies and STDs in coloured and rural areas surrounding Stellenbosch.

Two of the secondary schools that participated in the pilot study, situated in the rural areas surrounding Stellenbosch were approached and asked to participate in the study. The selection of the schools was determined by a standing agreement between these schools and the Department of Psychology, University of Stellenbosch, to conduct and implement research studies and programmes at these schools. The schools expressed their willingness to participate.

The following criteria were considered when selecting participants:

- The participant had to be male.
- The participant's first language had to be English or Afrikaans.
- The participant had to be above the age of 16.
- The participant had to volunteer his participation.

4.1.2 Demographic description of quantitative method participants

The final sample of participants was as follows:

Table 2

Quantitative Sample

	N	Percentage of total Sample (%)	Range of Class Standard	Mean Class Standard	Age Range	Mean Age
School C	101	56,4	7 – 10	8	15 – 21	17
School K	78	43,6	7 – 10	8	15 – 21	17
Total Sample	179	100	7 – 10	8	15 – 21	17

The size of the total sample was 179 participants. The mean age of the participants in the sample was 17 years of age and ranged between 15 and 21 years of age. In addition, 44,7% of the sample was in standard eight (Grade 10).

During implementation of this study, teachers granted permission for all students in standard eight and above to participate. As a result, fifteen year-olds were also included. Two students did not complete the questionnaire and they were therefore excluded from the sample.

Statistical significant difference on each individual item of the questionnaire was measured and determined by a two-sample test of proportions. This was done by comparing the proportions by means of z-scores with $\alpha=0,05$ or 95% confidence level for each variable or item of the

questionnaire. A computer based statistical package, STATA, was used. No statistically significant differences were found between the participants from the two schools in the different communities on any of the questionnaire items. The quantitative results from School C and School K will therefore be presented and discussed together.

Table 3Demographics

	Category with largest percentage	Percentage of total sample (%)	Range
Age	17	31,8	15 – 21
Standard	8	44,7	7 – 10
No of people in home	5	26,3	0 – 18
No of siblings	2	34,1	0 – 9
No of rooms in home	6	20,1	2 – 9
No of bedrooms in home	3	38,0	1 – 7
Bathroom/s in home	Yes	89,4	
Electricity in home	Yes	97,2	
Mother living in same home	Yes	88,3	
Father living in same home	Yes	75,4	
Mother employed	Yes	70,4	
Father employed	Yes	81,6	
Participant employed	Yes	19,2	
Mother employed as manual labourer	Yes	32,4	
Father employed as manual labourer	Yes	35,7	

Looking at basic housing facilities, 89,4% of the sample said that they had a bathroom in their homes and 97,2% of the sample said that they had electricity in their homes. It appears therefore, that the communities, in which the participants lived, have access to basic living facilities such as housing, water, electricity and bathrooms facilities. Although it appears that these communities have adequate housing, one must note that a large majority of the members of these communities earn basic labourers' or the minimum wage and therefore can be described as coming from a low-income group. Adolescents from these communities are at times called upon to increase the gross family income and take up part-time employment after school hours. Of the participants in this sample 19,2 % of the sample reported that they were employed. The participants reported that they had on average five people living in their homes where there were on average six rooms in total and three bedrooms. On average therefore two people have to share a bedroom, thus allowing for limited individual privacy within the home.

The average number of siblings was two, but ranged from no siblings to nine siblings. The participant's families also appeared to be generally intact as 88,3% of the sample reported that their mothers lived in the same house with them, and 75,4% of the sample reported that their fathers lived in the same house with them.

In conclusion, the participants can be described as coming from a working class community with access to basic facilities.

4.2 Questionnaire

I, as researcher, constructed the questionnaire (see Appendix C). Certain questions were based on standard sexual behaviour questionnaires for adolescents (see for instance De Gaston, Weed & Jensen, 1996 and Lief, Fullard & Devlin, 1990). The authors were acknowledged on the questionnaire. A graduate of the University of Stellenbosch's post-graduate diploma course in translation translated the questionnaire into Afrikaans.

The questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first section contained questions that elicited demographic information. The second section included open and closed questions that elicited information to determine the range and frequencies of sexual behaviour and contraceptive use, as well as knowledge and beliefs about sexuality. The third section included a table of questions regarding the frequency of specific sexual behaviours in the past six months. The questionnaire included closed questions where a yes or no response was required, multiple-choice questions, and open-ended questions. Questions were mainly answered by choosing one of three alternatives: yes, no or not applicable.

4.2.1 Reliability and validity of the questionnaire

Both the reliability and validity of self-report measures in the study of health-related behaviour and especially sexuality or sexual behaviour studies have been questioned, even though self-report measures remain the most popular measuring instrument in behavioural studies (Catania et al., 1990; Kraft, 1993; Macleod, 1999; Okami & Pendleton, 1994; Westaby & Fishbein, 1996). Due to the privacy and moral issues surrounding direct observation of sexual behaviour, researchers are left with few options but to use self-report measures (Catania et al., 1992). The current questionnaire was designed by myself by consulting various sexuality questionnaires that have been used in international studies and other sub-culture, age and race and gender studies (De Gaston, Weed & Jensen, 1996; Lief, Fullard & Devlin, 1990). No validity and reliability studies have been conducted previously with the questionnaire. In addition, no methodological studies, examining the validity and reliability of sexual behaviour self-report measures, have been conducted in this community with coloured male Afrikaans-speaking, adolescents. I therefore implemented certain procedures to increase the reliability and validity of the questionnaire. These procedures will be discussed in the next section.

4.2.1.1 Reliability of the questionnaire

In this study the following steps were taken to increase the reliability of the questionnaire. A pilot-run of the administration of the questionnaire was conducted. The ability of the participants to understand the language used and the wording of questions as well as the

structure of the questionnaire were checked prior to administration. The aims and purpose of the research were explained to the students. Informing the students about the purposes for which I required the information ensured the credibility and trustworthiness of myself as researcher. I also explained that I was not conducting the research for or on behalf of their school and that no completed questionnaires would be made available to the school. The questionnaire was administered in same-sized groups, in teacher-free and private classroom environments, for the same duration of time and using the same research assistant so as to ensure that the context in which the questionnaire was administered was as similar as possible for all participants. These steps assisted in limiting the interference of many extraneous variables in the administration environment, which could have interfered with the reliability.

4.2.1.2 Validity of the questionnaire

The validity of self-report measures administered to adolescents has been questioned due to reasons such as recall or memory error and accuracy (especially with regard to events having taken place far in the past), the salience or meaning or moral connotation of the event for the individual, motivation, self-presentation bias, fear of exposure, embarrassment or shame (Catania et al., 1990; Dockrell & Joffe, 1992; Nicholas, Durrheim & Tredoux, 1994; Okami & Pendleton, 1994). These factors and the implication for this study will be discussed below:

Recall/memory error: In this study the questionnaire focused on salient events, such as the first coitus experience. In addition, information regarding sexual behaviour that had been experienced in the last three months was requested and therefore the possibility of recall error due to time-lapse factors was decreased. In order to address issues of shame, embarrassment, self-presentation bias and fear of exposure, I continually emphasised the confidential nature of the questionnaire. The participants were not required to put their names on the questionnaire. Anonymity of their responses was therefore ensured and the accuracy of the responses was therefore hopefully increased.

Motivation: Regarding motivation to participate in the study, it must be noted that all participation was voluntary. I also emphasised the importance and relevance of the research for the community to motivate the participants to provide accurate responses and to adopt a serious approach to the questionnaire.

Under-reporting and over-reporting: The difficulties with under-reporting and over-reporting of sexual behaviour due to the sensitive nature of sexuality have also been documented. A tendency for male adolescents to over-report sexual behaviour in order to demonstrate their sexual ability and attractiveness has been documented in some studies in America. These tendencies, however, cannot be generalised to other sub-cultures or communities (Catania et al., 1990; Macleod, 1999; Oliver & Hyde, 1993; O'Sullivan, Byers & Finkelman, 1998). A tendency reflecting a trend towards under-reporting in most population groups has also been documented in other American samples (Catania et al., 1992). Over and under-reporting errors are not unique to the study of sexual behaviour as similar errors are to be found in other health-related studies such as smoking, substance-abuse, dietary and medication compliance studies.

The emphasis in the current study on anonymity and confidentiality hopefully assisted to increase the accuracy of the participants' responses. In addition, by explaining the aims, purpose and relevance of the research for the participants and their community, both verbally and in the written consent form (see Appendix A), the importance of accuracy and honesty when completing the questionnaire was brought home to the participants.

Participation bias: Participation bias poses an additional problem for sexual behaviour, for researchers, as the adolescent sample is always recruited on a volunteer basis due to ethical reasons. Participants might volunteer for help-seeking reasons because they are experiencing sexual or emotional difficulties. On the other hand those who are experiencing problems might avoid participation, as the questionnaire might be perceived as a threat. Participation may also reflect a more adventurous, curious or perhaps pleasing nature of the volunteer participant. No finality seems to have been reached in studies examining participation and non-participation implications (Catania et al., 1992).

In this study the participation was influenced by a degree of curiosity, especially during the administration of the questionnaire as the students were provided a break from their usual school routine. At both schools the participants expressed an interest in and appreciation for the nature, purpose and relevance of the research. This was largely due to the research being the first research study at their schools that focused only on male adolescents and the male adolescents perceived this as opportunity for males to voice their opinions.

At School K, some of the more well-behaved or conscientious students were encouraged to participate by their class teacher and this could reflect a desire to be socially pleasing on the part of the student. This possibility was addressed by emphasising the confidentiality and relevance of the research and the importance of accuracy and honesty when completing the questionnaire. It was also emphasised that participation was voluntary and could be terminated at any point and that neither the research assistant nor I would question a decision not to continue.

At School C, the students were strongly encouraged by the headmaster to attend the presentation of the proposed research. As a result the students did not have as much scope to refuse participation. The use of the consent forms and the continual emphasis throughout the administration of the questionnaire that participation could be terminated at any point and the option to be unobserved by placing an incomplete questionnaire in the collection box, may have decreased the possibility of participation bias.

4.2.1.3 Conclusion

Although survey research and self-report measures, such as the questionnaire used in this study, are open to problems of measurement error and participation bias, the overall conclusion is that both the validity and reliability of self-report questionnaires can be considered acceptable, if the questionnaire is carefully designed and administered (Kraft, 1993). As discussed above I implemented steps both in the design phase and during the administration of the questionnaire to address these issues. Results, however, should still be interpreted with due consideration of the methodological issues. Despite the fact that there

were very few guidelines for the design of the questionnaire for this study and that both the reliability and the validity of this questionnaire have not been assessed, the questionnaire could help to provide an indication or general description of the sexual behaviour of male adolescents in a rural coloured community.

The use of multiple modes of assessment has been offered as a temporary solution to address many of the identified measurement errors that can effect the validity and reliability of self-report measures when researching sexual behaviour. In-depth interviews were therefore conducted. These interviews could provide insight into the reliability and validity and nature of the information generated through the use of the questionnaire (Catania et al., 1990; Dockrell & Joffe, 1992; Joffe, 1996).

4.3 Procedure

The questionnaire was implemented during class time and completed by the students in the presence of myself and research assistants. At School K, I arranged with the school guidance teacher for an announcement to be made during the school assembly. The guidance teacher also encouraged all the students in the standard eight, nine and ten classes to attend the presentation of the proposed research during the course of the day. The students were informed that a student from the Department of Psychology, University of Stellenbosch was coming to their school to ask them to participate in a research project. They were informed that participation was voluntary and that neither their teachers nor their parents would attend the meeting with the researcher or have access to any information that I, as the researcher, might ask of them. They were informed that the project would require forty-five minutes of their time on only one occasion. They were informed that they would be permitted to not attend their usual guidance period that was scheduled after their second break to participate in the research.

At School K, 79 male students arrived voluntarily at the announced venue. They were divided into two smaller groups of approximately 40 students each and assigned to different classrooms. Teachers and school personnel were not allowed in the venues. I explained the

purpose of the research to the students and also explained the consent form and questionnaire. Confidentiality and anonymity was emphasised throughout the administration of the questionnaire. The participants signed the consent forms and completed the questionnaire. Questionnaires were handed out to all students present in the venue so as not to single out or draw attention to anyone who did not want to complete the questionnaire. Completion of the questionnaire, however, remained voluntary and it was explained to the students that they did not have to complete the questionnaire handed out to them. Only one questionnaire was placed into the collection box incomplete. The next stage of the research was explained to the students.

To ensure anonymity, numbers were given to the questionnaires. Participants did not have to fill in their names but had to remove a sticker with the same number of the questionnaire, off of the questionnaire. This was the only means of identification. The students were asked to remember the number on the questionnaire that they filled in. The sticker they removed from the questionnaire was supposed to assist them to remember their number. They were told that I would randomly select some of the numbers, put a list up on the school wall during the week and if their number appeared on the list they were to return to the classroom the following week. It was explained that attendance was once again voluntary. The guidance teacher reminded the students to check the list, during the assembly on the day that I returned the following week. The students did not know that only those questionnaires that indicated that the students had been sexually active were to be selected. The students were thanked for their participation and dismissed.

At School C, the standard eight and nine male students were lined up in the school quad after second break. The headmaster explained that the research assistants and I, who were present at the time, were at the school to conduct a research project. The headmaster explained that they would be asked to complete a questionnaire. The students were asked to divide into five smaller class groups of approximately 35 students each and move to their respective classrooms where the researcher assistants and I would explain further. When the students arrived at the classrooms, there were 102 students in total. No teachers or school personnel were allowed in the classrooms.

The research assistants and I explained that neither the headmaster nor any of the teachers nor their parents would have access to the questionnaires as I would remove the questionnaires from the school premises immediately after completion that afternoon. The purpose of the research was explained to the students and after explaining the consent form and questionnaire the students signed and completed the consent forms and questionnaire. At both schools the students were allowed to ask questions throughout the administration of the questionnaire but were asked to work both independently and silently and to put their hand up if they required assistance. All the participants placed their questionnaires into the collection box in the front of the classrooms when the administration of the questionnaire was completed. Of the 102 questionnaires handed out to all the students, only one questionnaire was placed in the collection box incomplete. The students were thanked for their participation and dismissed as a group.

The second part of the research was not explained to these students as it was decided not to conduct the second stage at this school due to the research having been implemented too close to the students examinations.

In total 181 questionnaires were handed out to participants and 179 questionnaires were completed.

4.4 Data analysis

Questionnaire data was quantified to determine the range and frequency of the sexual behaviours of the adolescents. Computer-based statistical packages (SPSS-programme; STATA) were used to analyse the data. The open-ended questions that presented more complex and non-uniform responses were content analysed, divided into categories and coded. An honours psychology graduate conducted a random spot check of the coding.

5. Method two: Grounded Theory

The Grounded theory method informed the qualitative methodology of this study and a brief overview of this method will therefore be presented.

When working according to the principles of grounded theory, the researcher aims to construct theory from the data received through the interaction with the research participant. It means that grounded theorists do not begin with preconceived hypotheses or structure their data collection and analysis on pre-existing theories. Grounded theorists aim to allow theoretical categories and constructions to emerge from the data (Charmaz, 1990).

The grounded theorist begins with a focus on the research participants' experience and how the participant constructs his or her world and then allows that experience or construction to shape the data collection and analysis. The grounded theorist begins with broad or general research questions rather than specific research hypotheses or questions and allows the emerging categories to direct the research procedure. This implies that the researcher begins to affirm, check and refine emerging categories whilst still in the process of data collection, rather than waiting for the data collection phase to be completed. In this way the researcher follows a lead that begins to emerge during data collection and follows up on recurrent themes that occur in the data. The researcher will follow the leads identified in the data and then gather new data or ask more questions which will assist in defining, testing, challenging and supporting such themes more clearly (Charmaz, 1990).

By focussing on the data, the researcher remains grounded in the data rather than grounded in preconceived theories or schools of scientific thought. Questions and theory are refined by the themes and categories that occur in the data. The theory that developed from the research is termed grounded in that it is grounded or derived from the data. The data is not used to prove or disprove preconceived theories for the researcher but rather the data is used to increase and deepen the understanding of the subject, concept or issue being researched. In this way the theory that emerges is rich, thorough and comprehensive.

The criticism directed at grounded theory is that the assumption that the researcher can approach the data collection stage without preconceived ideas is not possible. The grounded theorists are aware of this limitation and although such a neutral stance might not be completely attainable, the researcher is advised to delay the literature review stage of research. Charmaz (1990) has argued that it is impossible for the researcher to divorce him or herself from the research and that the researcher co-constructs the constructions that emerge from the research procedure. The reason for this is that the researcher has his or her own lived experience, unique social context and resultant beliefs, which inadvertently influence the research. In agreement with the principle of co-construction, I decided to be guided by Charmaz's social constructionist model of grounded theory (Charmaz, 1990; Charmaz, 1995).

In contrast to other grounded theory models, Charmaz argued that the literature review should be delayed but not completely disregarded. A thorough literature review assists the researcher to compare and position the themes and categories that have emerged from the data, with existing theory (Charmaz, 1990). What seems important, however, is that the researcher be aware of and acknowledge preconceived ideas or theories that he or she might hold and which might influence the research procedure and analysis.

5.1 The researcher

According to Charmaz (1990), grounded theorists start with general research questions rather than tightly preconceived hypotheses. The researcher's beliefs, lived experience and unique context will influence the final construction of meaning. It is essential that the researcher own the construction in terms of place and time and that the raw data remain available for alternative, complementary and multiple interpretations by others and by the researcher at other points in time and place. Research data is influenced by the relationship or interaction between the researcher and the research participants. It is important therefore for the participation of the researcher, in the research procedure to be captured and included in the description and documentation of the research procedure (Dockrell & Joffe, 1992). A brief description of myself as the researcher in the present study and the social context from which I approached this study will therefore be presented.

I, the researcher of this study, am a twenty-six year old, white, English-speaking, heterosexual, female from an upper-middle class family residing in Cape Town in the Western Cape. I have completed my under- and post- graduate tertiary education at a traditionally "whites-only" Afrikaans, patriarchal and conservative university in the Western Cape.

As I grew up in a relatively liberal home and was educated at a school well known for its liberal policies, I experienced both the content and structure of my tertiary education as being discriminating towards women. Issues of gender equality and feminism were never included in the academic curriculum. As a result I developed both an interest and motivation to research gender issues and in a sense to challenge the patriarchal context. With the threatening risk of HIV infection facing the population of Africa and more specifically South Africa, I found that my interest in gender issues was brought to life and became relevant especially in the field of reproductive health.

I completed my clinical psychology internship at an even more patriarchal military hospital and it was during this time that my interest in specifically masculinity, male gender roles and male sexuality began to evolve. I witnessed how some males found traditional gender roles to be at times extremely empowering and at other times emotionally crippling. I began to realise that whilst there was much literature available on feminism and female sexuality, there was comparatively very little available literature on masculinity and the role of men and male sexuality in reproductive health. As a result, I brought my own questions and interest to understand the masculinity and male sexuality, to this research study. I wanted to attempt to allow the other gender (male) to articulate their experience. This articulation to me, at least at the outset of this research study, had seemingly previously been forced into a dichotomy between socially correct speak and traditionally acceptable male-speak dependent on the social context in which males are positioned. This dichotomy had seemingly been criticised by the feminist movement. In addition, any articulation of male experience beyond this dichotomy appeared to be absent, at least within available academic research. As a result the analysis of the qualitative data was in some ways influenced by my interest to hear just what the male gender has to say in response to feminist accusations and secondly how the feminist

movement has impacted on how males construct their masculinity and more specifically sexuality.

I therefore attempted to open up the space for male adolescents to explore and critically reflect upon their understanding of sexuality but at the same time, I expected some kind of defence from the male defendant, who stands accused by the feminist movement. My inherent question has been one of: "Are men as "bad", "patriarchal", "traditional" and "sexist" as they are made out to be? I in a sense wanted to: "Give males a chance to explain themselves." I therefore both consciously and unconsciously selected data that provided answers to these questions, and those that contradicted that which has been assumed to be fact by those vigilantly advocating feminist principles. The way and degree to which this has influenced the data will be seen in the analysis that will be presented in the next chapter. It must also be kept in mind that although alternative interpretations of the data were possible, it is I, as the researcher, who selected which of the possible interpretations or constructions were presented. This is possibly ultimately determined by what I perceived as most interesting and academically most persuasive, plausible, credible, coherent and pragmatic (Riessman, 1993).

It must be noted, that as this research had been conducted as part of a Master's degree, the research was regularly discussed with my supervisor. This facilitated the consideration of alternative interpretations. In addition, the study and discussion of available literature also assisted my process of reflexivity. In conclusion, it is clear that I co-constructed the data and the interpretation of the data.

5.2 Interview participants

As explained in the previous section, due to time constraints, only students from School K participated in the qualitative stage of the study.

The inclusion criteria for participation were as follows:

- The participant's first language had to be English or Afrikaans.
- The participant had to be above the age of 16.
- The participant had to volunteer his participation.
- The participant had to have completed the questionnaire.
- The participant had to have previously had sexual intercourse on at least one occasion. This was to ensure homogeneity of the interview participants. I also aimed to explore the way in which male adolescents give meaning to their first experience of coitus. The questionnaires provided the necessary screening tool to identify which participants of the larger group had previously been sexually active, in order to select participants for the in-depth interviews. Sexual activity was defined as sexual intercourse and not merely physical intimacy or sexual touching. In other words sexual activity did not refer to physical touching or oral sex but was defined as vaginal or anal penetration.
- The participant had to be heterosexually sexually active. As discussed in chapter two, the focus of this study was to explore heterosexual male sexuality as reproductive health risks such as HIV and STD infection in Africa are transmitted predominantly through heterosexual sexual intercourse and pregnancy is obviously also a result of heterosexual sexual intercourse (Lachman, 1995; Van Coeverden De Groot, 1991).

The demographic details of the interview participants are presented in Table 3. The final sample was as follows:

Table 4

Interview respondents

Interview	N	Mean age	Range
School K	7	17	16- 18

Although all seven of the interviewees reported experience of sexual intercourse on their questionnaires, one had in fact not had sexual intercourse before. The participant revealed this during the interview. During the interview it was revealed that this interviewee believed that the behaviour he had engaged in previously did amount to sexual intercourse. The participant did understand that sexual intercourse required vaginal or anal penetration. He had, however, indicated on the questionnaire that he had engaged in sexual intercourse because he believed that the Bible said that if an individual looked at a woman lustfully it was the same as having sexual intercourse with the participant.

5.3 Interview

5.3.1 Interview questions

Open-ended questions were formulated to elicit information about how these heterosexual coloured male adolescents experienced, understood and constructed their sexuality. The questions focused on heterosexual sexual relationships, sexual behaviour, and contraceptive use. The questions were used as tentative cues to encourage the participants into dialogue about these issues. The interview schedule was intended to operate as a guideline or aide for the interviewer (see Appendix D). I developed the schedule myself, after reviewing both literature and the audiotapes from pilot interviews (see Appendix D). The participants were asked about their experiences of and history of their sexual behaviour, specific sexual acts with each of their partners and safe sex practices.

5.3.2 Interviewer

Adolescents have been found to communicate more easily with persons of their own gender and age, when discussing sensitive topics such as sexual behaviour (Catania et al., 1990; McLean, 1995). As I am an English-speaking, white, female in my mid-twenties, I believed that I was not the appropriate person to conduct interviews about sexuality with heterosexual, coloured, Afrikaans-speaking, male adolescents. The interviews were conducted by a male, coloured, honours psychology student attending the University of Stellenbosch. This student had previously graduated with a Social work degree and had experience in counselling and interviewing. He was twenty-three years of age, Afrikaans-speaking, heterosexual, and lived in a historically disadvantaged coloured community in the Western Cape.

The interviewer was given the interview schedule or interview guide before conducting the interview and he used this as a guideline for the interview (Riessman, 1993). He was instructed to ask open-ended questions and listen with a minimum number of questions. Given the sensitive nature of the research topics, the interviewer was also instructed to encourage the relationship between him and the participants in order to put the adolescents at ease and thereby elicit an open interaction and dialogue.

5.3.3 Reliability of the interview data

Riessman (1993) argued that the traditional understanding of reliability is not an applicable criterion of assessment for qualitative studies. In qualitative studies the idea that an individual's narrative can and should be completely consistent in a variety of settings is not an appropriate measure of assessment (Riessman, 1993). According to Parker (1994), the idea that good research is measured by validity and reliability is based on the idea that good research is only good research if it is replicable. Researchers conducting qualitative research, however, should never attempt to make their research replicable. Although replication is always possible, the replication will automatically be different as a result of the change in researcher and research participants. In addition, this difference provides an opportunity for

the reader to bring his or her own contexts, knowledge and understanding to the research topic (Parker, 1994; Riessman, 1993).

Riessman (1993) pointed out that whereas subjectivity is to be avoided by those who approach social science from a positivist perspective, the existence of context-free research is not viewed as relevant for assessing qualitative research. It is exactly the rootedness in time, place and person that is to be valued. An example of the importance of examining the context from which the research subject approaches the research is demonstrated by the interview participant who had in fact not engaged in sexual intercourse but whose personal religious beliefs or context provided a different definition of sexual intercourse as compared to the researchers' definition of sexual intercourse. As an alternative measure of quality, Meulenberg-Buskens (1997) stated that quality should be assessed by the relevance of the study, the "usability" of the findings, the degree to which values are enhanced and the degree in which it aids disempowered individuals to become empowered. As a last measure they also believe that the technical quality should be determined by the methodological expectations of the community of scientists in the field of study at hand.

It seems therefore that the reliability of the qualitative component of this study is or can only be evaluated subjectively and individually, by the research participant, researcher, and research observer, from within their unique context of time, place and person.

5.3.4 Validity of the interview

Qualitative analysis does not aim to capture the historical truth, as all facts are a product of interpretative processes (Riessman, 1993). When searching for an appropriate measure of validity, what researchers should aim for is "trustworthiness" rather than truth. Riessman (1993) identified four measures of validity in qualitative research: persuasiveness and plausibility, correspondence, coherence and pragmatic use. Persuasiveness and plausibility, refer to the extent to which the writer presented participants' accounts and alternative interpretations of these accounts, in a manner that makes the writer's theoretical claims believable, reasonable and convincing. I attempted to meet this criteria by making use of

relevant literature, presenting in vivo quotes from the transcripts and comparing the qualitative data to the quantitative data.

Correspondence refers to taking the research findings back to the research participants for their assessment of the credibility of the findings. In this study, the research findings were discussed with the school teachers at the schools that participated but I have not yet had the opportunity to take the findings back to the participants. I plan to present the completed study to the schools. As a form of triangulation, I also attempted to include alternative understandings and perspectives in the data by continually consulting with the supervisor and research assistant/ interviewer of this study. The interviewer, who grew up in a community similar to that of the participants, believed that my interpretations were credible.

When looking at the third measure of coherence, the researcher would have to ensure that the analysis was coherent in terms of the structure of the narrative and of the written discussion of the narrative. It must also be coherent in terms of the content that is presented and discussed. By including my own experience and participation in the research methodology and by presenting the evolutionary process of the research, the coherence has been captured. The coherence of the written analysis can only be evaluated by the reader.

The fourth measure of pragmatic use seems to capture what Meulenberg-Buskens (1997) defined as quality. The validity of a study, according to this measure, is based upon the contribution that the study can make in the future, to the scientific community and the value for future studies. The current study can inform and be used for local, preventative and reproductive health interventions.

Lastly, by highlighting the limitations of the study, I am able to shed some light on the trustworthiness of my interpretations. A few of the limitations of this study as well as recommendations for further studies will be discussed in the final chapter of this study.

5.4 Procedure

The third stage entailed in-depth interviews during which heterosexual, coloured, Afrikaans-speaking male adolescents' constructions of their sexuality were explored. A total of seven interviews were conducted.

The participants were obtained in the following way:

Those questionnaires that indicated that the questionnaire respondents had had sexual intercourse were selected. The numbers of these questionnaires were listed and then put up at school K. The participants whose numbers were selected were asked to meet in a certain classroom. To ensure confidentiality, the participants who arrived for the meeting were told that they had been chosen randomly. They were asked if they were willing to participate in an in-depth individual interview with the research assistant after school hours in which topics of sexuality would be discussed. To ensure confidentiality, it was explained that the interviews would take place in a private soundproof room at the Department of Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch. The participants appeared to be very willing to participate in the research as they asked questions and were curious about the purpose of the research. The participants once again expressed appreciation of the idea that male adolescents were been given the opportunity to voice their opinion. In addition, the participants were also interested to come and view the university campus. However, many of the participants said that they were involved in sport after school, or had to look after siblings after school or had to travel with fixed transport into the farming areas. Finally an arrangement was made with ten young men from School K. Times were negotiated on an individual basis and it was arranged that interviews would be conducted after school hours. One participant a week would be transported by the researcher from school, to the university and then back to their home. The participants, the school and the participants' parents gave permission for this.

The first two participants arrived as arranged but the third participant failed to arrive for the scheduled interview. A meeting was arranged with the remaining participants who had volunteered, to re-negotiate participation. Only five participants attended the meeting. Three of the original volunteers therefore did not arrive and were subsequently unable to be

interviewed. It appeared that as it was nearing the end of year functions and exams, it was not convenient for the participants to come after school hours. The interviews were therefore scheduled on Saturdays. The five remaining participants were collected at central meeting points on a Saturday morning and were taken to the university where they spent the day being interviewed, exploring the campus and having lunch. No incentives were promised to the participants prior to their participation.

The aims, anonymity and confidentiality of the research were once again explained to the participants. The participants were given a consent form to read and sign (see Appendix B). All interviews were audio taped with the informed written consent of the participants. Participants chose a codename, which they could use during the interview. This codename was therefore the only form of identification during the interviews and on the transcripts of the interview.

After consent forms were read and signed and codenames chosen, the students were asked to assist with setting up the audiotapes and tape-recorder. It was felt that this could contribute to a relaxed atmosphere and the participants feeling that they had some control and mastery over the interview situation.

The participants participated in semi-structured interviews of approximately 45 minutes to an hour. Questions were first asked to ensure that the participant had indeed been sexually active. From then on, following the content and pace of the participants' conversation, topics concerning sexual behaviour and sexuality, as outlined on the interview schedule, were discussed.

5.5 Data analysis

The process of analysis was directed by the methodology and the grounded theory principles, as interpreted and amended by Charmaz (1990). I transcribed the audiotapes as soon as the interviews were completed (Riessman, 1993). The transcripts were checked for accuracy by the interviewer and by an independent honours psychology graduate.

I then began the process of coding. Coding is a general term for a selective filtering mechanism that rejects, accepts or translates incoming information (Mickel & Liddie-Hamilton, 1996). The transcript of each interview was parsed and deconstructed into single meaning-units. These meaning-units were coded line-by-line. Certain themes and processes began to emerge from the narratives (see Appendix E). I continued to interpret and analyse each meaning-unit by trying to delve deeper each time and move onto a deeper level of analysis. These themes will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Throughout the process I made reflective process notes where personal comments, notes, thoughts and feelings were recorded. I made notes of that which I did not understand, that which I thought to be significant, that which I thought were possible meanings, what connections could be made, how it connected to the literature and what the influences of the transcripts were. Interpretation and analysis therefore took place simultaneously as I grounded myself in the transcripts and allowed the transcripts to ground themselves in me. I looked for common threads and organised these groupings, trying to organise each meaning-unit according to similarities. Overlaps and repetitions were detected. This process was repeated and re-analysis took place repeatedly allowing for the exploration of codes and interpretations. I then attempted to diagrammatically capture the codes and my understanding of the analysis process (see Appendix E). The notes recorded through this process were analysed and my own personal role and stance, which effected the interpretations and analysis, was acknowledged. I tried to approach the analysis with a critical and reflective perspective so as to constructively and cohesively identify gaps, contradictions and inconsistencies in the analysis.

Codes that re-occurred in the texts were identified and I used these codes to analyse the data to create categories. This will be discussed in more detail, in the next chapter. The relationships between and within these categories were examined and by including personal notes that had been recorded, I began to write up the findings by using the categories identified as headings. Many categories and codes that had been identified were, however,

discarded as directed and guided by the research question as well as my subjective interpretation or selection of themes.

Throughout the analysis process, categories that were identified were discussed in length with my supervisor and the interviewer as a method of crosschecking. The supervisor and the interviewer checked any hypotheses.

I then returned to the available literature and began to link and compare the analysis and the transcripts to existing theories and literature. The relevant literature was included in the written discussion of the identified categories that had emerged from my process of participation with the transcripts.

As directed by Charmaz, I then began a process of writing and through continual "re-writings", allowed findings and hypotheses and ideas to be refined. A limitation that I experienced, however, is that the circularity of the process of analysis is not always easily captured by the linear fashion that academic writing subscribes to.

6. Ethical considerations

6.1 Goal of research

Due to the sensitive and controversial nature of sexuality and the fact that the research participants were school going minors, ethical considerations were of the utmost importance in this study. The Ethical Committee of the University of Stellenbosch assessed the research proposal, methodology design and measuring instruments and granted permission for the research to be conducted. Permission was granted on the condition that an informed consent form be read and signed by each research participant. The informed consent form highlighted seven principles or conditions that I would adhere to as researcher.

The goal of the research had to be explained and understood by the participants. The nature, goals and aims of the research procedure was first explained verbally and with the aid of a

written proposal to the headmaster, teachers and governing bodies of the school concerned, The nature, goals and aims of the research was also explained verbally and on paper, to the students on first meeting them, prior to their consenting to participate, at the schools in private classrooms and was re-explained at each subsequent meeting. They were informed that the research formed part of a post-graduate psychology study at the, Department of Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch. It was explained that the study was not solicited or being conducted for their schools or teachers and that the university was independent to and not associated with their schools. It was also explained that I had chosen the schools and that the schools had not requested research to be conducted. In addition, it was explained that I as the researcher, did not want to identify individuals who were experiencing problems but rather try and understand all teenagers and especially male teenagers, as researchers had very seldom consulted with male teenagers.

6.2 Research procedure

An explanation of the two stages of the research and what each stage would entail for the participants was discussed and given to the headmasters, teachers and students.

Anonymity and confidentiality were emphasised and guaranteed. It was explained to the participants that specific measures to ensure confidentiality during all stages of the research would be implemented. It was explained that at no time would the participants have to provide me with their name. The numbering/coding-identification system on the questionnaire was explained to the students. It was explained that I would not allow the teachers in the venues where questionnaires would be administered, that questionnaires would be placed into boxes in the front of their classrooms and that I would be unable to trace which box any individual placed their questionnaire into. It was explained that the boxes would be taken to the University immediately after administration, would remain in a locked container and that only I would have access to the questionnaires. It was explained that neither teachers nor parents would have access to questionnaires or interviews or any information imparted by participants during the course of the research. It was explained that the interviews would take place in a soundproof room at the university. Although the interview would be audiotaped with their

consent, it was explained that they could make use of an alias or codename to disguise their identity. It was explained that although confidentiality was ensured during the interviews, I as researcher did have a duty to report any sexual abuse that was occurring but that such an obligation would at all times first be discussed with the research participant. It was also explained that the research participant had the right to discontinue participation at any stage of the research for any reason. In addition, they would not have to explain their decision to discontinue participation. The availability of resources (telephone numbers of counselling services), should respondents become aware of personal problems during any stage of the research, was also made available.

Finally, my credentials as the researcher and the credentials of the research assistant, who would function as the interviewer, were given to the research participants. The research participants were informed that information gained during the research could be used for publication but that at no time would they, their names or schools be identified in such publication. In addition, it was explained that they would have access to the final research document and possible publications, if they so wished.

Although the South African Constitution does not require parental permission for conducting this kind of research with minors, I did obtain permission from the school headmasters and governing bodies. These bodies included parental representation from the school community.

From the start, I realised that recruitment of participants for this study would be problematic. Not only would the adolescents have to be willing to discuss their sexual behaviour without fear of exposure to peers, school teachers and parents but permission to include adolescents in this study would have to be gained. The consent form assisted in combating fears surrounding confidentiality that were raised during the research process. The consent form therefore also assisted in the recruitment process of this study.

In the next chapter the results of the quantitative component of the study will be presented and discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE: QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the results from the quantitative component of this study will be presented and discussed. It is important to note that I selected from the extensive quantitative data that was generated from the questionnaire, those results that I believed were most pertinent to the study. In order to position the findings from the present study within the field of sexual behaviour research, findings from other sexual behaviour studies will also be presented. It is important, however, to remember that much of the data available on sexual behaviour has been conducted in the United States of America or Europe with white, black and Hispanic adolescents. Much of the research that has been conducted has been by way of comparative studies between these racial groups and of course between male and females. Many of the studies were conducted in metropolitan or inner city communities. In addition, due to the convenience of recruiting participants for research and the fact that consent is not needed, many of the studies conducted have been conducted with college or university students above the age of eighteen. There are very few studies and very little data concerning the sexual behaviour of South African adolescents (Flisher, Ziervogel, Chalton, Leger & Robertson, 1993). Those studies that are available in South Africa have been conducted with black and white students and very few of the samples in these studies are from rural communities. The language of the participants in the studies has also varied between English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and Zulu. In addition, there is no published data available that focuses solely on the male adolescent in South Africa (Macleod, 1999). Finally, comparisons of data from different studies can be problematic, as differences can be due to differences in the survey design rather than due to differences in behaviour (Sonenstein, Pleck & Leighton, 1989). As a result one must be cautious of attempting to draw comparisons between these studies. Factors that make the sample of the current study unique (such as language, race, age, location, culture, religion and socio-economic standing) must not be ignored.

2. DATING BEHAVIOUR AND SEXUAL ACTIVITY

Table 5

Age at first date

Age at first date	Percentage (%)
No response	0,6
Not applicable	10,6
7	0,6
9	1,1
10	5,0
11	2,2
12	15,6
13	15,1
14	21,8
15	14,0
16	10,1
17	1,7
18	1,7
20	0,6

Dating is defined as engaging in any type of social activity with an individual in whom the participant had a romantic or sexual interest. On average, the age of the first dating experience was fourteen years of age. This ranged from seven years of age to twenty years of age. However 10,6% of the sample said that they had never taken a girl out and 97,8% of the sample had taken a girl out by the age of seventeen. This is indicative that the boys begin to fulfil the developmental tasks that are ascribed to the adolescent phase and this seems to confirm that the developmental models as outlined by theorists such as Freud and Erikson, are applicable to the participants of these communities (Louw, 1991).

Thornton (1990) reported that in a study conducted in 1962 with adolescents of all races living in metropolitan areas in America, 21,2% of male adolescents began dating at the age of

thirteen and younger; 17,9% at age fourteen; 21,2% at fifteen; 29,5% at sixteen and 7,2% at age seventeen to eighteen. Only 3% of the sample said that they had not been on a date. It appears therefore that the participants in this sample began dating at a younger age than Thornton's sample.

One can speculate and say that this could be due to the fact that Thornton's study was conducted approximately thirty-eight years prior to the present study. However, the trend is still that on average dating begins between the adolescent years of twelve to seventeen.

Thornton (1990) reported that the earlier American adolescents began dating and forming steady relationships, the more likely they were to be sexually experienced, to be more sexually active during their late adolescent years, to have more sexually permissive attitudes concerning premarital sexual intercourse and to have an expanding range of normative sexual intimacy or sexual behaviours. Thornton also found this to be true for both male and female adolescents. This could, however, also be related to the fact that adolescents who begin dating earlier simply have more time and more opportunity. As Thornton stated the causal factors for such increased behaviour needs to be explored further.

Table 6

Incidence of sexual intercourse

	No response	Engaged in sexual intercourse	Have not engaged in sexual intercourse
School C	0,0%	58,4%	41,6%
School K	1,3%	48,7%	50,0%
Total sample	0,6%	54,1%	45,3%

Looking at the entire sample of participants, 54,1% of the sample said that they had had sexual intercourse. In School C, a community that is closer to the central town of Stellenbosch

and therefore less "rural" than School K that lies outside of the towns and more in the farming area, 58,4% of the sample said that they had had sexual intercourse. School K is situated in a more conservative community. In this sample 48,7% of the sample said that they had had sexual intercourse. This difference between the two schools was not statistically significant.

According to Sonenstein, Pleck and Leighton (1989), a nationwide study conducted in America revealed that 59,1% of white, 89,6% black and 87,6% of Hispanic, seventeen year old male adolescents had had sexual intercourse. In total 65,6% of the sample were sexually active by the age of seventeen. The percentage of participants in the present study, who had had sex, is more than 10% lower than this American study. Although this study was conducted ten years prior to the present study, an increase in sexual behaviour among adolescents in America has been reported and it is unlikely that the percentage of sexually active adolescents in America would have decreased (Miller, Christopherson & King, 1993; Sonenstein, Pleck & Leighton 1989). It can therefore be concluded that when compared to American male adolescents, fewer of the participants in the present study, were sexually active at the age of seventeen. What is clear though, is that levels of sexual activity can vary according to ethnic or racial factors (Sonenstein, Pleck & Leighton, 1989).

In a multi-racial study conducted in the Cape Peninsula, in metropolitan communities, with male and female, school-going high school students between standard six and ten who were English-, Afrikaans- and Xhosa-speaking, it was found that 17,4% of the sample reported that they had had sexual intercourse (Flisher et al., 1993). According to Macleod (1999) various studies conducted in South Africa with varying population groups have reported the percentage of male and female adolescents who report sexual intercourse to vary from between 17,4% to 92,1%. Macleod believed that factors such as: geographical location, age of participants, and methodology issues around the use of self-report measures, might explain the variation of results. As no studies have been conducted with male adolescents in rural coloured communities in the Stellenbosch area, it appears therefore that the results of this study do fall within the range of reported sexual intercourse by adolescents in South Africa. From the studies reported by Macleod (1999) it does appear, however, that the percentage of reported sexual intercourse is higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas. This,

together with the factor of race and the inclusion of females in the other study, could possibly partially explain why the percentage of reported sexual intercourse in the present study (54,2%) is higher than the percentage reported from the study conducted in the urban areas in the Cape Peninsula (17,4%). A more likely explanation, however, is that the participants in the present study were on average older than the participants in the Cape Peninsula study.

Table 7

Age at first sexual intercourse for sexually active participants

Age at first sexual intercourse	Percentage (%)
10	1,1
13	2,2
14	9,9
15	3,3
16	42,4
17	34,0
18	6,0
20	1,1

The mean age at first sexual intercourse in the present study was sixteen and ranged between ten and twenty years of age. According to Rodgers (1996) a study conducted in America indicated that the distribution of age at first sexual intercourse for all race-groups show that the majority of first sexual intercourse experiences are between the ages of twelve and sixteen, with black male adolescents reporting younger ages than the other population groups. Another study conducted in America reported the age of first sexual intercourse for especially black male adolescents being 12,5 years of age (Taylor, Wang, Jack & Adame, 1989). In a study conducted with adolescents in Norway however, it was found that the median age of first intercourse was 18 for boys (Kraft, 1993). This indicates again that sexuality as it manifests in sexual behaviour varies between different communities.

In South Africa, a study conducted in a black township in Natal with black male and female adolescents, reported the range of the age of first sexual intercourse to be between six and

twenty-three years of age (Simbayi, Naidoo & Collings, 1996). On average the age of first intercourse in that study was reported as being 14,85 years of age. This is younger than the average age of first intercourse in the present study.

In a multi-racial study conducted in the metropolitan areas of the Cape Peninsula, with high-school students between standard six and ten and who were English-, Afrikaans- and Xhosa-speaking it was found that the median age of first sexual intercourse, for males was 14,9 years of age (Flisher et al., 1993). In the present study therefore, the age of first intercourse is approximately one year higher. In the Cape Peninsula study, language or population group was shown to be a factor that had an effect on the results. The percentage of those participants who had had sexual intercourse was lower for Afrikaans-speaking (14,1%) students as compared to English-speaking (18%), English and Afrikaans-speaking (18,9%) and Xhosa-speaking (68,3%) students (Flisher et al., 1993).

Macleod (1999) referred to other South African studies that reported the age of first sexual intercourse being between the ages of 11 and 14,86. It appears therefore that the participants in this sample delayed first sexual intercourse until they were slightly older, sixteen years of age. Factors such as race, language, culture and the possibility of the present study's sample coming from a rural and traditionally more church-going community, might be a reason for the difference in age as compared to the other studies. The problem, however, is that these studies were conducted with both males and females and there are no comparative studies conducted with males only.

Table 8Frequency of sexual intercourse from first coitus for sexually active respondents

	No Response	Category with largest percentage	Percentage in largest category	Range
No of times had sexual intercourse	6,2%	3	13,4%	1 – 78

The mean number of times that the participants reported that they had had sexual intercourse is three times. This finding concurs with other findings that indicate that sexual intercourse among adolescents is reported as being sporadic (Miller, Christopherson & King, 1993).

Table 9**Number of sexual intercourse partners for sexually active participants**

No of sexual intercourse partners	Percentage (%)
1	23,8
2	16,3
3	19,9
4	16,3
5	9,1
6	4,0
7	2,0
10	1,1
12	3,1
15	1,1
23	1,1
26	1,1
68	1,1

Of the participants who reported that they had engaged in sexual intercourse, the largest percentage of sexually active participants, namely 23,8%, reported that they had had one sexual partner. The majority of the sexually active participants, namely 76,3%, fell within the range of one and four sexual partners. The participants who reported that they had had sexual intercourse with fifteen, twenty-three, twenty-six and sixty-eight partners, were participants who responded humorously to many of the questions on the questionnaire. This could indicate that they chose not to take the research seriously. This could also reflect an

Table 10Number of sexual intercourse partners in the last year for sexually active participants

No of sexual intercourse partners	Percentage (%)
No response	6,2
1	36,8
2	20,5
3	12,3
4	7,6
5	9,1
6	2,0
9	1,1
10	1,1
12	1,1
17	1,1
36	1,1

The mean number of sexual partners that the participants (who had had sexual intercourse), had had in the last year, is one. The mean number of sexual partners that this group of respondents had ever had is one. This could indicate that on average the male adolescents are not as promiscuous as is sometimes portrayed in literature about male adolescents (Holmbeck, Crossman, Wandrei & Gasiewski, 1994). Although on average in this group of respondents, this might not be the case, the fact is that within the sample, the number of people that the male adolescents had had sexual intercourse with ranged from between one and thirty-six people. It is clear therefore that although this group of respondents, according to their reports, are largely monogamous there are adolescents who have had multiple sexual partners. It becomes clear therefore that these adolescents are at greater risk of contracting STDs or becoming HIV infected. In addition, there seems to be an inherent assumption that one is not at risk of contracting an STD or becoming HIV infected if one has only had one

sexual partner. Those individuals who assume this, do not take cognisance of the fact that the single sexual partner's previous sexual history might include contact with an individual who was STD or HIV infected. There are therefore adolescents, within this sample, who have had sexual intercourse with more than one partner, hence increasing their risk of contracting STDs and HIV.

In the American study reported by Rodgers (1996), it was found that 85% of black male adolescents reported having more than one sexual intercourse partner in comparison with 65% of white males of the same age. The mean number of partners for both white and black male adolescents was two partners. Although De Gaston, Jensen and Weed (1995) did report a study in America that indicated that male adolescents between the ages of fifteen and nineteen have on average one sexual partner, they found that 18,3% of their sample had had sexual intercourse with five partners. De Gaston, Jensen and Weed (1995) stated that their sample had been taken from highly religious families and this might have resulted in a reported number of sexual partners being lower than other American studies. As the participants of the present study also report on average only one sexual partner, it is possible that the religious nature of the community in which this sample was taken might also have contributed to fewer numbers of sexual partners being reported.

In a study conducted with black township³ adolescents between the ages of thirteen and twenty-five in Natal, it was reported that 54% of the sample had had more than one sexual partner in the past year (Simbayi, Naidoo & Collings, 1996). In the study conducted in the Cape Peninsula, it was reported that the median number of sexual partners in the last year was 1,5 partners for adolescent males (Flisher et al., 1993). The mean number of sexual partners in the present study is slightly lower. Due to the fact that these two studies were conducted with both male and female adolescents a comparison cannot however be made. The Cape Peninsula study, however, did not report the range of the number of partners and a comparison of sexual intercourse partners could not be made.

³ In South Africa the word township denotes a black, coloured or Indian residential area usually situated on the outskirts of the politically and historically designated "whites-only" residential and urban area.

Table 11Frequency of specific behaviours in the past year

	No response	Never	Daily	Once/ Week	Once/ Month
Going out with a girl	3,9%	26,8%	17,3%	25,7%	26,3%
Going out with friends	1,7%	6,70%	39,1%	33,5%	19,0%
Kissing	2,8%	15,1%	41,9%	26,3%	14,0%
Physical intimacy ⁴	2,8%	21,8%	33,0%	30,7%	11,7%
Oral Sex	6,7%	78,8%	3,90%	3,40%	7,30%
Sexual intercourse	4,5%	53,6%	3,40%	14,0%	24,6%
Masturbation alone	4,5%	59,8%	12,3%	9,50%	14,0%
Masturbation with friends	3,9%	91,1%	0,60%	2,20%	2,2%

⁴ Physical intimacy was defined as physical touching of the genitals between the male adolescent and a partner without sexual intercourse or penetration occurring.

Watched a pornographic film	3,9%	26,3%	7,30%	16,8%	45,8%
Looked at a pornographic magazine	3,9%	29,6%	12,0%	15,6%	38,5%
Communication about sexual intercourse	3,4%	30,7%	24,0%	20,1%	21,8%
Forced someone to have sex	2,8%	89,9%	0,00%	1,70%	5,60%
Sexual Fantasies	2,8%	48,0%	23,5%	15,1%	10,6%

In this table the frequency of behaviours that have been identified as forming part of the dating behaviour script have been presented (Dacey & Kenny, 1997; Peplau, Rubin & Hill, 1977; Thornton, 1990).

Table 11 shows that 41,9% of the sample reported that they kissed a girl daily, 33% of the sample were physically intimate (physical touching of the genitals without sexual intercourse or penetration occurring) on a daily basis and 39,1% of the sample said that they went out with friends on a daily basis. Of the participants who had been out with a girl, 26,3% of the sample said that they had gone out with a girl once a month. Of the participants who have been sexually active, 24,6% of the sample said that they had sexual intercourse once a month. Referring back to Table 8, 7,3% of the sample reported that they only had sexual intercourse three times since first coitus. These two figures are contradictory. Only 45,8% of

the sample said that they had watched a pornographic film once a month, 38,5% of the sample said that they had looked at a pornographic magazine once a month. However, 78,8% of the sample said that they had never had oral sex, 59,8% of the sample said that they had never masturbated alone, 91,1% of the sample said that they had never masturbated with friends, 89,9% of the total sample said that they had never forced someone to have sexual intercourse, 90,5% of the total sample said that they had never been forced to have sexual intercourse and 48% of the sample said that they had not experienced sexual fantasies.

It seems therefore that physical intimacy takes place on a daily basis, socialising with friends on a daily basis, socialising with girls on a monthly basis, sexual intercourse on a monthly basis.

Neither oral sex nor masturbation were reported as frequently practised sexual behaviours. Masturbation has traditionally been associated with many feelings of embarrassment, shame and guilt but it is considered to be a universal aspect of sexuality (Dacey & Kenny, 1997). It must be noted that the frequencies were low for certain behaviours that traditionally carry negative stigmas, for example, masturbation. This could therefore indicate that the participants responded to the questions in a socially correct or pleasing manner. In addition, only 49,2% of the sample said that they had experienced sexual fantasies. This is very unlikely, as research has frequently documented pre-occupation with sexuality on the part of adolescent males. Dacey and Kenny (1997) reported that studies conducted in America have found that 45% of adult males masturbate once or twice a week. Sexual fantasy was also shown to be closely related to masturbation practices.

In Table 11 it can also be seen that the use of pornography is quite prevalent. If one groups the percentage of respondents in the frequency categories of daily, weekly and monthly together, then 69,8% of the sample reported having watched a pornographic film and 65,9% of the sample reported that they had looked at a pornographic magazine. In comparison to the under reporting of masturbation and sexual fantasy the adolescents in the present study were perhaps more comfortable reporting use of pornographic material. A possible understanding of this is that ideas or beliefs around the objectification of women in

pornographic material and the negative or socially incorrect stigma which is attached to pornography in some contexts, is not a prevalent belief in the communities in which the respondents live. As a result the respondents might view the use of pornography as an acceptable and appropriate sexual behaviour. Further exploration of the beliefs around the use of pornography could clarify this quantitative result. It would be interesting to explore for example whether the use of pornography be an acceptable or appropriate behaviour for female adolescents and whether the use of pornographic material is an appropriate or acceptable behaviour for adult males.

If one groups the percentage of respondents in the frequency categories of daily, weekly and monthly together once again, Table 11 also reveals that 65,9% of the entire sample, have spoken to female adolescents or their girlfriends about sexual intercourse. This indicates that communication about sexual intercourse with female peers does feature prominently in the daily life and in the range of sexual behaviours of the male adolescents in this sample.

The responses of the participants in the present study therefore do not necessarily reflect their true sexual behaviour trends and further exploration of such behaviour and the meaning of such sexual behaviour is needed before one can have a clear understanding of the reported sexual behaviour. One can speculate that this reflects that sexual intercourse is not a subject that adolescents are comfortable with or certain about how to communicate about, when in communication with adults. The manner in which they answered the questionnaire may reflect their "pleasing" attempts to give a "correct answer" to an adult, namely the researcher. Adolescents are perhaps not confident or comfortable enough in discussing all aspects of sexual intercourse, despite sexual intercourse or physical intimacy being such an integral part of their lives and the reality in which they live. This indicates a dynamic of miscommunication that might be at play between those teaching and those learning about sexuality. In conversations about sexuality with their adult informants this pleasing or socially correct approach might be continued and adapted to suit those who are attempting to teach them about sexuality. Adolescents might be afraid or unable to express their true beliefs, questions and feelings about sexuality.

3. CONSENT IN SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

Table 12

Partner not consenting

Experience of participant wanting to have sexual intercourse and partner not wanting to	Percentage (%)
No response	2,2
Yes	17,9
No	79,1

When asked if they had ever been in a situation where they had wanted to have sex but their partner had not wanted to, 17,9% of the total sample said that they had such an experience. De Gaston, Jensen and Weed (1995) reported that only 8,9% of their sample reported that their partner had not wanted to have sex. The fact that in the present sample more males reported that their partners were not willing to have sexual intercourse could be explained by the fact that the age of the participants in the present sample is younger than that of De Gaston, Jensen and Weeds sample. De Gaston, Jensen and Weed reported that older males are less likely to report that their partners were not willing to have sexual intercourse, while older females are more likely to report that they are pressured to have sexual intercourse.

(1993), it is the analyst who selects which aspects of the transcripts will be highlighted. By interpreting the data from the analyst's own context, the analyst automatically controls and constructs the meaning of the narrative. Charmaz (1990), however, stressed the importance for the researcher or analyst to stay as close to or as grounded in, the transcripts and to observe what is actually in the text. I experienced this as an immense challenge. The challenge was to trace the constructions and relationships between the respondents' lives and experiences, as captured and reflected in the recorded text, and my own experiences, context and understanding of the text and the participants. Grounded theory stresses that theoretical categories must be drawn from what arises in the text. According to Charmaz (1990), by using the text as one's starting point or foundation, the codes, categories and theories remain grounded. I tried to use in vivo quotes in the coding and categorising process. In this way I hoped to capture the lived experience of the research participants.

2. MALE CONSTRUCTIONS OF MALE SEXUALITY

2.1 Sex just happens and keeps on happening

When the adolescent males in the current study told their story of sexual activity they presented a narrative in which sex is understood as a physiological, uncontrollable urge that occurs suddenly and independent of their cognitive intention. In discussing their first experience of sexual intercourse, the respondents spoke of physiological urges that they experienced.

...en ek het nie daai drange hoe, jy weet daai drange wat die meeste mans het, so om met haar seks te hê. (5)

Ek het nie daai gevoel gehad om seks te hê nie. (6)

...en die behoefte is groot . (6)

...maar as ek reg is, en ek wil dit doen, as ek warm is. (7)

These physiological urges were experienced as powerful and even though the respondents also reported (in retrospect) a cognitive process of weighing up all the consequences whilst engaging in sexual behaviour, they reported how finally sex "just happens". This seems to imply that they let their perceived instinctive sexual urges take over. Or perhaps that these sexual urges were difficult to control despite the respondents cognitively experiencing doubt

Table 13Behaviour when partner not-consenting

Reaction to partner not wanting to have sex	Percentage (%)
No response	6,0
Not applicable	74,2
Accepted	13,1
Argued	1,1
Verbal manipulation	2,2
Ended relationship	1,1
Aggressive behaviour	0,5
Forced sex on partner	1,6

When asked how they reacted to their partner's decision to not have sexual intercourse, 13,1% of the total sample said that they accepted this, two participants or 1,1% of the sample said they had argued with the partner, but they had accepted this, one participant or 0,5% of the sample reacted aggressively, 2,2% of the sample said that they verbally manipulated the partner, 1,1% of the sample said that they ended the relationship and three participants or 1,6% of the sample said that they forced sex on their partner. According to Dacey and Kenny (1997) a study conducted with high-school males in America revealed that 60% of the sample believed it was acceptable to force sex on a girl in some situations. Another study revealed that 39% of high school boys believed it was acceptable for the male to pressure the female to have sexual intercourse when the male was highly aroused and could not stop and 54% of the sample believed it was acceptable to pressure a girl to have sexual intercourse when she had first said yes and then changed her mind. Other acceptable reasons that were identified by the participants, in this sample, were the girl's behaviour (clothes, conflicting verbal and non-verbal messages); the fact that the girl has previously been sexually active with other boys or with the participant; if the girl had used alcohol or drugs or when the girl had gone to the male's house or the male to the female's house with the knowledge that parents will not be present.

According to Macleod (1999) issues of deception, coercion, intimidation and violence have been reported by female adolescents in qualitative studies but quantitative studies have not revealed high frequencies of coercion. In agreement with this, in the present study only a small percentage (6,9%) of the participants reported that they had been in a situation where either emotional, verbal or physical coercion was used. It is clear, however, from the responses that adolescents may find themselves in situations in which issues of consent and coercion and ambiguous sexual negotiations are at play. It must also be noted that this question was phrased as an open-ended question and this might therefore have resulted in those participants who behave coercively but do not believe that their behaviour is coercive, not reporting their behaviour as being coercive. In addition, males who do engage in coercive or aggressive behaviour might be less likely to volunteer to participate in research studies.

One can speculate that the adolescents might not always know how to communicate and react to their own and their partners' physical urges in a way that they are comfortable with. They do not always know how to retrain or control themselves in situations where the sexual and physical intimacy is going beyond what they or their partner initially intended or feel comfortable with. Macleod (1999) pointed out the paradoxical nature of the male strategy to use violence to gain a female's love. The interaction and communication between partners in the context where sexual decision-making occurs clearly needs to be examined more closely.

4. INVOLVEMENT IN TEENAGE PREGNANCY

Table 14

Involvement in teenage pregnancy

	Yes	No	No response
Made a girl pregnant	2,8%	96,1%	1,1%

Table 15**Management of pregnancy**

	Not applicable	Abortion	Miscarriage	Baby was born	No response
Management of pregnancy	96,6%	0,6%	0,6%	0,6%	1,7%

Looking at just this small sample of 179 participants, five participants said that they had made a girl pregnant⁵. One participant said that the girl had had an abortion. One participant said that the girl had had a miscarriage. One participant said that the girl had given birth to the child and the other two participants did not indicate what had transpired. It must be noted that some adolescents who father children do not continue with their schooling as they are required to support the mother and the child and therefore forego school to find employment. As this sample was conducted with school-going students, the sample would therefore not include those individuals who were no longer attending school due to their involvement in teenage pregnancy.

According to Macleod (1999), most studies in South Africa use clinic- or hospital-based samples to record the frequency of teenage pregnancy. Macleod does refer to Richter's study, conducted with black youth between the ages of 16 and twenty in the Soweto, Umlazi and Kahaylitsha areas. In this study it was found that 10,3% of the females in this sample had left school due to pregnancy. No data could however be found with regard to male adolescents.

In conclusion, from the above statistics it is clear that the adolescents in this sample are sexually active and not only are the participants therefore at risk of contracting HIV or a sexually transmitted disease but have also encountered the risk of unplanned teenage pregnancy. The number of participants who have contracted a sexually transmitted disease or who are HIV positive was not assessed by this questionnaire.

⁵ The use of the phrase: "made a girl pregnant" should be interpreted cautiously. It is not my intention to attribute entire responsibility for teenage unplanned pregnancy to the male adolescent.

5. CONTRACEPTION BEHAVIOUR/ USE

Table 16

Contraception use of sexually active respondents

Use of contraceptives	Percentage (%)
No response	6,2
Never	24,7
Sometimes	21,3
Mostly	21,3
Always	26,5

When asked if they used contraceptives, 26,5% of the sexually active respondents said that they always used contraceptives. A further 21,3% of the sexually active respondents said that they sometimes used contraceptives. Another 21,3% of these respondents said that they mostly used contraceptives. A further 24,7% of the sexually active sample reported that they had never made use of contraception. The remaining 6,2% of the sample did not respond to the question. In summary, approximately 70% of the sexually active respondents have made use of contraceptives.

In a study conducted by Taylor, Wang, Jack and Adame (1989) with adolescent males in America, it was found that 59% of males who had had sexual intercourse had not made use of any form of contraceptive. As with the variation in the reporting of sexual intercourse, South African studies have also shown a variation in the reported use of contraception (Macleod, 1999). The reported use of contraception varied between 14,8% to 23%. However, in the current study, 69,1% of the sexually active respondents reported that they had made use of contraception. The increased use of contraception in the present study can possibly be attributed to the fact that, in this study, the focus was not on whether the respondents had used contraceptives at their most recent intercourse episode but rather allowed participants to report on their frequency of contraception use. In the other studies the focus was only on

whether the respondents had made use of contraceptives at their most recent intercourse episode. The frequency of contraception use was not reported on in these studies. As 26,5% of the sample said that they always used contraception, it is possible that this would give an indication of the percentage of sexually active respondents who made use of contraceptives at their most recent intercourse episode. Although still higher, this percentage is closer to the range of 14,8% to 23% reported in the other studies.

In the study reported by Rodgers (1996), it was found that the majority of adolescents reported use of contraception at the time of first intercourse but that the use of contraception was not consistently reliable after first sexual intercourse. Finkel and Finkel (1983) reported that in a nationwide study of sexual behaviour of male adolescents in England, only 43% of the sexually active participants always used a form of contraception and 25% of the sexually active participants had never used a form of contraception. According to Dacey and Kenny (1997), about one half of American adolescents did not use any form of contraception at the time of first sexual intercourse due to the fact that they did not plan to have sex and did not have contraceptives or thought that pregnancy was unlikely or not possible. In addition, Kenny and Dacey reported that it has been found that on average, contraceptive use only begins six to twelve months after first sexual intercourse. Pleck, Sonenstein and Leighton (1990) reported that in a national study conducted with male adolescents of all races in America in 1988, 56,9% of the sample had made use of contraceptives at the time of last sexual intercourse. The fact that the present study was conducted more than ten years after that study and the increase in media coverage of the risk of HIV infection since that time could be a reason for the higher percentage of reported use of contraception in this sample. Other factors for the higher percentage, however, could be due to the participants offering socially correct responses or due to the fact that as stated earlier this study did not request use of contraception at their most recent intercourse episode or perhaps at first intercourse but rather asked for a general indication of the frequency of contraception. In other words if the question had asked whether the participants had made use of contraceptives at their most recent intercourse episode (or at first intercourse) the reported percentage in the present study might have been somewhat lower.

In the study conducted in the Cape Peninsula, 60,5% of the sample reported making use of contraception at their most recent sexual intercourse episode. However the study also found that the proportion of Afrikaans- and Xhosa-speaking students who used contraception at their most recent sexual intercourse episode was lower than other language groups. The percentage reported in this study, namely 69,1%, seems to be only slightly higher than the Cape Peninsula but as the current study did not request an indication of contraceptive use at the most recent intercourse episode only, the results cannot be compared.

Table 17

Condom use of sexually active respondents

Use of condoms	Percentage (%)
No response	6,2
Never	17,3
Sometimes	24,5
Mostly	21,3
Always	30,7

Table 17 indicates that 30,7% of the sexually active respondents reported that they always used condoms, 24,5% of the sexually active respondents said that they sometimes used condoms and 21,3% of the sexually active respondents said that they mostly used condoms. That amounts to 76,5% of the sexually active respondents who have used condoms.

Sonenstein, Pleck and Leighton (1989) found that in an American nationwide study of sexual behaviour of male adolescents, only 57% of the sexually active sample reported that they had made use of a condom. The percentage of participants who have used a condom in this study is therefore much higher than the percentage of participants in the American study. Sonenstein, Pleck and Leighton (1989) also found differences according to racial and ethnic grouping. It was found that 66% of the black participants reported condom usage, as compared to 54% of the white participants and 53% of the Hispanic participants. Once again, it can be seen that racial and ethnic factors do influence sexual behaviour and such factors

could explain the higher percentage of reported condom use in the present study. A thorough understanding of that influence is still not clearly defined however. According to Hillier, Harrison and Warr (1998) the use of condoms in especially rural and remote areas, is more likely to be effected by factors such as access, confidentiality, and fear of stigma or disapproval from the community.

Looking at the trends in their sexual behaviour and the comparative trends in their preventative behaviour, it is clear that despite the use of contraceptives, the varying consistency of contraceptive use and lack of contraceptive use by some participants, place adolescents at risk of contracting STDs, HIV and being involved with the consequences of unplanned pregnancies.

6. INFORMATION AND BELIEFS ABOUT SEXUAL INTERCOURSE AND CONTRACEPTIVE USE

Table 18

Source of sexual information

Most important source of sexual information	Percentage (%)
No response	8,8
Parents	19,8
Teachers	36,8
Hospital/ Clinic Personnel	8,2
Another adult	2,2
Friends	11,0
Two Sources	3,3
Media	7,7
Family members other than parents	2,2

When exploring their knowledge about sexuality the majority of participants said that they had received information from adults, parents, teachers and hospital/ clinic personnel. The question is whether those adults are indeed giving reliable and relevant information to the adolescents. Dacey and Kenny (1997) stated that although parents have been identified as the primary source of information for adolescents with regard to sexual and contraceptive knowledge, the role of the school and peers have played an important role in sex education programmes in America. Kraft (1993) found that 60% to 70% of Norwegian adolescents cited their peers as providing the most information on sexual issues. According to Macleod (1999) various studies amongst adolescents from all race groups in South Africa have revealed that the role of parents in transferring information to their adolescent children is limited. In a study by Setiloane (cited in Macleod, 1999), 42% of urban pregnant adolescents reported that their parents had informed them about contraception, as compared to only 6,5% of rural pregnant adolescents. Factors such as shyness, limited sexual education and religion have been identified as reasons why parents are reluctant to educate their children about sexuality.

Macleod (1999) stated further that sex education in schools in South Africa is a relatively new practice and that although adolescents do report increases in sexual knowledge as a result of input from schools and teachers, the nature of that knowledge and the resulting impact on sexual behaviour still remains unclear. In the present study in a rural community it can be seen that although both parents and teachers have been identified as sources of information, the role of the school is more prevalent. As in Setiloane's study this could be attributed to geographic location, limited sex education knowledge on the part of the parents, shyness and religion. More recently, sex education has been included in the formal school curriculum in most schools in South Africa and this could therefore attribute to the teachers being identified as a source of information. In addition, the schools in which the present research was conducted have an agreement with the University of Stellenbosch to implement sex education programmes. This could also indicate that the schools have a strong belief in the importance of sex education.

Macleod (1999), in her review of various studies of adolescents in South Africa, identified peers as being the most frequently cited source of information. Health professionals, literature and the media were also identified in these studies. The studies were however conducted with black, male and female adolescents in urban communities and this might partially explain why in the current study's sample of coloured male adolescents the role of peers, health professionals, literature and the media were not as prominent. In the coloured rural community, access to clinics, literature and the media might not be as freely available as compared to urban communities. In addition, the studies reported by Macleod were conducted in the 1980's and early 1990's and hence school sex education programmes were perhaps not implemented in all schools. As a result the role of peers played perhaps a more significant role for adolescents prior to the introduction of these programmes.

Dacey and Kenny (1997) suggested that adolescents need to learn about sexuality and sexual behaviour from many sources at the same time. In this way it is hoped that adolescents will be protected from receiving incorrect information and encouraged to reflect on the different sources of information in deciding for him or herself.

Table 19Responsibility for contraception

Responsibility for contraception	Percentage (%)
No response	8,2
Female	15,9
Male	29,7
Both male and female	40,1
Other	6,0

In Table 19 it can be seen that in this study, 40,1% of the sample indicated that responsibility for contraception was a joint responsibility. In addition, there seemed to be an awareness of contraceptive use as being a male adolescent's responsibility as in total, 70% of the sample said that males should be involved in taking responsibility for contraception, either as part of a joint responsibility (40,1%) or as an individual responsibility (29,7%).

In America it has been reported that approximately 40% of adolescent females have been shown to rely on their male partners to provide contraception (Dacey & Kenny, 1997). According to Thompson and Spanier (1978) the male assumption of responsibility is largely dependent on his commitment to his partner and the relationship.

According to Macleod (1999), a study with black urban adolescents conducted in South Africa by Richter, reported that the responsibility for contraception was viewed as a joint responsibility by the majority of urban adolescents. The fact that 70% of the entire sample said that contraceptive use was the responsibility of the male, could point towards a traditional masculine stereotype, which places the responsibility of contraception outside of acceptable female behaviour. Another possible interpretation is that this could once again point towards a socially correct or pleasing approach on the part of the participants when responding to the questionnaire, and therefore not necessarily reflect the true beliefs or behaviour of the participants.

Table 20Reason for no-contraception choice: sexually active respondents

Reasons for not using contraceptives	Percentage (%)
No response	29,1
Not applicable	47,7
Religion	2,2
No access	4,0
Belief that it is not needed	4,0
Interferes with pleasure	10,1
Partner pressure	2,9

In Table 20 it can be seen that 47,7% of the sexually active respondents believed that the question as to why they had not used contraception during a previous sexual intercourse episode was not applicable to them. Of the sexually active respondents, 10,1% reported that the reason that they did not make use of contraceptives during a previous sexual intercourse episode was because they believed that condoms interfere with pleasure. A further 4,0% reported that they thought that contraceptives were not needed during their previous episodes of sexual intercourse. Lack of access (4,0%), partner pressure (2,9%) and religious reasons (2,2%) were also reported as reasons why the participants do not make use of contraceptives. The role of partner pressure, fear of disapproval by partner or parents, inhibition of pleasure, unplanned intercourse, no access, lack of knowledge concerning contraceptives, fear of health risks associated with certain contraceptives, the belief that it would not happen to them, lack of concern if partner became pregnant, fear of stigma if seen at clinic, confidentiality and lack of trust of clinic personnel, have been identified in other South African and international studies (Flisher et al., 1993; Finkel & Finkel, 1983; Macleod, 1999; Pleck, Sonenstein & Leighton, 1990; Rodgers, 1996).

According to Macleod (1999), the cultural value attached to fertility and fear that contraception causes infertility, have also been identified as possible factors impacting on the decision to use contraception in certain communities. As some cultural factors or beliefs such as religion were mentioned by the participants in this sample, a greater understanding of cultural or contextual factors will have to be gained and ways to combat these reasons for non-use of contraceptives will have to be explored.

Table 21

Reason for contraception choice: sexually active respondents

Reasons why mostly use contraceptives	Percentage (%)
No response	27,9
Fear of pregnancy	31,4
Fear of disease	26,3
Partner pressure	0,9
No access at the time of sexual intercourse	2,0
Fear of pregnancy and disease	10,6
Influence of media to use contraceptives	0,9

In Table 21, 31,4% of the sexually active respondents reported that the reason for making use of contraceptives was the fear of pregnancy, 26,3 % of the sexually active respondents referred to the possibility of contracting a STD, 10,6% of these respondents referred to both pregnancy and disease, 0,9% of these respondents said they were influenced to use contraception by their partner, another 0,9% of these respondents said they were influenced by the media and 2,0% of the sexually active respondents said that their choice in contraception was influenced by what form of contraception they had access to at the time of sexual intercourse. If one looks at the reasons reported for use of contraceptives, it appears that 68,3% of the sexually active respondents are motivated to make use of contraception due to their awareness of the risk of either pregnancy or contracting a STD. Moatti, Dab,

Abenhalm and Bastide (1989), found that while only 14,8% of the sample of males in the Paris region in France, had made use of condoms during sexual activity in the six months prior to the study, 46, 6% of the sample were motivated by the fear of becoming HIV infected. Although it was speculated in the Paris study that the increase in sexual-risk information contributed to the increase in condom usage by males in the Paris region, further exploration is indicated. Further exploration is also needed to determine whether the increase in sexual-risk information could be a contributing factor to increased contraceptive use in the current study.

It appears therefore that the participants were well aware of the risks of pregnancy, HIV and STD infection and unplanned pregnancy and yet some of the participants still decided to have sexual intercourse without making use of contraceptives to avoid the risks they identified. The condom was reported to be the most frequently used form of contraception by adolescents in all racial groups in American studies (Taylor, Wang, Jack & Adame, 1989). In the study conducted in the Cape Peninsula, however, it was also found that although the condom was reported to be the most frequently used method of contraception, it was not found to be the case for all language groups. The Xhosa-speaking participants made use of the injection more frequently than using condoms (Flisher et al., 1993). Factors such as access to condoms and other forms of contraceptives as well as the related gender issues concerning the responsibility of the male and female in providing contraception might influence contraception choices.

Although the respondents were aware of the risk of STD or HIV infection, it is clear that knowledge of such STD or HIV risks do not always simply translate into safe sex practices such as contraceptive use.

7. MOTIVATIONS FOR SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

Table 22

Motivation for first time sexual intercourse: sexually active respondents

Motivation for first time sexual intercourse	Percentage (%)
No response	15,0
Peer pressure	18,8
Partner pressure	6,0
Curiosity	27,1
Alcohol	5,0
Physiological urges	20,1
Felt ready	8,0

In Table 22, the participants identified the pressure of friends and partners and physiology and curiosity to experience sexual intercourse as the motivating factors to have sexual intercourse. Kogh (cited in Dacey & Kenny, 1997) conducted a study with male college students and found the following reasons were given as reasons for first sexual intercourse: both partners wanted to (47%); curiosity (46%); sexual arousal (45%); love/caring (45%); to “get laid” (37%); alcohol/drugs (23%); partner pressure (17%). It is clear that although the percentages do differ from the present study, similar reasons were provided as motivations for their sexual behaviour by the participants in this study. Although there has been an assumption that peer pressure plays a predominant role in the sexual decision-making of adolescents, it is important to note that in this study factors such as physiological urges and curiosity were reported more frequently as reasons motivating adolescents to have sexual intercourse. The use of terms such as peer pressure, partner pressure and physiological urges possibly reflect the belief systems or predominant ideas that are used to give meaning to sexual behaviour or for sexual behaviour choices in the communities in which these participants live. The participants possibly use or adopt such predominant ideas or beliefs to help them to understand their behaviour or to inform their constructions of sexuality. I wonder

whether terms such as peer pressure are not adopted simply when there is an inability to explain one's behaviour or one is unable to understand why one engaged in certain behaviours. Peer pressure or physiological urges are perhaps terms adopted in referring to what is experienced as the so-called unexplainable or unknown x-factor that motivates behaviour. The respondents use such terms and beliefs to make meaning of and understand their sexual behaviour and sexuality.

According to Macleod (1999) in two studies in South Africa with male and female black adolescents, only 10% and 20% of the adolescents in each study respectively, reported peer pressure as a motivating factor for sexual intercourse. The role of all factors and the way in which these factors work together, needs to be explored.

Table 23

Motivation for sexual chastity: non-sexually active group

Motivation for sexual chastity	Percentage (%)
No response	12,1
Affects school work	4,0
Fear of pregnancy	6,0
Too young	46,1
Risk of STD and HIV infection	2,4
No opportunity	3,6
Religious beliefs	23,4
Other	2,4

In Table 23 the factors that were identified as reasons for not having sexual intercourse were that the participants considered themselves to be too young (46,1%), religious beliefs (23,4%), a belief that sexual intercourse affects one's performance at school, fear of pregnancy (6,0%), risk of STD and HIV infection (2,4%) and lack of opportunity (3,6%). These factors that have led to a decision not to have sexual intercourse, all seem to be future-orientated and based on some form of fear or threat. Participants fear that their lives will be

affected in some way and do not want to risk that. The threat of STDs and pregnancy represented only 8,4% of the sample's motivation for not having sexual intercourse. This therefore reflects that knowledge of these risks is not a sufficient motivator or threat to encourage sexual abstinence on the part of adolescents as many preventative programmes and parents and teachers try to "sell" this as the best or only solution. Many of these factors or motivations seem to be external factors or motivators. Very few of these reasons seem to reflect a so-called internal locus of control or personal motivation or meaning on the part of the adolescents. In a comparative study that compared the differences in sexual behaviour of adolescents living in East and West Berlin, reasons of sexual abstinence that were reported by adolescents from both East and West Berlin were: not having found the right partner, a feeling of being too young and lack of interest and shyness (Oswald & Pforr, 1992). In the current study, 46,1% of the participants that had not engaged in sexual intercourse reported that they felt too young to have sexual intercourse. This was understood positively. In the Berlin study this was interpreted as an awareness of a required emotional maturity to engage in sexual intercourse. This also indicates, however, that such participants have a belief that sexual behaviour should only be engaged in after they have reached a certain age construct sexuality in a traditional way. Sexual maturity or appropriate sexual behaviour is understood or associated with a specific biological age predetermined or prescribed by the social context in which they reside.

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In Table 6 it was shown that on average, dating and physical intimacy with members of the opposite sex is initiated from the age of fourteen. Table 7 indicated that from the age of on average seventeen, the participants in this sample have become sexually active. The incidence of sexual intercourse of the participants in this study does appear to be lower than some of the reported sexual behaviour of male adolescents in the United States of America, Western Europe and other South African studies, conducted with black, white and coloured adolescents in mainly metropolitan or urban communities (Flisher et al., 1993). With regard to contraceptive behaviour, the participants in this sample make use of contraceptives more frequently than the adolescents in the other reported studies. The reason for this could be due

to the fact that the present study did not only request information about contraceptive use during the most recent intercourse episode but requested a general indication of the frequency of contraceptive use. Further exploration could provide greater clarity. In conclusion, however, it appears sexual behaviour varies from community to community and it could be hypothesized or speculated that the cultural factors that are unique to each community influence the sexual behaviour of the adolescents of that specific community.

If one looks at the reasons for contraceptive use or non-use as highlighted in Table 20 and Table 21 above, it appears that while one can assume that adolescents have knowledge of the availability and advantages of contraceptive methods they nevertheless continue to engage in unprotected sexual intercourse. Despite being informed about sexual intercourse, the related risks and ways to prevent these risks, they do not always act upon this knowledge. Knowledge about sexuality and related health risks has been shown not to result in lasting changes towards safe-sex sexual practices (Visser, 1996). Issues of peer and partner pressure, curiosity, physiological drives and accessibility of the preventative methods are offered by the male adolescents as explanations for such high-risk behaviour. Similar factors have been identified in both international and South African studies (Dacey & Kenny, 1997; Macleod, 1999; Visser, 1996). The results also indicate that the participants did not consistently demonstrate safe sex practices. It is therefore clear that the sexually active males, who participated in this study, have an increased risk of becoming HIV infected, contracting a STD infection or making their sexual partners pregnant and consequently becoming fathers and incurring parental obligations whilst still attending school.

The reasons adolescents offered for being sexually active were external influences that do not seem to have been internally integrated. An awareness of self-directed decision-making is not evident in their responses. In addition, as discussed earlier, theoretical and preventative attempts that merely provide information or knowledge about what sexual intercourse is and about the related physical health risks are clearly not sufficient.

Looking at the frequency of behaviours, captured in Table 11, what is certain is that physical intimacy and sexual intercourse is an existing reality in the worlds of adolescents younger

than sixteen. If preventative action is to be taken before initiation of physical intimacy and before the age of first sexual intercourse, an average age of seventeen, then preventative action will have to be targeted at adolescents well before they reach that age. The difficulty, however, is that research or preventative work regarding sexuality in schools, is not always ethically or legislatively permitted with adolescents younger than sixteen years of age (Fisher & Hall, 1988).

The results of the quantitative component of this study have given some indication of the frequencies of and sexual behaviour trends of adolescent males from one rural and traditionally coloured community. It has provided an overview of what is happening sexually in the lives of these adolescents. Due to the fact that questions are sometimes ambiguous or interpreted differently by the participants, researchers often do not understand responses as they are meant to be understood by the participants. In addition, issues like the halo-effect, over- and under-reporting also hamper true understanding of the issues being explored. For example 48% of the sample said that they had never experienced sexual fantasies and this of course reflects either a misunderstanding of the question or the halo-effect or perhaps some other issues that would need to be explored further before we could speak with certainty about the existence of sexual fantasy in the lives of adolescent males. The quantitative lens has identified issues that must be qualified in order to gain a better understanding of male adolescent sexuality.

The quantitative results, discussed above provide a description of the sexual behaviour that the participants engaged in. It is important to remember that such a description is not representative of all male adolescents attending the schools in which this study was conducted or of all male adolescents living in the coloured rural communities in which the study was conducted and certainly not of all coloured, male adolescents. A limitation of quantitative results is that neither the uniqueness of each individual in the sample nor the uniqueness of the communities in which the participants live, is captured. Available comparative data from other local and international communities and population groups was presented and discussed in order to provide a point of reference in terms of other sexual behaviour research. It is important, however, that such data also be viewed as unique to the

communities in which such research was conducted. Although comparative data provides the researcher with an opportunity to draw parallels and find similarities and differences between sexual behaviour patterns in different communities, an understanding as to why and how these similarities and differences exist, is still not provided by the data generated by quantitative methods.

In addition, although the quantitative results provide an important description of the participants' behaviour, such quantitative results do not provide the researcher with an understanding of how the participants understood and experienced their sexual behaviour.

The qualitative component of this study, which will be discussed in the next chapter, provides a further step in gaining an understanding of quantitative results. The qualitative component provides the opportunity for the participants to contextualise the sexual behaviour, which is reflected in the questionnaire data.

6. CHAPTER SIX: QUALITATIVE RESULTS

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter a discussion of the qualitative analysis will be presented. Once again it must be noted that I selected to discuss only a few of the themes that were identified in the qualitative data. These themes do not capture all the codes, categories and themes that were identified and explored (see Appendix E). In accordance with the principles of grounded theory, it is essential that the researcher remain as close to the original words of the research participants as possible. Direct quotations will therefore be taken from the interviews that were conducted. Directly after each quotation, the number that was assigned to each respondent during the research procedure has been noted, to indicate to which respondent the words belong.

Given the backdrop of the range of sexual behavior discussed in the previous chapter, I will attempt, in this chapter, to explore the identified themes and to gain an understanding of how these coloured adolescent males construct their sexuality. In the process of analysing the transcripts it became clear to me that the coloured male adolescents, who participated in the present study, had very specific constructions of sexuality. I will discuss each of the constructions identified under the following headings: male constructions of male sexuality, male constructions of female sexuality and the community's construction of adolescent sexuality. I will begin by presenting some of the identified constructions under each heading, after which a discussion of these constructions will follow.

I had been sensitised to the topic of male adolescent sexuality by conducting a relevant literature review before and during the data collection phase. As Charmaz (1990) pointed out, researchers bring their own lives, beliefs, knowledge and research interests and perspectives to the process. As a result, analysis of the transcripts automatically also included and reflected both me and the literature that I had read, not only the voices of the respondents. It was important therefore for me to tap into and acknowledge personal conscious and unconscious processes at work, whilst analysing the transcripts. According to Riessman

(1993), it is the analyst who selects which aspects of the transcripts will be highlighted. By interpreting the data from the analyst's own context, the analyst automatically controls and constructs the meaning of the narrative. Charmaz (1990), however, stressed the importance for the researcher or analyst to stay as close to or as grounded in, the transcripts and to observe what is actually in the text. I experienced this as an immense challenge. The challenge was to trace the constructions and relationships between the respondents' lives and experiences, as captured and reflected in the recorded text, and my own experiences, context and understanding of the text and the participants. Grounded theory stresses that theoretical categories must be drawn from what arises in the text. According to Charmaz (1990), by using the text as one's starting point or foundation, the codes, categories and theories remain grounded. I tried to use in vivo quotes in the coding and categorising process. In this way I hoped to capture the lived experience of the research participants.

2. MALE CONSTRUCTIONS OF MALE SEXUALITY

2.1 Sex just happens and keeps on happening

When the adolescent males in the current study told their story of sexual activity they presented a narrative in which sex is understood as a physiological, uncontrollable urge that occurs suddenly and independent of their cognitive intention. In discussing their first experience of sexual intercourse, the respondents spoke of physiological urges that they experienced.

...en ek het nie daai drange hoe, jy weet daai drange wat die meeste mans het, so om met haar seks te hê. (5)

Ek het nie daai gevoel gehad om seks te hê nie. (6)

...en die behoefte is groot . (6)

...maar as ek reg is, en ek wil dit doen, as ek warm is. (7)

These physiological urges were experienced as powerful and even though the respondents also reported (in retrospect) a cognitive process of weighing up all the consequences whilst engaging in sexual behaviour, they reported how finally sex "just happens". This seems to imply that they let their perceived instinctive sexual urges take over. Or perhaps that these sexual urges were difficult to control despite the respondents cognitively experiencing doubt

as to whether they were doing the correct thing. The respondents described the experience of giving in to sexual urges as happening suddenly and quickly.

...en toe en toe het en sy't net vir my gesê kom ons doen dit en daar het dit net begin. (2)

Ek het, hoe noem hulle dit, warm geraak en so aan. So ek het warm geraak en luckily die meisie ook en so, ek het nie gevra nie, dit het net skielik gebeur. (4)

Ek sal wag of probeer myself beheer. (5)

According to Miller, Christopherson and King (1993) adolescent males do experience an increase in hormone production. Due to the fact that hormone production is primarily responsible for the timing and pace of individual development, it is therefore possible that some adolescents might experience stronger biological drives towards sexual interest and behaviour. Once physical intimacy or touching is initiated, the respondents reported that it became difficult for them to stop before having sex. According to Maddock (1997) especially during the early adolescent years, which are characterised by instability and change, adolescents are indeed forced to deal with new drives, urges and physical capacities which are usually only controlled with great difficulty and effort.

Such a physiological understanding or construction of sexuality is indeed a powerful construction in that it is a construction which has been frequently put forward and validated in the literature on sexuality (Downs & Hillje, 1993; Erikson, 1968; Louw, 1991; Maddock, 1997; Miller, Christopherson and King, 1993; Thornton, 1990). As a result this construction has also been frequently adopted in various social contexts as a predominant construction of male sexuality. The adolescent males in the present study also appeared to adopt such a construction of sexuality. The question that arises, however, is whether such a construction of sexuality was adopted simply because it is validated in the popular literature and in certain social contexts. Did the respondents adopt such a construction because it is the construction that is accepted in the communities in which they reside? Was sexuality constructed in such a way by the respondents because it implies that the individual has very little control and hence responsibility for sexual behaviour? If so, does such a physiological construction perhaps function to assist adolescent boys to avoid possible expected disapproval or negative consequences of their sexual behaviour.

The respondents also reported that once they had previously given into their sexual urges, had sex, established a habit of sexual intercourse or set up a dating or sexual script of permitting sex in their interaction with certain girls, it is difficult to then go back to a dating or sexual script that does not permit sexual intercourse and which says you can be physically intimate but cannot engage in sexual intercourse or penetration.

So ek voel net dat um, ek's spyt ek het begin daarmee, want hulle sê as jy begin daarmee dan wil jy dit aanmekaar doen...Ons het weer seks gehad. Soos ek sê my vriende hulle sê as jy dit een keer doen dan wil jy dit aan mekaar doen, want die ding is ek het nie baie meisies met wie ek seks gehad het...maar somtyds ontmoet ek vir hulle en dan lyk dit so dat dit gebeur aanmekaar met hulle...Ek moet nou afkom daarvan, maar nou ek gebruik hulle net, want as ek na hulle toe gaan, dan lyk dit ek moet nou seks hê met hulle soos dit nou voel...maar as ek na hulle toe gaan dan is dit maar net nog 'n keer wat ek seks het, maar soos ek sê...Ek wil eerder gaan vir 'n gesels of so maar dit gebeur net gewoonlik met die twee meisies met wie ek uitgegaan het, maar met die ander gebeur dit nie eintlik so nie. (4)

...maar daai toe ons weer so begin met om 'n vry aan te had as ons weer alleenig...en ek het vir haar gesê dat as 'n ou seks het met 'n meisie, ek weet nie dan voel hy hy moet seks hê, ek moet se ek het so gevoel, dat ek moet seks hê... (5)

Peplau, Rubin and Hill (1977) found that a previous history or experience of sexual intercourse was in fact a predictor that sex was more likely to take place than if adolescents had not had sexual intercourse before. Peplau, Rubin and Hill argued that once consent for sexual intercourse had been negotiated at the time of first coitus, consent for sexual intercourse during subsequent sexual encounters was negotiated or granted far more easily. This was found to be especially so in sexual encounters between partners who had previously engaged in sexual intercourse together.

One of the respondents spoke of exploring other alternatives to satisfy sexual urges but said that such alternatives are not considered to be as physically gratifying as having sex with a girl.

...want, ek meen daar is ander maniere as jy sê maar as jy 'n behoefte het is daar ander maniere wat jy kan gebruik, maar jy wil eintlik nooit gebruik maak van die ander maniere nie want nie want hoekom wil jy dan masturbeer as daar 'n meisie is en jy kan jou bevrede en so aan, want ek wil um nooit eintlik gebruik maak van die ander manier. Ja, want as daar meisie is wat jou kon bevrede eerder as om te masturbeer... (4)

The respondents spoke of themselves as giving in to powerful sexual urges. Although the role of physiology does play an important role at this stage of a boy's life, the respondents seemed to render or perceive themselves as helpless or defenceless against such physiological impulses or urges (Downs & Hillje, 1993). The validity of such enforced helplessness due to their physiology is of course questionable. Issues such as cognitive control as opposed to

impulse or behavioural control, self-discipline and the availability of alternative outlets for physiological urges (for example masturbation) bring to the fore doubt as to whether the role of physiology renders adolescent boys choice-less or rather choice-free in contexts where the possibility for sexual intercourse exists. Although controlling one's sexual urges might not be an easy task for an inexperienced male adolescent, it is questionable whether on average, a sixteen year old boy, who has been experiencing sexual urges since early adolescence, namely twelve or thirteen can suddenly no longer control such impulses or urges. A possible answer is that the boy "decides" or no longer "chooses" to control those urges. Hence it cannot be accepted categorically that "physiology or curiosity are "external" motivations for sexual intercourse but rather one must assume that it is the respondents who constructed or presented their sexuality or behaviour as physiological, uncontrollable and externally motivated. Male sexuality, as described here by the respondents as a loss of control or giving into the physiological pull of sexual urges, seems to indicate that male sexuality does not necessitate control but in fact the opposite. The way that the respondents perceived or have described their experience of loss of control rather confirms that sexuality is not experienced as controllable.

2.2 Sexual experience is desirable and valuable

When the boys in the current study shared their stories about their sexual activity they began at the point in time at which they met the girl with whom they had sex. They began their story by positioning their sexual experience according to their age and the point in time in their lives. The respondents began to date girls on average at fourteen years of age. On average their first experience of sexual intercourse was at the age of sixteen. This is in agreement with the information reported in the self-report questionnaires.

Ek was 17, toe ek die eerste keer seks gehad het. (1)

Ek was 14 gewees toe ek die eerste keer met 'n meisie uitgegaan het. Daai is die eerste verhouding wat ek gehad het. Toe ek 14 was. (2)

Die eerste keer toe ek met 'n meisie uitgegaan het was toe ek 13 was. Um, ek was 13 en die meisie was 12 jaar oud. Die eerste seksuele verhouding was toe ek 16 was. (4)

Dit was toe ek 15 jaar oud was. (6)

This is clearly the early to middle adolescent period. In agreement with the physiological construction of sexuality offered by the respondents, physiological changes are beginning to take place in their bodies and they are beginning to experience physical changes in their

appearance and of course experience sexual urges or drives. This is also in agreement with expected physiological, emotional, cognitive and developmental changes that are described in the many developmental models outlined over the years in the body of psychological literature. These models describe this adolescent period as a time of exploration and experimentation. (Downs & Hillje, 1993; Erikson, 1968; Louw, 1991; Maddock, 1997; Miller, Christopherson and King, 1993; Thornton, 1990). The respondents also referred to the increase in their curiosity or desire to gain knowledge or experience of sexual intercourse as being heightened by the physiological urges they experienced and their friends who began to speak about how pleasurable sex is. Their need for experience was also described as being a result of a need to discover what exactly their developing bodies are now capable of doing and producing. What it can do to others and what it can do to girls and what effect it is going to have on their lives. The respondents once again constructed sexuality as being a physiological or time-related process that lies outside of their control. Such a construction of sexuality is in agreement with literature on sexuality that advocates that with the arrival of puberty, there is an increase in body awareness. According to Maddock (1997) "the body represents "a symbol of self" in which feelings of personal worth, security, and competence are rooted" (p.327). In the current study, the respondents presented sexual intercourse as a way to learn about what you are supposed to do when having sex so that you can be in control and have sufficient experience for future experiences.

Ek wil experience daarvan hê. (6)

...en sy't vir my gewys en vir my gesê hoe om aan te gaan en so...en nou sal ek weet hoe om, nou het ek experience en ek kan vir haar wys...want elkeen het sy eie experience van iets. Ek weet ook mos wat verkeerd is en so...dan weet ek mos hoe dit moet voel. (6)

Toe weet ek van alles wat ek moet doen...Ek sal nie sê meer in beheer nie, maar ek was...dus...want ek was meer ervaar as sy en ek kan vir haar wys...miskien was ek 'n klein bietjie meer in beheer. (3)

At times when combined with the physical sensations that they experienced, this desire for experience was presented as a powerful argument to have sex despite the obvious risks of STDs and pregnancies. In the narratives the desire for experience or curiosity about sex was sometimes not described as even a rational reason but rather a powerful force that overwhelmed them. The respondents reported being overwhelmed by this need for experience despite sometimes having been aware that they were doing the "wrong" thing or putting themselves at risk or being aware that they had not met the conditions and rules that

they or their community prescribe for them as conditions to be fulfilled before they should have sexual intercourse. The combination of desire for experience and sexual drives was described as overwhelming for them.

Soos ek was op daai stadium disappointed, maar agterna, toe het dit weer gebeur en soos ek gesê het, ons het geweet seks voor die huwelik werk nie en ek het altyd daaraan gedink maar skielik het ek net vergeet daarvan. (4)

...ons het dit weer en weer gedoen um, ek het geweet dat ek is nie gereed nie. (5)

Physiology and curiosity were therefore offered by the respondents as key components and controlling and responsible factors in adolescent sexual behaviour and sexuality.

2.3 Grab the opportunity

The respondents reported that the desire to gain experience of sexual intercourse and give in to the sexual urges was also derived from and often heightened by the positive evaluation of sex by friends. They referred to the fact that sex is discussed amongst their male peers and reported that as a result of such discussions and "male talk", they experienced a need to know what their friends were talking about. This was perhaps, firstly, because it was spoken of so highly and, secondly, so that they could participate and contribute to these conversations with more understanding. Given that so much is heard about sex in our society and the fact that sex is seen more and more frequently in our media, this has resulted in sex having the reputation of being exciting and definitely worth exploring. An element of: "What is the big secret, what are they talking about?" seems to be at play.

...en hulle't almal daaroor gepraat en so um dit klink sleg maar um...want die boys is baie entoesiasies daaroor. (4)

Ek wil voel hoe is dit. Soos die ouens praat hoe lekker dit is en so. (6)

The desire to satisfy the need for experience was sometimes described, by the respondents, as sometimes being tied in with their need to fit in with their friends.

...en toe sê my vriende: het jy al omgang gehad? En as jy die enigste een is wat, een is wat nog nie seks gehad het nie... (1)

Jy dink sonder enige seks jy gaan baie mis en so. (4)

In the company of these factors, the possibility of having sex was described as an opportunity that should be utilised. Sex was represented as something that comes your way, something that happens to you, that you are lucky enough to find. Sex was not seen as being created or constructed or negotiated by them.

Somtyds gebeur dit, jy beplan dit nie, jy gaan miskien uit en dan kry jy die meisie en dan het jy miskien seks...en dan gebruik jy nie kondome of so nie...Ek het nog nie gedink dat dit gaan wees maar...ek het die dag daar gespend en ons het weer gevry en so aan, en toe het dit net weer gebeur... Soos ek sê die ouens se altyd: mens weet nie waar jou geluk lê nie. (4)

'n Mens weet nooit wat jy gaan doen nie. (6)

...en miskien gaan ek een aand na 'n dans of 'n party en ons maak net kennis en ek weet nie wie sy is of sy 'n mover is of nie. (5)

...want daar's baie van my tjommies wat ook sê as jy die kans kry, moet jy dit vat en hulle't almal daarvoor gepraat en so um dit klink sleg maar um. Jy dink sonder enige seks, gaan jy baie mis en so...toe het ek net gesê ek gaan nou, want die boys is nou entoesiasies daarvoor en hulle wil he ek moet met meisies seks hê en so aan...Ja, die manne hulle praat altyd so: Moenie die kans so los nie en gebruik maak, maak gebruik van die kans maak. (4)

The respondents did not take responsibility for having behaved in a way that created situations in which sexual intercourse could take place nor for having decided themselves to have sexual intercourse. Sexual activity was not reported as being intentionally planned by the respondents. Constructed in this way, sex can therefore not necessarily be viewed as the result of young male hunters targeting young weak-willed females as is often portrayed in the literature (Wandrei & Gasiewski, 1994). The respondents presented the experience of sexual intercourse being more a case of that when a girl does enter your world and she is willing to have sex, then you have a perfect opportunity to gain experience of sexual intercourse. They reported their past sexual behaviour or predicted future sexual behaviour as being both unexpected or unplanned and rather an opportunity that did or might present itself to them. The respondents did not acknowledge their responsibility in the planning and predicting of when exactly sexual intercourse would take place. They rather referred to physiology, or an age-related curiosity or desire for experience. This has implications for planning safe sex in terms of condom and contraceptive use. Some of the respondents did refer to the risk of unsafe sex as being related to unplanned or unexpected sex but did not take responsibility for preventing such risk. They seemed to tell a story of when you happen to be in a place and a time where you will not be discovered by your parents or others and the girl you are with is willing to have sex with you, you have an ideal opportunity that might not come along anytime soon again. You have to make use of this chance you have of, firstly, your parents not being there and, secondly, an available and willing girl. The respondents, therefore, presented sex

as something that is not pre-planned and as a result the respondents are not always prepared when that chance comes along.

The respondents reported that sometimes boys should be able to recognise a so-called opportunity for sex when they see one. If a girl is seen to have had a lot to drink, one of the respondents said that this is also seen as an easy opportunity to have sex.

...en sy't ook beginne drink en sy't haar kop uitgehaak lyk dit vir my toe't ekke vir my nefie gevra of ek kon sy kar kry...en toe't my nefie vir haar gevat. (2)

Although the respondents told stories of events that were the consequence of chance, they did make reference to ways of trying to create the opportunities to have sex. They referred to ways in which sexual activity is sometimes planned. They reported that sex is viewed as such a great opportunity that others are at times willing to help you and arrange the experience for you. Friends will help arrange the girl and also at times the needed privacy. They therefore implied that their friends were the reason they had sex. They did not focus on the fact that they still had the choice to refuse to have sex.

Toe het hulle hierdie spesifieke meisie laat, maar hoe kan ek sê um, my vriende het...en toe wil sy nou nie...maar toe vat ek haar so omdat hulle sê...want anders sê hulle sy is 'n vrotte, in ander woorde sy is sleg. (1)

...en toe't ekke vir my nefie gevra of ek kon sy kar kry. Toe sê hy vir my ja, ek kan die kar kry maar ek moet met dit weer binne 'n uur terug wees. (2)

...want um hulle het uh vir my gesê hulle gaan my 'n meisie organise...toe sê my nefie en my niggie dat hulle gaan ons alleen los. Hulle gaan nou maar uit en ons kan maar so lank in die kamer gaan. Want hulle't nou mos die dinge so geplan dat ons moet close, heel close raak in die kamer. (3)

2.4 I don't want to feel left out

The adolescent males in the current study, also made reference to the role of peer pressure in their construction of sexuality. Peer pressure is about fearing what one's peers will think of you as an individual if you do not do that which your peers do. The pressure that the respondents referred to and experienced seems to be linked to the pressure to become a man. They reported feeling pressure to portray to their friends and families that they too are maturing and becoming men and this was understood by them as their having to act in "manly ways". This can be understood as acting in a way that they believe their friends are acting and in a way that their friends will consider to be manly. However, it is difficult to know what others will consider "manly" and their only way to determine this is by observing what they

see in the behaviour of other males and what the stereotypes about masculinity are in their communities. In other words to learn by social modelling.

My vriende het my, hulle het eintlik vir my besluit om die eerste keer seks te hê...want ons was almal by 'n huis gesit en my vriende het vir my gesê, want ons was altyd in 'n groepie gewees en toe sê my vriende: Het jy al seksuele omgang gehad, en as jy die enigste een is wat nog nie seks gehad het nie, dan is jy nie 'n man...en toe besluit ek mos, maar ek kan nie my vriende afmaak daarteen nie. Ja ek het besluit om in die groep in te pas, want almal het dit nou gedoen. Ek het amper uit gevoel. (1)

These demands or roles seem to work in combination with the need to be accepted and have friends. What role the group dynamic plays in the construction of masculinity and in turn male sexuality seems important.

Hulle, hoe kan ek sê, hulle wil hê dat ons twee hoe kan 'n mens nou sê met mekaar nou lekker gesels, want hulle het vir my gesê hulle gaan vir my 'n meisie organise...toe sê my nefie en my niggie dat hulle gaan ons alleen los. Hulle gaan nou maar uit en ons kan maar so lank in die kamer gaan. (3)

Men in groups appear to adopt very traditional roles and the private individual male seems to be a more liberal role where feelings of doubt and questioning of stereotypes takes place. Boys in a group do not express discomfort and uncertainty when in the group, one must go along with the group norm. In the following passage one gets a sense of the male group dynamic pushing the respondent to do what he is unsure of but continuing as his male friends are watching. He followed the male script that had been demonstrated to him by the group members. He finally identified himself with the group rather than as an individual.

...maar ek weet nou dis verkeerd gewees...en toe begin my een vriend om aan haar te vat...en toe gebeur dinge verder en toe begin my een vriend op haar en die ander boys moet wag. Dis amper soos hulle noem dit treintjie ry. Dis amper soos trein ry almal is by haar en sy't dit gelike soos die mansmense aangaan met haar en toe my vriende klaar was, was dit my beurt...ek bedoel nou soos in manne hulle gaan nou dink wel party of die meeste manne gaan nou mos nou nie dink hier lê die vrou, die vrou hulle gaan nie net so los nie. Toe maak ek klaar. En sy verlei nou vir ons. (1)

The respondents seemed to take cognisance of what their friends' beliefs about sex are. They referred to these external pressures as determining their sexuality and sexual behaviour.

Baie van my vriende het ook meisies gehad...en toe het ek net gesê ek gaan nou, want die boys is baie entoesiasies daarvoor en hulle wil he ek moet met meisies seks hê en so aan. (4)

Ek het eers voorheen verkeerde vriende gehad en hulle sien verhoudings as net oor rondom seks en hulle moet seks hê met 'n meisiekind en dit is die manier hoe jy vir 'n meisie wys hoe jy lief is vir haar en dan het ek ook twee vriende en hulle is maar die selfde hulle sien dit as 'n meisiekind en 'n ou verhouding het dan gaan dit net oor seks. (5)

The respondents adopted a construction of adolescent sexuality that has gained popularity in both the academic and more popular literature on sexuality. This is the idea or belief that adolescent behaviour or decision-making is largely influenced by the behaviour of their peers. Once again the respondents might construct sexuality in this way because this could be a dominant cultural belief within the community in which they reside and such a belief could function to assist them to remain "responsibility-free" or "blameless".

2.5 Real men have sex

When discussing their sexual behaviour, the respondents also referred to the existence of traditional roles or stereotypes for men, which they believe they are expected to fulfil. These roles were described as certain rules, which have to be met publicly. These rules can be described as "initiation criteria" to be met for one to gain entry into the world of men. The respondents believed that one of the predominant conditions of masculinity is that one must gain experience of sexual intercourse. You have to perform to gain entry. They seemed to imply that you must have experience of sex in order to participate and share in male friendship circles. The importance of what others know and think about you, was revealed as an important concern of male adolescents. The respondents referred to beliefs that boys should want to have sex and a boy should make use of all opportunities to have sex otherwise he will be considered strange and perhaps not a real man by his friends and by girls. They referred to certain generalisations or rules and beliefs about sexuality that are unique to males.

...en as jy die enigste een is, een is wat nog nie seks gehad het, dan is jy nie 'n man nie. (1)

Ja sê maar nou soos veral vir mansmense 'n mens kan nou verstaan as 'n vroumens vir jou sê sy wil dit nie doen nie. (3)

...en toe begin my een vriend op haar en die ander boys moet wag. Dis amper soos hulle noem dit my een vriend noem dit treintjie ry, dis amper soos trein ry, almal is by haar...en toe my vriende klaar was, was dit my beurt...my vriende het omgang met haar gehad, toe het sy mos nou toegelaat en toe was dit nou my beurt gewees en toe wil sy nie...maar toe vat ek haar so want sy het vir my vriende gegee hoekom. (1)

According to Kimmel (1987) one of the key features of heterosexual masculinity is demonstrable sexual orientation. As a result, sexual performance or the inability to perform sexually, challenges the essence of masculinity and can result in a male having to question whether he is a real man or not. The respondents reported that they were exposed to these

demands or roles by contact with their friends. They predicted what behaviour their friends expected of them. It is however their projection of ideas onto their friends. These may be ideas that are informed by their parents' behaviour, what they view on television, hear on the radio in the music that they listen to or read in books. However, the respondents did not refer to these possible underlying influences.

Many studies revealed that one of the dynamics at play in sexual relations is indeed that boys and young men are under pressure to demonstrate that they are sexually capable or competent (Biddulph, 1995; Kimmel, 1987; McLeod, 1999; Pleck, 1976; Thompson & Pleck, 1986). The expectation seems to be that boys must make use of all chances that they receive to have sex. They must also do exactly what their male friends do when they are amongst male friends. In addition, men should be more sexually experienced than one's girlfriend. Men should take the lead and be in control whilst having sex. If a male wants to have friends and satisfy his girlfriend these conditions must be met otherwise he will feel left out.

Wel omdat sy ouer as ek was dink ek sy't geweet hoe wat sy wat sy eintlik wil hê, wil gemaak het...maar toe wou ek mos nie hê dat sy moet dink ek is nie, hoe kan ek 'n mens sê nie soos ander ouens of so. Toe wil ek nie vir haar teleurgestel nie...maar soos ek, ek het as nou 'n mansmens en sê nou as 'n vroumens hoe uh ek het vir myself gedink. Hoe sal dit vir haar lyk as ek sê nou vir haar nee. Miskien sal sy um want ons het lekker gesels en miskien wou sy nie meer met my gesels. (3)

Dit was lekker met die tweede meisie want dit was nie soos die eerste meisie nie. Dus seker omdat ek dit die tweede keer gedoen. Toe weet ek van alles wat ek moet doen. Ek sal nie sê meer in beheer maar ek was dus want ek meer ervaar as sy en ek kan vir haar wys en sy kan eintlik sê miskien 'n klein bietjie meer in beheer. (3)

According to Pleck (1976), the male agenda when having sexual intercourse, might have more to do with proving manhood, in order to be considered as a man in other facets of life, and less to do with personal or couple satisfaction. Sexual intercourse is in other words perhaps just a means to a presumed respectable end.

The respondents referred not only to the pressure of male friends to conform to these traditional male stereotypes but also the pressure from female peers and girlfriends. They reported feeling pressure to perform sexually if they are to be considered as men by the girls. According to O'Sullivan, Byers and Finkelmann (1998), research has shown that men and women may be both victims and perpetrators of sexual coercion in heterosexual relationships. The respondents spoke of incidents when they had to be seen to be in control or as real men

for their girlfriends. They also spoke of times when they felt they had to please their girlfriends.

Ek het gedink wel sy's 'n meisie en ek wil haar graag tevrede stel oral waar ek kan hoe kan ek sê, wil nie graag vir haar seermaak nie...Ja, ek het dit gedoen om haar tevrede te stel, ek weet nie. Ek het nie eintlik gedink watter waarde ek sou of kan daar uitkry nie. Ek het net gedink mansmense het niks om te verloor daaruit nie. So ek het dit net gedoen. (5)

...want as ek na hulle toe gaan, dan lyk dit ek moet nou seks hê met hulle soos dit nou voel. (4)

Ja ek het dit gedoen om haar tevrede te stel...Definitief het dit meer oor haar gegaan of wat sy wil hê...Ons hele verhouding as ek vir haar kon tevrede stel het sal ek alles opgee...en ek het nie geweet op daai stadium wat sy wil hê nie so ek het aangehou...en ek wil vir haar gee wat ek gedink het sy wou hê. (5)

Ek dink die rede dat daai eerste verhouding tot 'n einde gekom het is omdat ek nie wil seks gehad het. En sy het my gedrop en toe met 'n ander ou begin uitgaan en die wat en sy't vir my gesê ons gaan nie aangaan met net geselskap en hy is ook 'n ou wat wil seks het...en ek dink dat sy gedink het dat hy is 'n ou of 'n man ek weet nie. (5)

Ek dink ek wil dit nie doen nie maar sy wil dit doen nie. (7)

The boys in the current study seemed to attribute the influence to act out the masculine stereotypes that require sexual performance, as the influence of their peers and girlfriends. They reported that they experienced these demands on them as pressure (Guggino & Ponzetti, 1997). They spoke of a fear of what others would think of them if they did not fulfil the traditional roles. According to O' Sullivan, Byers and Finkelman (1998), men have learnt that they are expected to be the initiators of sex and to maintain a constant desire to have sex and therefore men might avoid disclosing the fact that they do not want to have sex, or resisting sex so as to avoid a questioning of their masculinity by their partners, their friends and even themselves.

It appears, therefore, that once again adolescent males in the current study constructed sexuality as being externally directed by the influence of their male peers and partners. They also presented a traditional construction of male sexuality.

3. MALE CONSTRUCTIONS OF FEMALE SEXUALITY

3.1 Men must be in control

In addition to the constructions of male sexuality, the male adolescents in the current study also expressed their constructions of female sexuality. The respondents referred to certain unspoken rules or ways that they believed women are expected to behave sexually. These rules also prescribe how women are expected to act with men. They believed that if a girl wants to have sex or discuss sex and issues like contraception, she is breaking the prescribed rule for women because it is expected that boys should take control. It seems as if an unspoken rule is that when men interact with women, then men must take the lead in dating. The respondents also preferred to feel more in control perhaps because the script where men take the lead is known to them and therefore easier to follow, as there is less uncertainty. The belief that they presented was that sex is something that boys carry out upon or do to girls. Sex was spoken of by the respondents as something that happens to girls, that boys "give it to" them or "do it to" them. They referred to themselves as the active agent that acts upon a recipient. This, however, contradicted their attempts to show that "girls rule sex" or place pressure upon them to have sexual intercourse.

Ons albei moet sorg vir veilige seks, maar dit hang af van die man, man is eintlik hoof en dit hang af van die man om die meisie te vra, want as die meisie vra gaan dit snaaks voel, man is die hoof. (1)

Jy moenie 'n meisie misbruik nie. (1)

...maar toe vat ek haar. (1)

Hulle't vir haar gesê wat hulle gaan doen met haar...Om aan haar te vat...en toe begin my een vriend op haar...toe maak ek klaar. (1)

...en toe het ek net klaargemaak met haar...en toe't my nefie toe vir haar gevat. (2)

Toe sê ek vir haar ons gaan maar ek het maar so vir haar gesê maar kom ons stap 'n bietjie of so of kom ons stap 'n bietjie in die rondte (3)

...en toe het ek dit vir haar gegee om...en ek het vir haar gevra of sy dit wil hê (5)

One respondent explored the idea that one, girls only want to have sex with a certain type of boy or two, that women like a certain type of man. This man is one that is seen to be popular and in control.

...Want sy was verskriklik lief vir my gewees, want daar was ander mense van haar vriendinne wat van my gelike het. Ek doen sport en ek doen baie goed daarin en jy weet baie dames is mal oor sportsmannne en so. So ja, ek voel amper half 'n status vir haar gewees...Soos ek sê sy't gesê sy wil dit graag sy was bly, sy wil dit graag saam met my wil doen. (4)

These beliefs seem to be in keeping with the traditional construction of male sexuality that was shown to be adopted in terms of male constructions of male sexuality. Whilst the man is expected to be in control of the sexual interaction and demonstrate his ability to perform sexually, the female is expected to submit to and allow the man to take control of the sexual relationship. In the previous section it was shown that the respondents believed sexual intercourse to be uncontrollable. The respondents therefore presented the belief that they, as males, should be in control of something that is uncontrollable. However, they also referred to the expectation that they have of women to take control, in the sense that women are also expected to refuse their attempts to initiate sexual intercourse (This will be explored and discussed further in section 3.4). Their ability to take control is then tested in terms of their ability to convince the female to submit to their sexual advances. The issue of control seems to be a complex one. Whilst men believe that they must be in control of the women they have sexual intercourse with and be in control of the sexual situation, they still expect women to determine whether the actual act of sexual intercourse will take place. This type of control serves to free men of their responsibility for their sexual behaviour and reinforces the gender imbalances in reproductive and sexual responsibility (Campbell, 1995; Joffe, 1996; Peplau, Rubin & Hill, 1977). Although I do not have a complete understanding of how issues of control function in the heterosexual sexual context as yet, it is clear that further exploration of the dyadic nature of control in sexual decision-making is definitely required.

3.2 There are two types of girls

The respondents believed that there are certain types of girls who will have sex and certain types of girls who should not have sex. They separated girls into two categories, those who have had sex and those who have not, in other words, those who are virgins and those who are not.

Sy was nie 'n maagd nie. Sy het al voorheen ook seks gehad, met 'n ou, met 'n vorige ou. Ek het geweet dat sy nie 'n maagd is nie. (4)

Ons het net begin, en sy was 'n maagd en dit was die eerste keer toe ek seks gehad het. (5)

...want daai meisie wat ek het is nou 'n maagd. (6)

The respondents gave recognition to the fact of whether a girl was a virgin or not and also seemed to have more respect for a woman who believed that she should retain her status of

virgin. They seemed to make a value–judgement on this. Girls who keep their virginity for the man they love, the man they plan to marry, or a special boyfriend that they love; were classified as girls worthy of respect. Implicit in this is that girls who have had sex with just anyone or continue to have sex with many boys, are not worthy of respect. In addition, girls who do not have sex were viewed as the type of girls you would want to have as your girlfriend. In concurrence with the literature, the respondents believed that those girls who are not virgins had lost more than just their virginity (Woodcock, Stenner & Ingham, 1992). The boys believed that girls who were no longer virgins had lost respect amongst their peers. They seemed to view this as a permanent loss.

Wel die meisie met wie ek seks gehad het is eintlik nie my meisie. Die meisie, die eerste meisie van my ons het nog nie seksuele omgang gehad, sy wil dit nog nie gedoen nie en ek respekteer haar besluite. (1)
Op die oomblik het ek weer 'n meisie. Ons gaan nou nege maande uit en nog nie een keer daarvoor gedink om seks te hê nie en sy is nie daai tipe persoon. Sy ons ek sien haar nie as daai tipe meisie nie en ons praat oor seks en so, maar sy wil net haar maagdelikheid met haar man deel en ek moet sê ek respekteer haar. (5)
...maar my meisie wat ek nou het, sy sê sy het genoeg tyd daarvoor. Ja ek is bly dat ek so 'n meisie kan het. (5)

Linked to this are the labels that were applied to certain girls. The idea that nice girls do not have sex and girls who have had sex must be bad girls or dirty seemed to be implied. The respondents also defined relationships as being sexual or “clean” (i.e. non-sexual). Implicit in this is that sexual relationships are dirty. Therefore a negative connotation was once again imposed on sexual behaviour.

Nee, want dit is die eerste skoon verhouding waar ek hoef nie te worry en oor seks te praat en so. (4)

Girls you have sex with and girls you go out with, were described as not always being sourced from the same category. The respondents spoke of times when they suddenly realised that since the girl had had sex with them, she was no longer suitable for the going-out category. It seems that what is linked to this is the fear of what others think and how others will view you if you go out with a bad girl category type of girl. The respondents made reference to their need to know what category a girl fits into.

Ek het seks gehad met 'n ander meisie maar daai meisie is 'n mover, dit was nie my meisie nie ek het nog nie seks in 'n verhouding gehad nie...en ek weet nie wie sy is if sy 'n mover is of nie...en ek wil weet wat 'n tipe meisie sy is. (6)
...en ek weet nie dit was drie keer gewees en toe besluit ek nee as ek nie iets aan dit gedoen nie of as ek want ek het myself ek het soos gevoel en um aange glo dat um as 'n meisie en 'n ou seksuele verhouding gaan uitgewerk en as ek graag vir haar as ek gaan vir haar beskou as 'n lewensmaat soos in dan moet ek toe het ek besluit ek moet iets daaraan doen. (5)

Ek sê vir hulle hoor nou sekere meisies wat hier by ons wat nou sleg is vertel ek vir hulle moenie so seker situasie deurgaans nie want die meisie wat ek in so 'n situasie deurgegaan het en sy was nie lekker nie, vertel vir hulle, van 'n manlike kant af wat die mans doen, eintlik ek waarsku ek vir hulle. (1)

They also had clear ideas of the negative feelings girls should feel after they had premarital sex.

Sy voel seker vuil, want daar is 'n klomp, Ja, 'n klomp seuns...want anders sê hulle sy is 'n vrottie, in ander woorde sy is sleg. (1)

Ek wil nie vir haar, um ek weet nie hoe om te sê, ek wil nie vir haar laag bring of laag voel nie. (5)

3.3 Virginity: a gift or a loss

Linked to the idea of the existence of two types of girls, the respondents also held very specific beliefs about the meaning that girls should give to their first experience of sexual intercourse. In the narratives, sex was portrayed as an experience of loss for girls that carries greater significance for girls as compared to a great opportunity for men.

Ek het net gedink mansmense het niks om te verloor daaruit nie so ek het dit net gedoen. (5)

The respondents had a perception that the loss of a girl's virginity is a meaningful and important experience for girls. This seems to reflect a belief that girls only want or perhaps should only want to lose their virginity with a boy they love. The idea was that girls would not or should not just have sex with anyone who presents himself as a possible opportunity. The respondents made mention of love being an important condition to be met for girls to have sex. Her virginity was portrayed as a gift she only gives to a man she loves. They held the belief that if this gift is given to a man this therefore must have some impact on the man's self-esteem. If a girl wants to sleep with you, they believed that one could be sure that she likes you and probably "loves" you.

...en sy't vir my gesê daar was gister ander mansmense by haar gewees en sy't nou en die een het vir haar hoe kan ek sê met haar seks gehad. Toe het ek vir haar gesê: Ja, gaan na hom toe, moenie weer terug na my toe kom nie...en wanneer sy die ware storie vertel sê sy daar was ouens by haar gewees maar hulle het niks gemaak en sy wou net hê dat ek haar maagd hoe kan ek sê haar virgin nou gebreek dis al. Toe het ek net dit was eintlik ek het net 'n smile op my gesig gehad. (2)

...en sy was nie teleurgesteld nie, ons het uitgegaan en sy was lief vir my gewees en so aan...Die meisie was nog 'n maagd...maar soos ek sê die meisie was nie teleurgesteld gewees, want sy was verskriklik lief vir my gewees...want soos die eerste meisie is nog steeds lief vir my, want die eerste meisies wel ek het haar maagdelikheid gevat en so sy's nog steeds lief vir my. (4)

...en ek het geweet sy wil dit doen met iemand wat vir haar belangrik in haar lewe is en ek het nie geweet sy wil dit doen met iemand wat vir haar lewe is en ek het nie geweet nie of ek daai persoon is nie...en oor die feit dat sy 'n maagd is ek wil net vir haar. Dis net vir my 'n bietjie um...en soos alle mens sal sê of die meeste mans sal

sê dat um 'n meisie se maagd is 'n belangrike ding en as jy daai het en baie mans sien dit as jy 'n meisie se kroon bars om so te sê dan is dit maar ek wil nie in met my vriende wees nie maar ek het dit net gedoen. (5)

On the other hand the respondents also spoke of a feeling of having taken something from a girl. A sense of guilt or awareness that they had taken something that could never be given back to a girl. They spoke of the thought that they had perhaps tainted the girl, damaged her in some way, broken the seal of a beautiful package, and used up the gift of virginity.

...maar ek het haar maagdelikheid gevat en so en 'n mens kan verstaan hoe sy voel en dit maak jou 'n bietjie sad voel en so. Dis hoekom ek sê, ek's 'n bietjie teleurgesteld in myself. As ek so dink daaraan, dat ek haar maagdelikheid geneem het en nou wil ek niks met haar te doen hê nie. So ek is skaam want soos sy sê sy het vir my vertrou en dis hoekom sy toegelaat het om haar maagdelikheid te vat en so en...Ja, want gewoonlik as ons so praat, praat sy van haar maagdelikheid en hoe sy daarvoor voel en so. Nee, ek wil net wegkom van daai gesels af. (4)

Dit was nie soos in ek het dit gesien as um ek het ek het ek het nie soos die ander ouens gesien het nie, sy is nou 'n ou dit was net um. Vir my wel ek kon nie haar in die gesig gekyk het nie en sy kan ook nie vir my kyk nie gesig gekyk. (5)

Die verhouding waar ek haar maagdelikheid van haar weggeneem het is ook baie belangrik, want ek het baie van haar weggeneem, want van die tyd dat ek haar maagdelikheid gevat het, het sy altyd oor seks en wat gaan miskien gebeur en wat ek van haar dink en wat die ander mense sal dink en sy worry en sy worry en dis net vanaf ek haar maagdelikheid gevat het, wel ek voel 'n bietjie skuldig, want as ek nie haar maagdelikheid van haar gevat het, sal sy seker nie wees die mens wat sy nou is...en ek weet nie of die ander voel, maar ek voel sleg. (4)

...en daai meisie voel seergemaak want jy het van haar gevat wat sy nooit kan terugkry nie. (7)

In comparison, the respondents did not focus on the loss of their own virginity as a factor to be considered when having sex. Only one respondent spoke of his first sexual experience in terms of being disappointed at the "loss of virginity". He was the only one who referred to himself and the girl as virgins. This seems to imply that preservation of virginity is something that is not prioritised for men. The one respondent, who had not had sex, did express the belief that premarital sex is wrong for both sexes. There was, however, no reference to any label that was applicable to males who had "lost their virginity".

Ek was nogal 'n bietjie teleurgesteld, want ek het myself belowe soos weet jy, voorheen het ons gepraat ek en my vriende seks voor die huwelik werk nie en toe ek nou lank so die reëls oortree so ek was 'n bietjie disappointed...Die meisie was nog 'n maagd. Ek was natuurlik ook nog 'n maagd gewees. Die hele ding het net begin. Ek was baie teleurgesteld om my maagdelikheid te verloor het. (4)

Um ek nie is, jy moet getroud wees voor jy seks kan hê. Nie net wanneer jy verloof is jy moet eers getroud wees dan kan julle seks hê. (7)

There was recognition that sexual intercourse is also meaningful for men but perhaps not as important. The old double standard of sex meaning different things for men and women therefore does seem to be at work in their world. The double standard did not seem to be very clear for the respondents though. According to Hillier, Harrison and Warr (1998), double

standards and power relations form part of heterosexual sex. In addition, the assumption that adolescents are sexually active in a level playing field, is considered by some as naïve since the competing dynamics of power and resistance are actually at play in the field of sexual intercourse. (Campbell, 1995; Hiller, Harrison & Warr, 1998; Holland et al., 1992)

In the study by Hillier, Harrison and Warr (1998), it was found that although boys were well aware of the double standard and the reputation risk which girls took, they remained apathetic. One of the respondents in this study expressed the difference between men and women's approach to sexual attraction. He contrasted how boys are only interested in having sex with girls and once they succeed they are no longer interested in the girl. According to him, girls on the other hand, focus more on the personality of boys.

...maar mans kyk na 'n meisiekind en sê nou dis nou 'n mooi meisie ek gaan vir haar pull en dan wanneer hulle klaar is met hulle, maak hulle asof niks gebeur het... Meisies verskil baie van mans want hulle weet wat is reg en verkeerd en mans weet nooit wat verkeerd is nie, hy doen net sommer hy dink net aan homself en nie aan sy meisie nie. Hulle sal miskien sê as jy nie as jy nou by 'n meisie kom sy sal eerste vra wat is jou naam en so wat nou reg is. Sy sal sy wil sien is jy oop met haar en hoe jy is teen haar miskien is jy baie goed in haar geselskap dan sal sy dit like maar as jy verkeerd is soos in wie wil daai kinders hê ek het haar klaar deurgeloop en so dan is jy net soos 'n man en so. (7)

The questions that arise are whether the respondents truly believed this about their female peers or whether they have just accepted and are following the masculine scripts and traditional male stereotypical roles. Are the respondents unable to act in alternative ways, because there is no alternative model for them to follow which still allows them to discover and assert their "manhood" and "adulthood"? It appears that even if the boys were aware of the double standard they did not search for an alternative or new construction and simply fell back on or adopted the traditional construction, which was known to them.

3.4 Girls rule sex

According to the adolescent males in the current study, one's chances of a positive response when wanting a girl to have sexual intercourse, depends on "the type" of girl the girl is. The respondents held a belief or assumed that girls are responsible for limiting sexual intimacy.

...want sy is saggeaard en so en as ek miskien vir haar gevra het om seks te hê en so ek het geweet ek sal 'n negatiewe antwoord gaan kry so ek is nog nie op daai stadium waar ek kan vir haar vra om seks te hê en so. Dit

sal op 'n later stadium plaasvind. Ek het seks gehad met 'n ander meisie, maar daai meisie is 'n mover...en sy was tussen die ouens en toe dink ek ek het die kans ek maak nou gebruik daarvan. (6)

They implied therefore that it is girls who "rule sex" and therefore they hand over the responsibility to girls to decide whether sex is going to take place. The idea that males view sex as being unplanned or unpredictable is linked to the assumption or expectancy that girls are more likely to say no to you wanting to have sex. Peplau, Rubin and Hill (1977) found that as a result of traditional sexual scripts or sexual role-playing, women do in fact assert power with regard to sexual intercourse. They found that characteristics of the female were better predictors of whether sexual intercourse would take place than the male characteristics. Factors like the female's previous sexual experience or her permissiveness can manage the decision to have or when to have sex. Peplau, Rubin and Hill (1977) described this as the negative control of females, as traditionally females are prescribed the role of rejecting sexual intercourse or slowing the pace of increasing physical intimacy. One of the key themes that was traced in the narratives, is that the respondents wanted to make it very clear that at no time did they force themselves on the girls. They presented an explanation that the girls with whom they had been sexually involved, were not innocent victims and were indeed willing participants. The respondents expressed that at times, in fact, the girls wanted to have sex more than they themselves did. They made reference to times when the girl initiated sex. In addition, they made reference to a certain unspoken sexual script that they believed is known and understood by both parties. They held the belief that there is a natural progression of events once people become sexually intimate. The respondents understood this script to be one where boys continue along the sexual script until their partner says no. If the girl does not say no, this is understood as her tacit consent to have sexual intercourse.

Toe't sy eintlik die moves gemaak...Sy het vir my gevra of ek beskerming het...Hoe kan ek sê, sy was maar net hoe kan ek sê, sy't toe ons nou nou um hoe kan ek sê toe ons bymekaar geraak het. Toe't sy aangevoel dat ons en sy't nou gevra of ek het beskerming aan en toe sê ek ja. (3)

Volgens my was sy nie teleurgesteld nie. Ons het net uitgegaan en sy was lief vir my gewees en so aan...so ek het eintlik vir haar tevrede gestel...Sy't gesê ek moet na hulle toe kom...en ons het weer gevry en so aan en toe het dit net weer gebeur. (4)

...en um en toe't um sy het eerste begin om uit te trek en vir my uit te trek ek was nie heeltemaal kaal nie. Later het sy gevat en um sy wil dit hê...en ek was nie daai dag by die skool toe nie. Toe besluit sy okay maar nee sy gaan ook nie skool toe daai dag en daai oggend toe sy by my aangekom het ek geslaap en ons was weer alleen en sy het in die bed by my kom lê...en dan late het ons weer in 'n vry aangegaan en dit het net weer begin soos in sy, sy het dit weer begin en um ek het vir haar gevra of sy dit wil hê en toe sê sy ja en dit het net gebeur. (5)

Sy't vir my gevra en ek het nou ingestem...en sy't vir my gewys en vir my gesê hoe om aan te gaan en so...Sy't vir my gevra is ek gereed en toe het ons altwee ingestem. (6)

Ja, sy't gepraat van seks. Ek voel nou ongemaklik met iets. Ek dink, ek wil dit nie doen nie doen nie, maar sy wil dit doen. Sy wil op my birthday dit gedoen het, maar toe op my vriend se party. Toe sê sy sy wil, maar ek sê nee. Ek wil nie. Toe sê sy, sy aanvaar dit. (6)

According to Strebel (1995), the fact that women are not without power in gender relations and sexual relationships cannot be ignored. Women are actively involved in the construction of their sexuality and hence it is a very relevant reaction on the part of the respondents to stress that the girls with whom they had sex were not passive recipients.

One respondent, however, reported that his first sexual experience was one where he forced a girl to have sex. It was a situation where, combined with the presence of his friends who had just had sexual intercourse with the girl, he had difficulty interpreting her behaviour and determining whether the girl was consenting or not. Unable to decide whether to act upon her verbal or her non-verbal behaviour, which he believed to be sending two opposing messages, he eventually just had sex with her. It appears therefore that the belief held by the respondents is that if a girl initially indicates willingness to have sexual intercourse or seems to express pleasure during sexually intimate behaviour, it can be assumed that she will and must follow through with sexual intercourse.

Ja, dit het gebeur dat ek met 'n meisie wou seksuele omgang wou hê maar dat sy nie wou nie... Soos ons gehoop het was die meisie met wie ek die eerste keer seks gehad het was sy vrywillig gewees want sy't gewet van die eerste keer toe my vriende dit gedoen het, was ek nie by nie... en sy't gewet hulle en toe sê hulle mos, dis my niggies en die ander kinders, hulle't vir haar gesê wat hulle gaan doen met haar en sy't net gelag en gesê sy hou daarvan dis al... en toe begin my een vriend om aan haar te vat en sy laat dit toe en op die ou end sien ek hoe sy't, sy trek vir haarself uit... Almal was by haar en sy het dit gelike soos die mansmense aangaan met haar... Ek het vir haar gesê, sy moet nou aantrek, toe wil sy nie en maar toe gee sy aanleiding, sy lê daar op die kooi maar toe dinge begin gebeur toe ek seksuele omgang met haar wil hê, toe wil sy nie. Toe besluit sy toe verander sy haar besluite. Toe sê sy vir my, sy gaan miskien op 'n ander tyd, sy gaan nie nou nie, maar ek is nou... toe maak ek klaar, want sy het so aanleiding, dit was die aanleiding en sy verlei nou vir ons en nou dat dit gaan gebeur besluit sy om haar besluite verander, dis al... Toe het sy mos nou toegelaat en toe was dit nou my beurt en toe wil sy nou nie... Ja, maar ek weet nou dis verkeerd gewees, maar ek het vir haar verskoning gevra. (1)

3.5 Mind-reading girls

The problem with such beliefs about female sexuality and sexual behaviour is that the verbal communication about sex between two people is inadequate. There is no shared expression or communication of possible feelings of uncertainty or doubt being experienced in the girl's mind. The respondents are only able to guess or assume that the girl is consenting by her

visible behaviour. In addition, sometimes girls are unsure how to make their change in decision to have sex clear to the boy once they have already progressed along the sexual script. They do not know how to put the brakes on or reverse the process of sexual behaviour, once it is already underway. What is happening physically might be very different to what is happening mentally. Both parties are also completely inexperienced at translating non-verbal sexual signals. They are busy learning a new language. If one looks at the narratives, one can see the mixed messages that they signalled to each other. The question is whether this is intentional or whether it is a true and honest message of mixed feelings and thoughts. There was little verbal communication but much non-verbal communication. These respondents did not know how to interpret non-verbal language. The inability of male adolescents to send to, receive or interpret messages sent by their female partners can result in coercive behaviour.

Toe ek gesmile het, het ek net vir myself gesê in my gedagtes, nou ja die kind se kop is glad nie reg nie, maar ek het dit nie eintlik dit so bedoel nie net vir myself so gesê... en sy't het haar kop uitgehaak lyk dit vir my... en toe sê ek nou vir haar of sy nou haar onderbroek afgetrek of so, want ek wil nie sommer vat nie, of as ons nou seks gaan hê. (2)

Ek het sy't maar net ons het net op die kooi gesit en maar net eerstens uh gevry en so en toe gebeur dit. Ons het nie eintlik baie gepraat nie. Ons het mos opgegaan. Toe sit ons daar bo, bo by die kamer en in die kamer was daar nie stoele nie en toe sit ons op die stoel. (3)

...en sy was nie teleurgesteld, volgens my was sy nie teleurgesteld nie. (4)

...en ek het geweet sy wil dit doen met iemand wat vir haar belangrik in haar lewe is en ek het nie geweet nie of ek daai persoon is of nie, maar ek het probeer om haar tevrede te stel toe het ek dit nou gedoen... sy het eerste begin om vir my uit te trek en ek was nie heeltemal kaal en later het sy gevat en um sy wil dit hê en ja um toe't ons net weer begin en ja um toe't ons net weer begin maar toe sê sy nee ons moet ophou... en sy het in die bed geklim maar ons doen dit nie en dan later het ons weer in 'n vry aangegaan en dit het net weer begin soos in sy het net weer begin en um ek het vir haar gevra of sy dit wil hê en toe sê sy ja en dit het net gebeur en die keer was sy okay... ek toe het ek besluit ek moet iets daaraan doen, maar daai toe as ons weer so begin met om 'n vry aantehad as ons weer alleenig dan begin sy om te sê en um somtyds is sy aanvaarding en sy gee vir my 'n drukkie en somtyds as ek bo op haar lê, sê ek vir haar ek wil sy dit nie doen nie. (5)

The concept of coercion has mostly been researched in the context of date rape but by defining coercion only in the context of "rape", we fail to take cognisance of the complexity of behaviour. Sexual negotiation and the possibility of coercion must be regarded as a continuum. The focus, therefore, needs to be placed upon both the male and the female and the sexual vulnerability of both partners needs to be acknowledged (Rosenthal & Peart, 1996).

...en toe besluit ek mos, ek kan nie my vriende afmaak daarteen om in die groep in te pas... sy voel seker vuil, want dit was 'n klomp gewees. Ja, 'n klomp seuns maar toe vat ek haar omdat hulle sê, want sy het vir my vriende gegee, hoekom, want anders sê hulle... maar ek weet nou dis verkeerd gewees. Ek het nou vir haar gesê sy moet nou aantrek, toe wil sy nie, en maar toe gee sy aanleiding, sy lê op die kooi, maar toe dinge gebeur toe ek seksuele omgang met haar wil hê, toe wil sy nie toe besluit sy toe verander sy haar besluite. Toe sê sy vir my, sy gaan miskien op 'n ander tyd, sy gaan nie nou nie maar ek is nou lam um lamgat nou ek bedoel nou soos in manne hulle gaan nou dink wel party of die meeste manne gaan nou mos nou nie dink hier lê die

vrou, die vrou hulle gaan nie net so los nie. Toe maak ek klaar want sy het so aanleiding dit was die aanleiding en sy verlei nou vir ons en nou dat dit gaan gebeur besluit sy om haar besluit te verander dis al...en toe ek vir haar kyk toe voel ek sleg. (1)

...maar ek was 'n bietjie bang gewees uh maar toe wou ek mos nie hê dat sy moet dink ek is nie hoe kan ek 'n mens sê nie soos ander ouens of so. Toe wil ek nie vir haar teleurgestel nie. Ja, miskien omdat ek haar maar miskien gaan sy um verwagting of so maar ek het oor alles nou gedink terwyl ons nou op die bed was. Ja sê maar nou, soos veral vir mansmense, 'n mens kan ou verstaan as 'n vroumens vir jou sê sy wil dit nie doen nie, maar soos ek, ek het as nou 'n mansmens en sy nou as 'n vroumens hou uh ek het vir myself gedink hoe sal dit vir haar lyk as ek sê nou vir haar nee. Miskien sal sy um want ons het lekker gesels en miskien wou sy nie meer met my gesels nie en...ek was, ek was 'n bietjie bang en inexperienced en nie eintlik geweet wat ek moet maak nie. (3)

...maar soos ek gesê het ek het gedink dis nou my ideale geleentheid want daar's baie van my tjommes wat ook sê as jy die kans kry moet jy dit vat en hulle't almal daarvoor gepraat en so um dit klink sleg maar jy dink dat sonder enige seks jy gaan baie mis en so...en toe het ek net gesê ek gaan nou. (4)

If one considers the quotations, one can almost hear the inner dialogue of the respondents as they reasoned or weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of sexual intercourse in their minds. One can see the uncertainty and confusion. In the narrative where the respondent forced sexual intercourse on the girl, the respondent seemed to be justifying his actions by imparting blame or responsibility to the girl. At the end of his story, one can, however, understand the pressure he was under to perform in front of his friends and one gets an impression of a context full of inexperience and lack of knowledge as to what the girl is actually trying to communicate to him. Afterwards he realised or acknowledged his wrongful actions and feels guilty about it, as he knew that the girl did not in fact consent to sexual intercourse.

It appears, therefore, that not only did the respondents not want to take responsibility for their partners' sexual behaviour, they in fact described their behaviour as motivated and influenced by their partners' behaviour. They seem to hand over responsibility for their own sexuality to their female partners and did not construct their behaviour as being internally directed. The respondents also tried to gauge whether the girl physically wants to have sex with them by reading the girl's non-verbal language. They are of course not very experienced at this time and obviously not well versed in the non-verbal body language. Non-verbal language is also often open to various interpretations as it is.

4. THE COMMUNITY'S CONSTRUCTION OF ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY: "OUR YOUNG PEOPLE SHOULD NOT BE HAVING SEX AND IF THEY DO, WE DO NOT WANT TO KNOW ABOUT IT"

The third construction of sexuality that the respondents presented was the manner in which they perceived or understood sexuality in the context of the greater community or public forum. The respondents believed that within the community in which they resided, premarital sex is viewed as wrong. It seems that the respondents believed that the community had very specific beliefs or rules about sexuality.

4.1 Community gossip: "Everyone will find out"

The belief that premarital sex is viewed as wrong in the community was reflected in the narratives where the respondents indicated that people in the community gossiped about young people who had premarital sex. The respondents also expressed the fear of the community finding out about their sexual activity. They feared the evaluation and judgements that would be made upon them if they or the girls they go out with, are known to be sexually active. They referred to the risk they would run and the stereotypes or labels that would be applied to them. They feared the embarrassment of other people knowing what they have done.

...en die mense het toe beginne stories opmaak van haar. Toe sê ek toe het ek die verhouding stopgesit. (2)
 ...en die volgende dag toe is wel dit is die selle storie weer. Die hele, die meeste van die jong mense het nou geweet wat gebeur het. Toe't sy vir almal, haar vriende weer vir ander mense vertel, vir haar vriende nou en haar vriende weer vir ander mense vertel. (2)
 Toe sê hy wat het ek gemaak het. Toe sê ek nee, nee ek wil nie eintlik sê nie. Toe sê hy nee dis net tussen ons twee. Toe sê ek vir hom en toe sê hy nee hy't die selle gemaak. Ja, sy't vir almal nou toe vertel. Ek het eintlik skaamerig gevoel. Ja, maar so na twee weke is ek weer weg. (2)
 Ja, maar ek het alle stories by die skool stories gehoor. Ja, sy doen nou alle dinge. (2)
 Nee, dit bly tussen ons twee. Net ons twee weet daarvan. Dit bly tussen ons twee. Niemand anders hoef daarvan te weet nie. (6)
 want anders sê hulle sy is 'n vrottie, in ander woorde sy's sleg. (1)

Hillier, Harrison and Warr (1998), stated that confidentiality and privacy are not easily ensured by adolescents, even in their private lives and this therefore puts them at risk of "social sanction" if they are viewed as behaving unacceptably by their communities. They stressed that in small communities such sanction can be detrimental to the degree that it can even limit

the possibility of certain types of relationships for adolescents, but especially girls, whose behaviour is viewed as unacceptable.

One respondent made reference to not wanting his girlfriend to find out what he had been up to with other girls.

...en hoe gaan sy voel, as sy nou die storie hoor, want die plek is so. Jy hoef nie iets te doen nie en almal weet daarvan. (6)

4.2 Sexual activity must be kept a secret

The fear of the community finding out about their sexual activity is such that the respondents constructed their sexuality as something that must be kept a secret. This led to sexual behaviour being initiated in secret contexts that were viewed as safe.

The respondents reported that the girls they were sexually active with, were sometimes not from their own neighborhood or community. This provided some way of avoiding exposure.

Met 'n meisie wat daar by my auntie gebly het. (2)

Um, was 'n meisie gewees, van Hanover Park...Toe hulle kom daar by my auntie hulle... (3)

Dit was by my vriende se huis. Nie in ons omgewing nie. Dit was in die Pniel gewees. (6)

The respondents also reported that their sexual intercourse experiences usually occurred in a place where parents or figures of authority were absent.

My ouers was uit. (2)

My ma hulle was nie by die huis nie. (3)

My pa was nie daar nie. (3)

Haar ma hulle is uit vir die naweek. (4)

Daar was nie baie mense nie. (4)

Daar was niemand by die huis nie. (5)

Ons was weer by die huis alleenig...en um toe is ons weer in die huis, en my ouers het altwee gewerk...As ons weer alleenig is dan begin sy... (5)

In the narratives the respondents referred to the need for privacy. Looking at the contexts in which their sexual behaviour took place the theme of secrecy can be detected in the places that are chosen to explore their sexuality by the adolescents. It appeared important that parents must have no idea what is going on. The time they had to be together as couples and to explore their sexuality was therefore limited and regulated by their parents' routine and not always their own routine. The respondents' narratives reflected the need to keep their sexual

relationships secret from their parents. This caused them to be secretive and grab the opportunities when their parents would not be present. This, however, emphasised the impression that sexual intercourse is wrong.

4.3 Secrecy and peers

Although the locality of sexual intercourse was presented as a place where authority figures were absent, the locality of sexual intercourse was also presented as a place where peers might be very much present. The respondents referred to the presence of peers as creating a context where peer pressure and behavioural scripts are experienced as unavoidable and influencing.

...want ons was almal by 'n huis gesit... Ons vriende het op het op die stoep gesit... Dit was by ander vriende se huis. (1)

Dit was een aand, 'n by, 'n by 'n vriend van my se partytjie. (2)

Toe kom hulle daar by my auntie hulle. Toe los hulle vir ons... Niemand was daar nie, net my newe en sy suster... Toe sê my nefie en my niggie dat hulle gaan ons alleen los. (3)

Ons was een aand by 'n partytjie. (3)

Ja, ons was na 'n partytjie toe gewees, en baie van my vriende het ook meisies gehad en toe het ons nou so, jy weet toe ons nou moegraak van die dans en uitgaan uit die huis uit nou uitgegaan waar die partytjie was. (4)

Dit was by my vriende se huis. (6)

...maar toe op my vriend se party. (7)

Their narratives of sexual activities were therefore presented in a context of secrecy. The respondents spoke of wanting to avoid exposing their sexual activities to their parents, teachers and authority figures. They wanted to avoid discovery. Their sexual experiences were therefore safeguarded by the fact that they believed that no one would find out that they just had sex. They believed this because their sexual activities took place in a presumed secret locale or at least a locale where only trusted people were present. People who could be trusted to keep the secret of sex are their peers and girlfriends or sometimes a girl who would be too ashamed of her behaviour and would therefore want to keep her sexual activity a secret. Sexuality was, therefore, shown to be explored and expressed in locales where the people they do not want to disappoint (their parents) will not be. The presence of their peers, however, presented a contrasting demand as they did not want to disappoint their peers. Whilst they believed that premarital sex would be viewed as wrong by their parents, they held the belief that their peers would view premarital sex positively. As a result, the context in

which the respondents' sexual activity took place were places which kept their sexual activity secret from the greater community but ensured a degree of awareness of their peers.

5. EXPERIENCE OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

5.1 Uncertainty in decision-making: "I wasn't sure if I should"

The respondents disclosed in their narratives many of the thoughts that were going through their mind at the time of sexual intercourse like the fear of the consequences of sexual intercourse for example pregnancy, STDs and uncertainty, fear, beliefs about premarital sex and what their friends have told them.

Um, ek het geweet dat ek is nie gereed ek is nie gereed daarvoor en um ons het nie voorbehoedmiddels by ons gehad nie, en ek was eintlik redig bang ek meen ek het soos in gedink wat as sy 'n ma raak, dit het eintlik in my gedagtes aangegaan en um ek het gedink as ek haar bevrug dan kan ek nie, want ek is nog op skool en dan kon ek nie verder leer nie ek en ek kan nie vir haar ondehou en bystaan nie en ek weet dit was 'n fout, maar dan op die ander kant het ek gedink, wel sy's 'n meisie en ek wil haar graag tevrede stel oral waar ek kan en dis hoekom ek het dit gedoen en oor die feit dat sy 'n maagd is en ek wil net vir haar dis net vir my 'n bietjie um, ek wil hoe kan ek sê, sê ek wil nie vir haar seermaak en ek was lief vir haar en soos alle mans sal sê die meeste mans sal sê dat um 'n meisie se maagd is 'n belangrike ding en um as jy daai het en baie mans sien dit as jy 'n meisie se kroon bars om so te sê dan is dit maar ek wil nie in met my vriende wees nie maar ek het dit net gedoen. Dit was nou 'n ervaring...ja ek het dit net gedoen om haar tevrede te stel ek weet nie ek het nie eintlik gedink watter waarde ek sou of kan daaruit kry nie. Ek het net gedink mansmense het niks om te verloor daaruit nie so ek het dit net gedoen. (5)

There is also sometimes an impression given by the respondents of not yet being ready to fulfil the expectations that they believed were imposed on them by their friends and partners in order to prove their "manhood". The belief that others have supposedly fulfilled these perceived expectations perhaps compels them to act out these roles even though they are not ready to do so. The respondents experience a pressure to perform in certain ways, one of which is of course the initiation, management and enjoyment of sex. There is a simultaneous acceptance of "male behaviour" and an inherent conflict with it. There is also a feeling of not wanting to act out those traditional scripts. Once again the script is objectified and the ability of the script to overpower one, was expressed by the respondents.

'n Paar minute het ek soos 'n man gevoel, maar toe ek klaar is, toe voel ek sleg. (1)

Vertel vir hulle van 'n manlike kant af, wat die mans doen. (1)

Ek is nie so 'n ou nie. (3)

Ek probeer praat daarvoor en hulle sê hulle verstaan maar dit lyk nie vir my of hulle verstaan nie. Ek wil nie soos die ander mans optree nie...Ek het nooit vir hulle gesê dat ek seks gehad nie. Ja, ek meen dis 'n bietjie onnoissel daai, moenie alles doen wat jou tjommies sê nie...Ek voel emosioneel, ek gebruik hulle soos ek sê. Ek

het 'n hele paar maande gelede seks gehad en so aan ek moet nou afkom daarvan, maar nou. Ek gebruik hulle net. Ja ek voel so, ek gebruik hulle. Ek's baie disappointed met myself daarvoor...Ek weet nie of die ander voel, maar ek voel skuldig. (4)

Ek wil nie in met my vriende wees nie...Dit was nie soos in ek het dit gesien as um. Ek het ek het ek het nie soos die ander ouens gesien het nie. (5)

...en mans weet nooit wat verkeerd is, hy doen net wat somer, hy dink net aan homself en nie aan sy meisie nie...soos jy sê goed wat verkeerd is soos in wie wil daai kinders hê ek het haar klaar deurgeloop en so dan is jy net soos 'n man en so. Ja, ek dink baie keer sal 'n man met 'n meisie te doen kry om deurteloop soos in seksueel misbruik om klaar te maak met haar. Hulle doen dit baie, party doen dit maar party doen dit nie. (7)

maar ek is te lief vir haar om dit te doen, want ek weet nie wat ek sal maak agterna nie. Miskien maak ek met haar en dan los ek haar of maak ek dit met met haar en dan praat klomp slegte goed. (7)

5.2 Disappointment: "It was not what I expected"

The respondents were also unsure and had conflicting expectations about sexuality and sexual behaviour.

As ek terugdink, dit was lekker en so, maar jy kry nie iets uit die deal uit nie, dis net genot en plesier wat jy kry maar verder is alles weer die selfde. Soos in voordat jy seks gehad het, miskien nou, jy wil iets het of 'n probleem gehad of is dit nou miskien seks en nadat jy klaar seks gehad is die probleme net weer daarso. Ja, dis lekker op daai stadium, maar daarna is dit nie meer lekker nie. (2)

...maar ek dink dis net 'n klomp snot. (1)

Nadat ek seks gehad het, het ek anderste so anderste gevoel. Ek weet nie 'n mens kan dit nie eintlik beskryf maar dis net anderste gewees. Miskien kon ek sê omdat dit nou my eerste keer was en miskien ander ouens is gewoonlik 'n bietjie ouer of so, maar toe ek dit die eerste keer doen was dit lekker maar ek was eers 'n bietjie bang gewees...Ek was 'n bietjie hoe kan ek sê, bly of iets soos daai ek was 'n bietjie bang en inexperienced en nie eintlik gewet wat ek moet maak nie, maar dit was nie eintlik so swaar...maar na die laaste twee keer dat ek seks gehad het toe voel ek uh, nie so goed nie. (3)

...en ek weet nie dit was drie keer gewees en toe besluit ek nee as ek nie iets aan dit gedoen nie of as ek want ek het myself ek het soos gevoel en um aangevlo dat um as 'n meisie en 'n ou seksuele verhouding gaan uitwerk en as ek graag vir haar as ek gaan vir haar beskou as 'n lewensmaat soos in dan moet ek toe het ek besluit ek moet iets daaraan doen. (5)

Adolescents struggle to distinguish between healthy and unhealthy meanings of sex, as they attempt to integrate sex into their own lives (Maddock, 1997). As a result, the adolescent males in this study were not always adequately prepared for sexual intercourse. When speaking about their past experiences of sexual intercourse, there was at times a feeling that sex is not all it was made out to be. The respondents reported a feeling of disappointment. Perhaps they had expected a more life-changing experience (Zani, 1991). There was also a feeling of the realities of sex slowly beginning to step in where the excitement or curiosity about sex once was (Zani, 1991). There is perhaps a slight disillusioned feeling. Some of the respondents could not explain after having had sexual intercourse what had changed, but did express feeling different after having had sex.

het 'n hele paar maande gelede seks gehad en so aan ek moet nou afkom daarvan, maar nou. Ek gebruik hulle net. Ja ek voel so, ek gebruik hulle. Ek's baie disappoindeerd met myself daarvoor... Ek weet nie of die ander voel, maar ek voel skuldig. (4)

Ek wil nie in met my vriende wees nie... Dit was nie soos in ek het dit gesien as um. Ek het ek het ek het nie soos die ander ouens gesien het nie. (5)

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5.3 Guilt and Regret: "I feel bad"

Some of the respondents also spoke about regretting some of what they have done. As reported in other studies (Guggino & Ponzetti, 1997), feelings of guilt, shame and disappointment in themselves, were experienced. This was also sometimes linked to others knowing or being aware of what they have done.

'n Paar minute het ek soos 'n man gevoel maar toe ek klaar is en toe voel ek sleg. Toe sy nou huis toe gaan toe voel ek sleg en die volgende dag toe gaan ek vra persoonlike vir haar vir verskoning en ek weet die gedagte het nie dae by haar afgevat, maar ek het my bes probeer om vir haar verskoning te vra. Op die oomblik voel ek sleg daarvoor. (1)

Ek het eintlik skaamerig gevoel ja maar so twee weke is ek weer weg en ek het nie veel geworry daarvoor nie, nie kop toe gevat. (2)

Ek was nogal 'n bietjie teleurgesteld want ek het myself belowe soos weet jy voorheen het ons gepraat, ek en my vriende seks voor die huwelik werk nie en toe ek nou lank so die reëls oortree so ek was 'n bietjie disappointeerd...Ek het die grootste fout wat ek gedoen het gemaak Ek was baie teleurgesteld om my maagdelikheid verloor het...en dit lyk of dit die sport 'n bietjie afneem...so ek wil nou half vergeet daarvan Nee, ek is eintlik teleurgesteld met myself want soos ek gesê het ek het altyd gedink dat aan seks voor die huwelik werk nie toe ek soos ek sê die reëls oortree het en so aan, maar soos ek se ek's teleurgesteld met myself... maar ek is nogal teleurgesteld met myself daarvoor van dat ek seks gehad het met die ander meisie ek voel emosioneel, ek gebruik hulle soos ek sê ek het 'n hele paar maande seks gehad en so aan ek moet nou afkom daarvan maar nou ek gebruik hulle net...ja ek voel so ek gebruik hulle ek's baie disappointeerd met myself daarvoor...Ek is teluergesteld. (4)

Dit was net um vir my wel ek kon nie haar in haar gesig gekyk het nie en sy kan ook nie vir my kyk nie gesig gekyk vir 'n tyd lank was ons verhouding nie soos in en hoe noem 'n mens dit wel ons was baie skaam vir mekaar en um dit het net soos in dit was net baie snaaks hoe 'n mens voel as jy seks gehad het. (5)

Donald, Lucke, Dunne and Raphael (1995) found in their study that boys who believed that more of their peers had had sex were less likely to feel guilty about sexual intercourse. In addition, although they found that both male and female adolescents do feel guilty about sexual intercourse, only girls felt bad or used. According to Biddulph (1995) what is expected to be one of a man's greatest glories, sex, often ends up being one of the greatest disappointments. This is possibly because boys do not expect to experience negative emotions after they had had sexual intercourse. The idea of sexual intercourse being solely pleasurable and having no consequences turns out to be untrue. Although the consequences are possibly not as concrete (for example pregnancy) as for female adolescents the emotional consequences come as a surprise or anti-climax for the male adolescents. In all the conversations the respondents had had with their friends, no mention was made of the emotional implications. In addition, it is also possible that the actual act of sexual intercourse was not as physically pleasurable as the respondents had expected. The anxiety or pressure

to perform that they reported experiencing, as well as the lack of experience during their first experience of sexual intercourse, may be the reason for this.

5.4 Fear: “I was scared / I feel scared”

There was also a newly discovered sense of fear expressed by the respondents as they realised that now that they have become sexually active they are also at risk of making the girl pregnant or contracting STDs or HIV. It seems, however, that such a fear is not present at the time of sexual intercourse and the fear that the respondents experienced is a retrospective fear when they realised that there could have been very serious consequences to what they have done.

Ek dink daar's 'n kans dat ek kan dit [VIGS] kry ek meen as ek nie kan ophou met met meisies dan, dan kon ek sê die kans is eintlik goed. Dis hoekom ek nou sê ek wil eintlik nou 'n bietjie versigtig wees. 'n Bietjie afneem van dit. (4)

...en ek was bang dat iets gebeur. Ek wou nie hê dat my ouers moet weet nie. Nie net my ouers nie maar myself ook ek het myself teleurgestel en want ek sou my toekoms opmors en so 'n mens sal vir jousef teleurstel as jy so 'n fout maak...en ek dink dat dit sou een of ander keer gebeur het en um...en ek moet sê ek het baie groot vir haar gevoel het en ek sou seker geval het vir haar as ek nie die tipe persoon is wat ek is. Soos ek voorheen gesê ek wou enigiets doen vir haar en so maar op 'n stadium het ek geweet dat op een of ander tyd sal iets gebeur. (5)

6. CONCLUSIONS AND A POSSIBLE THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING

6.1 Sex is not owned

The adolescent boys in the current study seemed to understand their sexuality as something that exists outside of their inner world of rational control and external to the individual. They did not own sex as an internally directed or motivated choice or decision. Sex was understood as a phenomenon that is external to them as individuals. Sex was perceived as something bad, but at the same time exciting. Sex was presented as something that meant "exciting trouble". Given this meaning, sex was presented in their narratives as something that must either be concealed and when not concealed, be defended. The defence that the respondents employed was to “dis-own” or externalize their sexuality and sexual behaviour.

This understanding of sexuality namely, "sex is exciting trouble" contributed to the respondents approaching their sexuality and sexual behaviour defensively and with secrecy and; finally, constructing their sexuality as an objective process or phenomenon that exists external to their inner world of experience, identity and choice.

When the respondents spoke about their sexual experiences, they approached their sexuality in two ways. Firstly, they approached their sexuality with a tone of defence or from the perspective of having to justify their actions. Secondly, sexuality was presented and managed as something that needs to be concealed. Although it is clear that such an understanding of adolescent sexuality has far-reaching implications, it is important first to understand how I attained such an understanding.

The respondents attempted to keep their sexual behaviour a secret from authority figures or people from whom they expected a negative evaluation. As a result their sexuality was explored and expressed in secret locales and only in the presence of those who they viewed as trustworthy and unlikely to disclose or expose their sexual behaviour. When the respondents were, however, asked to disclose their experience of sexual intercourse narratively, they defended their sexual behaviour by constructing their sexuality as a result of the combined influence of external influences. Issues of adolescent development and physiology, adolescent-related curiosity or experimentation, peer pressure and gender stereotypes, sexual scripts and partner consent or even coercion, were presented as external influences or motivations for their sexual behaviour. After having experienced sexual intercourse, the respondents reported that they experienced a conflicting and fluctuating emotional and cognitive understanding of their sexual behaviour and sexuality. Feelings and thoughts of disappointment, regret and fear were presented as the way they presently experience and understand sexuality.

Their narratives are evidence-producing tales. They presented motivations for their actions. They therefore shared and presented their thoughts and memories of their sexual activity in a manner that reflected that they had acted in response to external pressures and in good faith, so as to defend their sexual behaviour and sexual way of being in their world. Sexuality was

not presented or described as an internal or subjective or individually owned way of being. Sexuality was presented as something that is concealed and when exposed or discussed; as something that is discovered by them; something that physiologically happens to them; something that society encourages them to seek out and attain; and yet also something that society warns them, has the power to influence them and impact significantly upon their lives.

It is important to stress that in no way is this construction of sexuality to be understood as a completely conscious construction or choice on the part of the respondents. Social constructions may lie outside of the conscious awareness of the respondent (Finchilescu, 1995; Joffe, 1996).

Sexuality was not discussed in terms of individual choice or decision-making. They attributed the influence to act out masculine stereotypes and sexual scripts as the influence of their peers and girlfriends. They presented their sexual urges and behaviour as physiologically driven and did not make reference to individual cognition or perception or sensory stimulation. Issues of attraction, interest and desire for intimacy were not explained outside of the realm of physiology. The influence of emotional or personality factors in either themselves or their partners was not referred to.

It appears therefore that not only did the respondents not take responsibility for the initiation of sexual activity but they also presented their subsequent participation in sexual intercourse as being physiologically and socially, externally directed. The question that presents itself, given this description of the context of adolescent sexuality, is: Why do adolescent boys approach and understand their sexuality as something to be hidden and something to be defended? Why do they externalise their sexual behaviour and sexuality?

If one is to understand why the respondents have an external construction of sexuality, it is important to understand their narratives in terms of their social and cultural background. If we are to understand behaviour as being socially constructed we have to look first to the social context in which the respondents reside, think and act and gain an understanding of the social and cultural expectations and normative rules and sanctions that have motivated the

adolescents behaviour and framed their physiological development (Campbell, 1995; Daniluk, 1993; Finchilescu, 1995; Herek, 1987; Joffe, 1996; Maddock, 1997; Thornton 1990; White, 1992).

According to Bly (1991) it is important that young men know that sexual energy can also be good. Sex must not be viewed as a separate part of one and the heart, spirit, mind and body all need to part of sexuality (Biddulph, 1995). Unfortunately this is not the case for the respondents. This is not the message that respondents are receiving. Sexuality is constructed outside of the individual and is not viewed as part of one's identity. Sexuality is understood by the respondents as something to be concealed, something to be defended and, although at times, socially enhancing amongst peers, something to feel guilty about amongst adults and something to feel afraid of due to the possible negative consequences that might result.

It appears therefore that the respondents have constructed sexuality according to the dominant beliefs of sexuality being a physiologically driven behaviour that is hard to control when there is a strong influence of peer and partner pressure. What is also clear, however, is that even though such a construction might function to assist the respondents to perceive themselves as responsibility-free, this is not actually adequately achieved. The respondents reported experiencing feelings of uncertainty, guilt, disappointment or fear concerning their past sexual behaviour.

I, as researcher, have questioned whether such emotions were perhaps reported because the respondents had to speak of their sexual experiences to an adult. Were their emotions actually experienced or were they presented in order to accord with their construction of how the public constructed sexuality that requires of them to conceal the reality of their sexual behaviour? In conclusion, I believe that the respondents did in fact experience such emotions when they looked back at their sexual behaviour. The interview required of them to do exactly this and so it appears that when the respondents looked back at their sexual experiences they experienced feelings of uncertainty. The way in which they constructed or understood their sexuality no longer seems to be as clear to them as before. In their narratives, the respondents presented the constructions of sexuality that they have previously held. What

was also expressed, however, was the way the respondents felt about their construction of sexuality. The respondents began to express a feeling of discomfort or uncertainty surrounding their understanding of their sexual behaviour. I believe that what may have resulted from the interviews, was that the respondents began to re-construct their understanding of sexuality, because of their feeling of discomfort. I believe that this occurred simply because the interview provided the respondents with a contained and supportive space where they could explore the understanding of their sexuality. In the next section, I will present how the respondents attempted to re-construct their sexuality during the course of the interview.

7. RE-CYCLING THE OLD CONSTRUCTIONS OF SEXUALITY

The respondents seemed to be aware that they were not comfortable merely fulfilling the traditional masculine gender rules or roles. Despite their discomfort with traditional constructions of sexuality, however, the boys appeared to revert back to traditional constructions of sexuality. The reason for this can be understood in light of the fact that the society in which they reside and function still confirms or validates the old traditional constructions of sexuality. The respondents are not exposed to alternative ways of understanding or constructing sexuality. Furthermore, they are not offered interactive spaces either at home or at school where, with the guidance of adults, they can explore new or alternative constructions and hence they simply revert to what is known and recycle the traditional constructions.

7.1 Trying to change and looking for rules

Some of the respondents reported that they were trying to change their behaviour or trying to learn lessons from what has happened. Some even tried to revert back and adopt old beliefs of premarital sex being wrong. It appears that the respondents who were less sexually experienced spoke more dogmatically and in favour of the double standard.

As ek 'n huweliksmaat kry sal dit 'n betekenisvolle verhouding wees...en nou kyk ek nog uit vir 'n huweliksmaat as ek staan praai met meisies of miskien alleen uitgaan dan soek ek vir geselskap en dit kan van daar af ontwikkel ek weet nie, paar van my gedagtes sê so maar ek bedoel niks vuil gedagtes nie 'n vroumens uittrek of

iets maar ek kyk hoe haar maniere is als wat tel vir 'n goeie lewensmaat. Ek bedoel die meeste huwelike gaan nou gebroke omdat mense is nie oor spesifieke dinge so seker nie. Ja, ek wil op my ouderdom seker maak dat as ek met 'n meisie uitgaan dat sy ten minste die meerderheid van waardes, tipe houdings en maniere van 'n meisie het wat ek dink 'n huweliksmaat kan wees. (1)

So het ek uh myself agterna gesê. Ek wil nie nou met so 'n persoon betrokke raak of so en ek gaan myself nou bevestig op my op my meisie wat ek nou het. Ek weet nie meisiekinders hulle sien dit net om in die mode om seks te hê en so en nie uit te mis nie maar my meisie wat ek nou het. Sy sê sy het genoeg tyd daarvoor. Ja, ek is baie bly dat ek so 'n meisie kan het en ek dink dat 'n meisiekind wat soos in haar lewe gaan oor seks is. Ek sien nie vir haar as vertroubaar nie, want as jy nie elke liever ding of so tevrede stel soos my vorige meisie gaan die meisie kind net so vir jou los en sal net 'n ander ou gaan kry. (5)

They viewed sexual behaviour in terms of something that is done with bad girls and as long as you have a decent girlfriend one can be excused for past sexual indiscretions.

Op die oomblik het ek weer 'n meisie. Ons gaan nou nege maande uit en nog nie een keer daarvoor gedink om seks te hê nie en sy is nie daai tipe persoon. Sy ons ek sien haar nie as daai tipe meisie nie en ons praat oor seks en so maar sy wil net haar maagtheid met haar man deel...en ek moet sê ek respekteer haar...en ek het nie daai drange hoe jy weet daai drange wat die meeste mans het so om met haar seks te hê nie met baie vriende en die vriend wat ek nou het op die oomblik. (5)

One respondent tried to take action and to make up for what he had done by warning girls. He also, however, made use of the technique of the labelling of the female participant in his sexual experience without labelling himself.

...want ek vertel vir my vriende. Ek sê vir hulle hoor nou sekere meisies wat hier by ons wat nou sleg is vertel ek vir hulle moenie so seker situasie deurgaen nie want die meisie wat ek in so 'n situasie deurgegaan het en sy was nie lekker nie. Vertel vir hulle van 'n manlike kant af wat die mans doen eintlik ek waarsku vir hulle want ek het geleer daaruit. (1)

The respondents, who were more sexually experienced, experienced this issue with less clarity. Moral rules or beliefs such as the double standard were experienced as more complex. However there also seemed to be a move back towards more traditional double standard views as the boys tried to solve the uneasiness, the experience with the complex and grey area of trying to form their own set of moral rules.

...maar ek is nou heel af van seks af...maar ek scheme vir 'n tyd al ek's baie ernstig met my sport en so aan so ek wil nou half vergeet daarvan...maar ek sal nie daarvan hou om nou weer met 'n meisie 'n seksuele verhouding te begin nie...ek het 'n hele paar maande seks gehad en so aan ek moet nou afkom daarvan maar nou...Ek probeer praat daarvoor en hulle sê hulle verstaan maar dit lyk nie vir my of hulle verstaan nie. Ek wil nie soos die ander manne optree nie. Nee ek dink nie ek sal weer met hulle seks wil hê nie soos ek sê ek probeer nou om af te kom daarvan. Dis 'n hele paar maande wat ek dit gedoen het en so. Ek wil nie hê dat dit beïnvloed my sport ek sal sorg daarvoor. Ek sal nie gaan vry of so nie. Ek wil eerder gaan vir 'n gesels of so...Ja, seks is nie vir my so beklankrik nie want ek meen daar is nader maniere as jy sê maar as jy 'n behoefte het is daar

ander maniere wat jy kan gebruik...en soos ek sê ek wil net vergeet van meisies eintlik net vergeet van seks en so. (4)

Ek het in daai tyd gedink as jy lief is vir iemand dan, dan sal jy enigiets doen vir hom of haar en so en elke keer het ek probeer vir haar herringe dat ek lief is vir haar...Ek het probeer om haar tevrede te stel maar later ek wou vir haar laat weet dat ek lief is vir haar en ek het nie geweet op daai stadium wat sy wil hê nie so ek het aangehou en toe en later toe ons gereeld seks het en ek het begin gedink wat as ek nou begin om anderste voel is ek nie meer lief vir haar en want ek was baie lief vir haar net en ek wil vir haar gee wat ek gedink het sy wou hê. (5)

There was recognition that the physical act of sex is often viewed as the important component in relationships and that many relationships are possibly too focused on the sexual act. This was not a belief that was held by all, however.

...en hulle sien verhoudings as net oor of rondom seks en hulle moet seks hê met 'n meisiekind...en dit is wanneer jy vir 'n meisie wys hoe jy lief is vir haar...en hulle sien dit net dat as 'n meisiekind en 'n ou 'n verhouding het, dan gaan dit net oor seks. Ek dink dit is nie noodwendig om seks te hê om vir 'n meisie te bewys dat jy lief is vir haar...dit gaan ek dink 'n verhouding gaan meer om uh oor respek hê (5)

Ja, ek dink baie keer sal 'n man met 'n meisie te doen kry om deur te loop soos in seksueel misbruik, om klaar te maak met haar en dan vir haar te los. Hulle doen dit baie, party doen dit maar party nie. (7)

...en ek het daai meisie gelos want ek het vir haar gesê dat as 'n ou seks het met 'n meisie, ek weet nie dan voel hy, hy moet seks hê ek moet sê ek het so gevoel dat ek moet seks hê ek probeer om vir haar te sê, praat. Dit het gelyk as sy wil omgee as ek nie ophou en my vriende. Ek het begin dink dat seks is nie 'n belangrike dinge in die lewe en tussen mense. (5)

My cynical voice did question how long this would last, perhaps only until the next opportunity for sexual intercourse presents itself. However, I did feel the sincerity of the respondents. The difficulty is that the respondents believed that by changing the external factors in their lives they could change their own behaviour. They spoke of going out with "decent" girls, changing friends that were bad influences. However, having witnessed (through their narratives) them falling victim to their own physiology, peer and girlfriend pressure and of course, the power of sexual attraction, despite awareness of sexual risks and consequences thereof, one has difficulty believing that a "decent" girlfriend and new friends will lead to chastity. One respondent told us how hard this could be.

...maar soos ek was op daai stadium disappoind maar agterna toe het dit weer gebeur en... So ek voel net dat um ek's spyt ek het begin daarmee want hulle sê as jy begin daarmee dan wil jy dit aanmekeer doen...soos ek sê my vriende hulle sê as jy dit een keer doen, dan wil jy dit aanmekeer doen, want die ding is ek het nie verskillende meisies met wie ek seks het nie dis maar net die twee meisies met wie ek seks gehad het...Ja en um op die oomblik het ek nou nie 'n meisie nie maar somtyds ontmoet ek vir hulle en dan lyk dit so dat dit gebeur dit aanmekeer met hulle...want as ek na hulle toe gaan dan lyk dit ek moet nou seks hê met hulle soos dit nou voel. Ja ek voel ek gebruik hulle ek's baie disappoind met myself daarvoor. Ja dit voel vir my hulle worry nie meer nie...maar as ek na hulle toe gaan dan is dit maar net nog 'n keer wat ek seks het...Ek probeer praat daarvoor en hulle sê hulle verstaan maar dit lyk nie vir my of hulle verstaan nie. Ek wil nie soos die ander manne optree nie...Seks is eintlik nie vir my so belangrik nie want ek meen daar is ander maniere as jy sê maar as jy 'n behoefte het is daar ander maniere wat jy kon gebruik maar jy wil nie eintlik nooit gebruik maak van die maniere nie want nie want hoekom wil jy dan masturbeer as daar 'n meisie is en jy kan jou bevrede en so aan, want ek wil um nooit eintlik gebruik maak van die ander maniere. Ja want as daar meisie is wat jou kan bevrede eerder

as om te masturbeer. Ja maar op 'n later stadium het ek gedink dat ek is nou baie verkeerd want ek weet VIGS sal miskien vir my eendag vang. Ek kon dit miskien optel of ek kan dit ook vir haar gee en so dink ek om te verhoed dat ek vigs kry om te masturbeer ek so ek gedink maar ek het so gedink wel hulle het seker gedink so is kwaad vir my wees as ek gepraat het van wat sal sy sê wat dink jy dat ek vir jou gaan vigs gee of so dis seker wat hulle sou dink. Ja, kwaad vir my wat ek sê hulle is vuil of so. (4)

It appears that once they had experienced sexual intercourse, their own rules for living must be established. In this process, they quickly grab onto what everyone else seems to be saying or what they used to think in order to rid themselves of the feeling of pressure, vagueness, fear of consequences, uncertainty about friendships and relationships and chaos, experienced when living without one's own rules. What they seem to grab onto is a more traditional perspective. There seems to be a return to a very traditional and religious frame of reference with regard to sexuality and dating. Sexuality is once again placed in the context of marriage or at least in meaningful relationships with "decent girls".

Seks is...deel van God en jou en van God...As ek 'n huweliksmaat kry sal dit 'n betekenisvolle verhouding wees...en nou kyk ek uit vir 'n huweliksmaat ek as ek staan en praat met meisies of miskien alleen uitgaan dan soek ek vir geselskap en dit kan van daar af ontwikkel ek weet nie...Ek kyk hoe haar maniere is, als wat tel vir 'n goeie lewensmaat...Ja, ek wil op my ouderdom seker maak dat as ek met 'n meisie uitgaan, dat sy ten minste die meerderheid van waardes. Tipe houdings en maniere van 'n meisie het wat ek dink 'n huweliksmaat kan wees vir my. (1)

...en ek weet nie dit was drie keer gewees en toe besluit ek nee as ek nie iets aan dit gedoen nie of as ek want ek het myself ek het soos gevoel en um aange glo dat um as 'n meisie en 'n ou seksuele verhouding gaan uitwerk en as ek graag vir haar as ek gaan vir haar beskou as 'n lewensmaat soos in dan moet ek toe het ek besluit ek moet iets daaraan doen...Op die oomblik het ek weer 'n meisie. Ons gaan nou nege maande uit en nog nie een keer daaroor gedink om seks te hê nie en sy is nie daai tipe persoon. Sy, ons, ek sien haar nie as daai tipe meisie nie en ons praat oor seks en so maar sy wil net haar maagtheid met haar man deel...en ek moet sê ek respekteer haar. (5)

The respondents tried to look for something else in their relationships with women. Something beyond or that excludes sex. The urgency to have or experience sex seems to have disappeared or decreased.

Ek gaan nou met 'n meisie uit, maar ons het nog nie hoe kan ek sê gewoonlik praat ek met 'n meisie en vra vir haar hoe sy voel oor die saak, maar ek het nog nie met haar beginne praat daaroor nie. (2)

Ons het nie seks gehad of so nie, maar ek het nie gedink sy sal instem nie, want sy is nie so 'n tipe persoon nie, want sy is saggeard en so en as ek miskien vir haar gevra het om seks te hê en so. Ek het geweet ek sal 'n negatiewe antwoord gaan kry so ek is nog nie op daai stadium waar ek kan vir haar vra om seks te hê en so. Dit sal op 'n later stadium plaasvind. Ek het seks gehad met 'n ander meisie, maar daai meisie is 'n mover, dit was nie my meisie nie. Ek het nog nie seks in 'n verhouding gehad nie...en miskien nou as ek 'n verhouding aan het met 'n meisie, want ek het nog nooit 'n verhouding gehad en miskien as ek 'n verhouding het en 'n meisie vra sal ek nou instem om seks te hê, maar dit moet eers ordentlik wees en ek wil weet wat 'n tipe persoon sy is...maar ek sal nie weer vir haar vra en sy sal nie weer vir my vra, want ek sal nie instem daarmee nie. Ek het nou 'n vaste verhouding met 'n meisie en ek voel as ek nou met 'n meisie seks het ek sal voel dis verkeerd wees om sommer met 'n meisie seks te hê, want ek het nou 'n meisie...ek sal nie weer seks hê met die ander meisie. Ek sal liever my kans afwag met my vaste meisie wat ek het. Ek het nie gevoel gehad om seks te hê nie om met iemand anders seks te hê ek wil voel hoe is dit soos die ouens praat hoe lekker dit is en so. Ek wil experience

daarvan hê en nou sal ek weet hoe om, nou het ek experience en ek kan vir haar wys want daai meisie wat ek nou het sy is 'n maagd. Ek voel nie om vir haar te vra nie. Ek sal nou wag tot my meisie gereed is. Dan sal ek sommer seks het, want as ek vir haar vra en sy sê nee dan wil ek nie, dan wil ek nie vir haar fors nie, want as sy sê nee dan bly dit nee. Ek wil nie nog verder daarvoor uitbrei nie dan bly dit dat sy die een is wat so eendag gaan instem. (6)

...en nou kyk ek nog uit vir 'n huweliksmaat. (1)

Die verhouding wat vir my die belangrikste was is die wat die skoon verhouding was. Nee, want dit is die eerste skoon verhouding waar ek hoef nie te worry en oor seks te praat en so. (4)

They even speak of taking less notice of what peers possibly might think of them. The pressure of what peers think is reported as less important. One questions whether this is age maturity or perhaps knowledge gained from own personal experience.

Ja, maar ek het alle stories by die skool stories gehoor. Ja, sy doen nou alle ding, maar ek sal nie worry nie om haar te vra of dit die waarheid is nie, want ek het nie 'n sê oor die saak nie. Ja later sal ek nou miskien by haar uitvind by haar of so. (2)

Ek sal net daar stop as ek saam met 'n meisie en sy wil hê dat ek nie 'n kondoom gebruik. (6)

What has to be remembered is that the respondents all told stories of their first sexual encounters. They tell the story a year or two or even three years later. The story may be adjusted retrospectively or in hindsight. They perhaps tried to justify or give meaning to their behaviour in the past, in order to bring it into line with the behaviour they are currently engaging. In terms of reproductive health guidelines which suggest a preventative approach, it is perhaps too late to gain this knowledge two or three years after first having sexual intercourse. Pregnancy, STDs, HIV can be contracted after one sexual encounter. Lives can be changed dramatically, hearts can be broken and boys and girls can become disillusioned and cynical about their sexuality at a very early age (Maddock, 1997). While the right age, in the right context, and with the right person, sex can be a meaningful experience, the narratives seemed to reflect a feeling of regret. Not one of the respondents shared a narrative in which sex was viewed as being something they were comfortable with having in their lives. The question is why adolescents lose their initial perspective of "sex as an exciting opportunity" and how can they have a healthy positive outlook on their sexuality after having had sexual intercourse?

My understanding of why the boys began to re-cycle or reconstruct their initial constructions of their sexual experiences as being uncontrollable, desirable and valuable, as an opportunity, is that when given the space to explore their feelings around such constructions, namely the

interview in the current study, they were provided with an opportunity to explore and re-construct their understanding of sexuality. What is important, however, is that most adolescent males are never given the space to explore and re-construct their understanding of sexuality in a supportive non-judgemental space and many male adolescents are possibly left with feelings of uncertainty, disappointment, guilt and fear. The options that the respondents are left with seem to be either to revert back to what is known, namely the dominant constructions of sexuality which are prevalent in the social context in which they reside or to live with the discomfort of such emotions. It seems important therefore that contained, supportive and non-judgemental spaces be created for male adolescents to explore and construct their own understanding of sexuality.

CHAPTER SEVEN

In this chapter a brief discussion of the research will be presented. I will focus on what can be learnt from this exploratory study and make suggestions for future studies.

1. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The questionnaire results indicated that the participants in this study engaged in behaviour that put them at risk of contracting STDs, HIV and being involved in unplanned teenage pregnancies. In the quantitative component of the current study it was also found that the respondents began to date at on average fourteen years of age. By on average sixteen years of age, 54,1% of the adolescents in the sample had had at least one experience of sexual intercourse. The mean number of sexual partners was one. The sample can therefore be said to be largely a monogamous group. However, the reality that a male adolescent can contract an STD or HIV infection or make a partner pregnant after just one sexual encounter indicates that the male adolescents in the current study do face the realities of reproductive health issues in their daily lives. In the quantitative component of the study it was also shown that only 26,5 % of the sexually active respondents reported that they always used contraceptives. What was also shown, however, is that 68,3% of the sexually active sample were aware of the benefits of using contraceptives to avoid the risks of pregnancy, STD and HIV infection. It appears therefore that despite awareness of these health risks, the young adolescents continued to engage in unprotected and unsafe sexual practices.

In the qualitative component of this study the adolescents also confirmed the quantitative results which indicated that they begin interacting sexually with members of the opposite sex from on average the age of fourteen and to engage in sexual intercourse, on average from the age of sixteen. In both the quantitative and qualitative results, factors such as curiosity, physiology, peer pressure and partner pressure were identified as motivating factors when “deciding” whether to have sexual intercourse. An awareness of the risk of contracting STDs or HIV or being involved in an unplanned pregnancy and religion were also identified in the qualitative component.

In the qualitative component of the study the way in which coloured adolescents males construct their sexuality, was explored. Male adolescents perceived or understood sexuality as functioning differently for males, females and in public or in the community. In the qualitative analysis, certain predominant themes were identified which reflect the way in which the respondents constructed sexuality.

The respondents constructed male sexuality as uncontrollable. Sex was reported as “just happening” and once sexual intercourse had been experienced, sex was viewed as something that “keeps on happening”. Sexual experience was understood to be a “desirable and valuable” experience. As a result, the respondents reported that they believed that any opportunity to have sex should be utilised. The reason that they believed one should “grab the opportunity” of sexual intercourse was that they “did not want to feel left out” from having the same experiences that they believed their peers were experiencing. They believed that to be accepted it was necessary to prove their manhood and to do this they believed that the traditional stereotype of “real men have sex” should be adhered to.

The respondents also constructed female sexuality in a traditional manner. The belief that “men should be in control” of their female sexual partners and the sexual situation was presented in the narratives. The belief that girls should resist male sexual advances was, however, also expressed. This seems to indicate that male adolescents have an expectation that despite it being important for males to be in control of their female partners and the sexual situation, the female partner should take ultimate control by either permitting or refusing the actual act of sexual intercourse. The respondents held the belief that girls could be categorised according to their previous sexual behaviour. The idea that “there are two types of girls”, those that have sexual intercourse and those that do not have sexual intercourse, was expressed by the respondents. A negative value-judgement was made upon girls who had engaged in sexual intercourse. The boys held the belief that a girl’s “virginity is both a gift and a loss”. Virginity was understood as a gift that girls give to males and yet they also believed that a female felt a tremendous loss after giving the gift of virginity to a male. The respondents also reported that it is “girls” who in fact “rule sex”. The respondents reported that due to the fact that there is a sexual script which is known by both male and

female adolescents, girls are well aware of what the males expect. Therefore, if they do not want to engage in sexual intercourse their female partners would not go along with the script. The respondents held the belief that female adolescents want to engage in sexual intercourse. The respondents also reported, however, that they did not verbally communicate about sexual intercourse with their partners and that in a sexual situation they had to “mind-read girls”. This lack of clear verbal communication of course leads to uncertainty and miscommunication. The difficulty that male adolescents experience in determining who is in control of the sexual intercourse and whether they should engage in intercourse seems to be further sabotaged by the fact that adolescents do not talk to each other clearly about sexual intercourse.

The respondents also positioned these constructions of male and female sexuality, as taking place within a larger community construction of adolescent sexuality. The respondents understood the construction of the community to be that sexual intercourse was viewed as something that “young people should not engage in and that if they did engage in sexual intercourse, no one should know about it”. The respondents reported that the community in which they resided, gossiped about those adolescents who were known to be engaging in sexual intercourse. The belief that “everyone would find out” resulted in the respondents trying to ensure that “sexual activity be kept a secret”. In order to conceal their sexual activity, the respondents only permitted peers to know about their sexual history or experiences (“secrecy and peers”).

The adolescent males also reported experiencing that their engagement in sexual intercourse left them feeling at times “uncertain”, “disappointed”, “guilty and regretful” and “afraid”.

The respondents therefore seem to have a traditional construction of sexuality where sexuality is understood as being externally directed by physiological processes and societal pressures to conform to traditional ways of being. The importance of being seen to be sexually active amongst one’s male peers and female partners was contrasted with the importance of keeping one’s sexual activity a secret in the public world or in a community of adults who are perceived as being disapproving of adolescent sexual activity. The male

adolescents therefore constructed their sexuality external to themselves and as a result, do not own or take responsibility for their sexuality.

What was also shown in the qualitative component of the study, however, was that when given a contained, non-judgemental space to explore sexuality (for example the interview in the current study) adolescent males began to reflect upon, explore and reconstruct their initial constructions of sexuality. The difficulty seems to be that the respondents did not have any alternative constructions to guide them. In the absence of alternatives, the respondents simply reverted back to or began to re-cycle those traditional constructions that are dominant in the communities in which they reside.

2. IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH RESULTS

Having discussed the results of the quantitative and qualitative components of this study, the question which arises is of course: How can these findings or ideas be utilised?

In the narratives it can be seen that the respondents were aware that they were not comfortable with the traditional constructions of sexuality. In the process of exploring their sexuality they struggled to construct their sexuality in a way that their sexuality would be self-owned or self-directed. It is essential, however, that male adolescents construct their sexuality as their own or self-directed. The reason for this is that an external construction of sexuality does not facilitate sexual responsibility. In addition, as long as sexuality is constructed in such a traditional manner and responsibility for sexual activity is not taken, the adolescents will continue to be at risk of contracting STDs and HIV and becoming involved in teenage pregnancy.

A healthier construction of sexuality is needed. In my opinion, a healthier construction of sexuality needs to evolve around the principle of ownership. I believe that male adolescents need to be offered an alternative construction which advocates the idea that "sex is my experience and I am responsible for the way it is and the way it will turn out". This

construction needs to be viewed as an appropriate construction for both male and female adolescent sexuality.

In the qualitative results, it was also shown that whilst the community construction of adolescent sexuality activity was one where sexual intercourse for adolescents was labelled as “wrong”, this did not prevent adolescents from engaging in sexual intercourse. It appears, therefore, that adolescents will ultimately decide for themselves, regardless of the community construction. However, the community construction did influence the adolescents. Their fear of disapproval by adults contributed to their non-use of contraceptive methods as this would perhaps result in exposure. It appears, therefore, that the community’s construction is important in guiding the adolescents to ensure that their individual decision to engage in sexual intercourse be supported by the use of safe sex guidelines.

The question that this raises is, is it possible for adolescents to evolve or adopt alternative, more effective and healthier constructions of sexuality and if so how is this done?

3. POSSIBLE POINTS OF DEPARTURE FOR FUTURE WORK WITH ADOLESCENT COLOURED MALES

In the qualitative component of this study it was shown that the respondents began to explore and re-cycle their initial constructions of sexuality during the interview in the current study. The interviewer was, however, not instructed to facilitate a process of re-construction. He was instructed simply to record the narratives of the respondents. It was shown, however, that the respondents began to explore and alter their initial constructions out of their own initiative. I believe that this indicates that when adolescents are given a contained, safe, non-judgemental and interactional space, the possibility to re-construct healthier constructions of sexuality is created.

What is highlighted by the results of this study is that the leaders, parents and teachers of South Africa have a responsibility to teach young men to begin to view and understand sexual behaviour and sexuality as being self-defined and self-directed. The first step seems to be the

creation of an interactional space. Space where adolescent males can be afforded the time to reflect upon, consider, debate and explore their sexuality in a safe, supportive and informative environment (Biddulph, 1995; White, 1992; Woodcock, Stenner & Ingham, 1992). Adolescents need to form their own unique identity and to do this they must internalise their own sexuality and sexual beliefs (Daniluk, 1993). It is only when this is done that sexual behaviour will begin to be owned by individuals and when individuals will begin to hold themselves accountable and responsible for their own actions.

A major endeavour to bring male adolescents together in small groups in their schools is perhaps a possible starting point. Male adolescents need to be given the time and space to get together to discuss their existing constructions of sexuality and explore the shortcomings of the constructions and in this way begin to evolve alternative constructions.

I believe that it is important to realise that by simply providing adolescents with a new construction or "model", one simply just imposes another message upon them that will still not necessarily be internalised or result in the construction of sexuality that is self-owned, self-directed and responsible. The question does, however, arise as to whether it is possible for adolescents to adopt a healthier construction of sexuality. Adolescents are at a time when identity formation and integration with regard to all facets of their life, must be completed (Erikson, 1968). Adolescents have not yet integrated their biological, psychosocial or cultural "realities" into a stable unique identity. Given the physiological developments and socio-cultural influences which adolescents are attempting to come to terms with, sexual expression in all its forms must be viewed as an integral component of the adolescent process (Maddock, 1997). It is important therefore that we offer our young adolescents the gift of time and space in which such an important aspect of one's general identity can be formed. I believe that it is exactly because of the adolescents being in this developmental stage that they are most suited for, for example workshops where exploration is allowed. As adolescents have not yet adopted a fixed construction of sexuality or pattern of behaviour, I believe that such interactional spaces provide an appropriate way for adolescents to explore and construct their sexual identity. What is important, however, is that the burden to re-construct sexuality in a healthier way, should not be unloaded onto adolescents. It is for the parents, teacher,

Department of Health, Department of Education, health institutions and the bigger system to take responsibility to assist and show adolescents the principles and processes of exploration and re-construction.

From the narratives, one of the most important spaces that need to be opened up seems to be the space between parent and child (Langer & Warheit, 1992). Parents can and should no longer expect or rely on teachers, churches, health care personnel, school peers and the media, namely fashion magazines and television, to inform and influence the way in which their children construct their sexuality. The information that adolescents are receiving from adults is not sufficient. Adolescents have to make decisions about sexual intercourse on their own in the dark in their bedrooms or on the dance-floor at parties. Parents are not discussing or exploring sexuality with their children and adolescents therefore have no practice in communicating or discussing the risks of sexual intercourse with their sexual partners as a couple before making the decision to engage in sexual intercourse. The reality is, however, that there are many parents who themselves have passed through adolescence and yet still struggle to form an acceptable sexual identity for themselves. It appears, therefore, that we need to also guide and assist parents in educating their children to find an appropriate way of constructing sexuality. Perhaps, one needs to start by bringing people from all the different strata of the community together. The message that parents perhaps have to send their children is "your sexuality is your own, let me help you make it a good experience".

To address these issues what is also required is a re-defining, re-positioning and re-alignment of the conflicting value systems that are to be found in the various institutions that make up the social context in which these adolescent males function, for example, the church, the school and the clinic (Maddock, 1997).

Finally, what I believe is imperative is that sexuality be understood as more than just a biological or physiological process but also in terms of a broader psychosocial and cultural context (Buysse & Oost, 1997; Daniluk, 1993; Downs & Hillje, 1993; Guggino & Ponzetti, 1997; Langer & Warheit, 1992; Peplau & Hammen, 1977).

4. A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE STUDY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES

A social constructionist qualitative theoretical framework was the starting point of the current study, and quantitative criteria like representativeness is not viewed as an appropriate measure or criterion to be met. However, given that I, the researcher, have been schooled in a tradition of positivist psychology where representativeness is viewed as being of great importance, I feel compelled to emphasise my awareness of the lack of “scientific” representativeness in the current study.

4.1 The sample

This study formed part of a research project that was initiated in three schools in the surrounding rural areas of Stellenbosch. I made a decision to continue research work in these schools. The sample group could therefore be described as a convenient or self-selected sample. As a result, the sample were not representative of the population of all coloured male adolescents between the age of sixteen and nineteen attending a secondary school in the rural areas surrounding Stellenbosch. The advantage was, however, that by implementing the questionnaires at these schools a relatively homogeneous sample group was ensured.

Due to the fact that the study was conducted with minors on a voluntary basis, legislative requirements hampered a trouble-free implementation of the research methods. I initially planned to implement the research earlier in the academic year when there would be more flexibility in the school class schedule. This, however, was not possible, as I had to receive consent from various university and school committees and boards throughout the different stages of the research. In the end I only received permission to conduct the research after many months. The reason for this was that there are various ethical and legislative procedures that need to be considered when research concerning sexuality is conducted with minors. Future researchers should not underplay the “controversial” nature that sexuality research and sex education still hold in certain sectors of the community. It is suggested also, that implementation of research take place during school hours, so as to increase volunteer

participation. Future studies should look more closely at acquiring permission from all authorities as soon as possible and to implement the study as early in the school year as possible.

The focus of this study was on traditionally coloured adolescents from rural communities. The study was not intended to be statistically representative of all secondary school students but rather to represent important variables such as language, population and age groups, gender as well as location. Future studies conducted with adolescents from other racial groups and more "urban" communities could be conducted in order to gain an understanding of male sexuality in other socially cultural unique groups.

4.2 Sample size

A limitation of the study was that only seven adolescents finally consented and arrived to be interviewed and in addition these participants were all recruited from only one school. These adolescents cannot be considered representative of the entire sample nor the population of coloured male adolescents between sixteen and nineteen attending secondary schools in the traditionally coloured and rural areas surrounding Stellenbosch. The possibility of using incentives could be considered but this would in turn introduce factors such as volunteer bias. Riessman (1993) is of the opinion however that it is not sample size that ensures quality of research and that many theories have been developed and based upon research conducted with individuals and very small samples. According to Huysamen (1994), theories developed by Freud and Piaget, were based mainly on single case study designs. I do, however, plan to conduct further interviews beyond this study.

4.3 The questionnaire

In retrospect, I realise that the questionnaire should have been altered in a few ways. Firstly the questionnaire was not homosexually- or bisexually- "friendly". Instead of phrasing questions in terms of girls and girlfriends, the questions should have made use of gender-free words for example "iemand" instead of "meisie". Given the socially cultural norm in the community of this study, being one where homosexuality is not indiscriminately accepted, I incorrectly assumed that the sexual relationships would be heterosexual and did not leave place for participants to indicate that they had had homosexual encounters or that they were either homosexual or bisexual. Although it is unlikely that this omission affected the results, as the community in which the research was conducted is traditionally characterised by heterosexual-only behaviour and none of the participants showed difficulty in answering the questions it is still imperative that future studies be sensitive to homosexual or bi-sexual sexual behaviour. In the study conducted in the Cape Peninsula 1,4% of the sample indicated that they had engaged in anal intercourse (Flisher et al., 1993). The study however did not request participants to indicate their sexual orientation and so I could not determine the role that possible homosexual male adolescents played in that study in order to comment on how possible homosexual male adolescents might have effected the results of this study. I believe that an investigation into homosexuality and male homosexual practices in coloured rural communities could be an exciting development of the present study.

In addition, questions exploring dating behaviour could have been defined more clearly as the words "uitgaan met 'n meisie" left room for multiple interpretations.

Despite these limitations, the questionnaires enabled me to look at male sexuality from a different lens or angle. I was able to capture frequencies of and sexual behaviour trends of adolescent males from rural and traditionally coloured communities. It has provided an overview of what is happening sexually in the lives of these adolescents, which has not been documented before. The questionnaires enabled me to ascertain whether the communities that were researched were indeed engaging in behaviour which puts them at risk of contracting STDs, HIV and being involved in unplanned teenage pregnancies.

In addition, the questionnaire provided a complementary balance to the qualitative component of the study. Any misunderstandings in the questionnaire could be explored in the in-depth interviews. For example 50% of the sample said that they had never experienced sexual fantasies and this of course reflects either a misunderstanding of the question, a possible halo-effect or perhaps some other issues that would need to be explored further before we could speak with certainty about the existence of sexual fantasy in the lives of adolescent males. The questionnaire therefore highlighted areas that needed to be explored further or zoomed in on, during the interviews. The use of multiple methods of data collection is highly recommended.

If one looks at the sexual experiences that were reported by the participants in the qualitative component of this study, it becomes clear that quantitative studies alone do not capture the social and cultural context in which such sexual behaviour is initiated and constructed. A statistic that indicates that 54,2% of the sample had experienced sexual intercourse does not provide me with a complete understanding of sexual intercourse experiences of coloured male adolescents living in rural areas in the Stellenbosch area. Each of the participants in the qualitative component of this study experienced sexual intercourse under different circumstances. One of the participants' first experience of sexual intercourse took place in a group sex context which finally resulted in sexual behaviour which can legally be interpreted as rape. Another participant reported his first sexual experience as being one where an older female seduced him, another participant had sexual intercourse with a girl outside at a school disco, another participant with a steady girlfriend who consented to being sexually active. It is therefore clear that one cannot interpret statistics as being applicable for all individuals or all communities. The social constructionist paradigm and grounded theory in particular provided the most appropriate method and approach to understanding sexuality, which is ultimately uniquely constructed by the individual from within the individual's unique social context.

The grounded theory method allowed me to acknowledge the uniqueness of each of the research participants, to remain as close as possible to the research participants unique experience and construction as well as acknowledge and consider the role that I as the researcher play in co-constructing the meaning of sexuality for coloured male adolescents

living in a rural community in the Stellenbosch area. A social constructionist and grounded theory approach therefore seems to be imperative to conduct explorative studies in the field of sexuality.

5. CONCLUSION

In part, this study supports research that attempts to gain a greater understanding of a growing trend toward the deconstruction of stereotyped notions about gender and power relations in sexual interactions (O'Sullivan et al., 1998). This research study was conducted for a first-attempt post-graduate study and as a result, has many omissions and errors. However, this study and future studies similar to the present study, are extremely relevant in providing adolescent males from traditionally coloured and rural communities with the space and time to respond and to voice their opinions on sexuality in a non-judgemental way. Future studies that allow male adolescents and males in general to articulate sexuality without the fear of exposure and evaluation, should be encouraged.

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM - QUESTIONNAIRE

INLIGTINGS- EN TOESTEMMINGSVORM

Liewe deelnemer:

Ek is besig met 'n navorsingprojek. Ek is 'n finalejaar sielkunde student by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch en hierdie die navorsingsprojek is deel van my kursus. Ek wil jou nooit om deel te neem aan my navorsingprojek. Die navorsingprojek gaan oor die gedrag van tieners en veral die gedrag van jong mans in seksuele verhoudings met meisies. Ek besef dat dit 'n sensitiewe onderwerp is en dat 'n mens sulke inligting privaat wil hou. As jy verderaan lees, sal jy sien dat ek sal seker maak dat jou inligting vertroulik bly.

Ek soek soveel as moontlik mense wat ouer as sestien is om 'n vraelys te voltooi, en tussen tien en twintig mense om 'n onderhoud met my te voer oor hierdie onderwerpe.

Geen name van die deelnemers sal in die werkstuk wat ek oor hierdie onderwerpe moet skryf, gebruik of bekend gemaak word nie.

As jy bereid is om deel te neem aan my projek sal die volgende van jou verwag word:

1. Om 'n vraelys te voltooi. Jy sal nie jou naam op die vraelys hoef te sit nie. Ek sal na jou skool toe kom en jy sal die vraelys by die skool kan voltooi. Nadat jy die vraelys voltooi het, sal dit by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch toegesluit word en ek sal die enigste persoon wees wat toegang tot die vraelyste het. Dit sal omtrent 'n half-uur neem om die vraelys te voltooi.
2. Ek sal ook op die vraelys vir jou vra of jy bereid is om deel te neem aan 'n onderhoud met 'n manlike student wat my met my navorsing help. Hierdie onderhoud sal met 'n bandopnemer op band opgeneem word. Hierdie onderhoud sal in 'n kamer by die departement van sielkunde by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch plaasvind, maar net jy en die manlike student wat my help sal teenwoordig wees en niemand anders sal weet waaroor julle praat nie. Jy hoef nie aan die student jou naam te verstrek nie en jy kan vir jouself enige naam noem as jy dit verkies. Hierdie onderhoud sal na skool, op enige dag wat vir jou pas, gevoer word. Die onderhoud sal deur 'n jong manlike sielkunde student gevoer word. Hierdie student het alreeds sy graad in maatskaplike werk en studeer ook sielkunde op die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Ek sal die enigste persoon wees wat na die band van die onderhoud luister, en omdat ek nie by die onderhoud sal wees nie, sal ek nie weet wie jy is nie.
3. As jy net die vraelys wil voltooi en nie aan die onderhoud wil deelneem nie, moet jy net op die vraelys NEE antwoord wanneer jy gevra word of jy wil vir die onderhoud kom of nie.

4. As jy JA antwoord sal die tyd en plek van die onderhoud met jou gereël word. Die onderhoud sal nie langer as 'n uur duur nie. Vervoer huistoe sal vir jou gereël word as jy dit benodig. Gedurende die onderhoud sal jy gevra word om met die student oor seksualiteit en verhoudings te praat.

Ek vertrou dat die vrae in die vraelys en die onderhoud vir jou interessant en behulpsaam sal wees. Dit is moontlik dat van die vrae vir jou ongemaklik sal maak en dat sommige vrae persoonlik van aard gaan wees. Jy is nie verplig om te antwoord nie en kan enige tyd weier om die vrae te beantwoord.

As jy na die onderhoud voel dat jy met iemand wil praat oor iets wat in die onderhoud vir jou gepla het, kan jy gerus een van die volgende nommers skakel:

Stellenbosch Hospitaal, Voorligtingsdienste: (021) 8877913

Me E. Lesch: (021) 8083466

As dit as gevolg van die onderhoud aan die lig kom dat jy op enige manier in jou gesin mishandel word, is die student wat die onderhoud met jou voer deur die reg verplig om dit met jou te bespreek, en julle sal dan saam moet besluit wie die beste persoon sal wees om in te lig oor die situasie en watter stappe geneem moet word.

Ek onderneem dat:

1. Al het jy die toestemmings brief geteken, kan jy ter enige tyd weier om 'n vraag te beantwoord of om verder deel te neem aan die navorsingsprojek.
2. Die enigste manier waarop ek vir jou sal kan kontak is deur middel van 'n nommer wat op die vraelys sal wees. Jy sal gevra word om hierdie nommer te behou en veilig te bewaar.
3. Ek sal die enigste mens wees wat hierdie nommers weet.
4. Die nommers, die vraelyste en die band waarop die onderhoud opgeneem is, in 'n veilige plek toegesluit sal wees.
5. Ek die enigste persoon sal wees wat toegang tot bogenoemde items het.
6. Na afhandeling van die projek sal 'n afskrif van die werkstuk wat ek gaan skryf aan jou beskikbaar gestel sal word.

As jy nou alles gelees het, en bereid is om deel te neem aan die navorsingsprojek, al wil jy slegs die vraelys voltooi en nog onseker is oor die onderhoud, kan jy die volgende vorm lees en invul.

Baie dankie !!

TOESTEMMINGS-DOKUMENT:**Verklaring deur deelnemer:**

Ek, die ondergetekende,

van

..... (Adres).

A. Ek bevestig dat:

1. Ek uitgenooi is om deel te neem aan bogemelde navorsingsprojek wat deur die navorser onderneem word.
2. Die doel en aard en die prosedures van die projek aan my verduidelik is.
3. Die hoeveelheid mense wat betrek gaan word sowel as die hoeveelheid ure wat van my verwag sal word, aan my bekend gemaak is.
4. Ek gewaarsku is dat sommige van die vrae dalk ongemaklik of persoonlik van aard gaan wees. Ek meegedeel is dat die inligting wat ingewin word as vertroulik en anoniem behandel sal word, maar wel vir 'n Meestersgraad tesis in Kliniese sielkunde, aangewend sal word.
5. Na afhandeling van die projek 'n afskrif van die navorsing aan my beskikbaar gestel sal word.
6. Ek meegedeel is dat ek mag weier om deel te neem aan hierdie projek asook deelname daaraan mag staak, en dat enige sodanige weiering of staking nie op enige manier my sal benadeel nie. Ek verstaan ook dat die navorser my van die projek mag onttrek indien dit in my belang geag word deur hom/haar.
7. Ek gewaarsku is dat as enige inligting na vore kom, wat die navorser laat bewus word van mishandeling binne in die huis, of die familie of deur iemand anders, dat die navorser verplig is deur die reg om saam met my daaroor te praat en te laat besluit wie die mees toepaslike persoon sal wees om hiervan te laat weet.
8. Ek die inligting wat hierbo weergegee is verstaan het, en dat ek die geleentheid gegee is om vrae te vra en dat al my vrae bevredigend beantwoord was.

9. Daar geen dwang op my geplaas is om toe te stem tot my deelname aan hierdie projek nie en dat ek beseft dat ek deelname te enige tyd mag staak sonder enige penalisasie.

10. Deelname aan die projek geen addisionele koste vir my inhou nie.

B. Ek stem vrywillig in om deel te neem aan die bogenemde projek.

Geteken te op 1998.

.....

(HANDTEKENING)

(GETUIE)

VERKLARING DEUR OF NAMENS NAVORSER:

Ek,, verklaar dat ek :

1. Die inligting vervat in hierdie dokument aan die deelnemer, verduidelik het;
2. Hom/haar versoek het om vrae aan my te stel indien daar enigiets onduidelik was;
3. Dat hierdie gesprek in Afrikaans plaasgevind het en dat geen tolk gebruik is nie.

Mnr/ Me

Geteken te op 1998.

.....

(HANDTEKENING)

(GETUIE)

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM – INTERVIEW

INLIGTINGS- EN TOESTEMMINGSVORM

Liewe deelnemer:

Dankie dat jy die vraelys voltooi het. Soos julle weet, ek is 'n finalejaar sielkunde student by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch en hierdie navorsingsprojek is deel van my kursus. Ek wil jou nooi om verder deel te neem aan my navorsingprojek. Die navorsingprojek gaan oor die gedrag van tieners en veral die gedrag van jong mans in seksuele verhoudings met meisies. Ek besef dat dit 'n sensitiewe onderwerp is en dat 'n mens sulke inligting privaat wil hou. As jy verderaan lees, sal jy sien dat ek sal seker maak dat jou inligting vertroulik bly.

Ek soek tussen tien en twintig mense om 'n onderhoud met my te voer oor hierdie onderwerpe.

Geen name van die deelnemers sal in die werkstuk wat ek oor hierdie onderwerpe moet skryf, gebruik of bekend gemaak word nie.

As jy bereid is om verder deel te neem aan my projek sal die volgende van jou verwag word:

1. Om 'n onderhoud met 'n jong manlike student wat my met my navorsing help, te voer.

Die onderhoud sal met 'n bandopnemer op band opgeneem word. Hierdie onderhoud sal in 'n kamer by die Departement van Sielkunde by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch plaasvind, jy en die manlike student sal teenwoordig wees en niemand anders sal weet waaroor julle praat nie. Jy hoef nie aan die student jou naam te verstrek nie en jy kan vir jouself enige naam noem as jy dit verkies. Hierdie onderhoud sal na skool, op enige dag wat vir jou pas, gevoer word.

Die student het alreeds sy graad in maatskaplike werk en studeer ook sielkunde op die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Ek sal die enigste persoon wees wat na die band van die onderhoud luister, en omdat ek nie by die onderhoud sal wees nie, sal ek nie weet wie jy is nie.

Die tyd en plek van die onderhoud sal met jou gereël word. Die onderhoud sal nie langer as 'n uur duur nie. Vervoer huistoe sal vir jou gereël word as jy dit benodig. Gedurende die onderhoud sal jy gevra word om met die student oor seksualiteit en verhoudings te praat.

Ek vertrou dat die onderhoud vir jou interessant en behulpzaam sal wees. Dit is moontlik dat van die vrae vir jou ongemaklik sal maak en dat sommige vrae persoonlik van aard gaan wees. Jy is nie verplig om te antwoord nie en kan enige tyd weier om die vrae te beantwoord.

As jy na die onderhoud voel dat jy met iemand wil praat oor iets wat in die onderhoud vir jou gepla het, kan jy gerus een van die volgende nommers skakel:

Stellenbosch Hospitaal, Voorligtingsdienste – (021) 8877913

Me E. Lesch – (021) 8083466

As dit as gevolg van die onderhoud aan die lig kom dat jy op enige manier in jou gesin mishandel word, is die student wat die onderhoud met jou voer deur die reg verplig om dit met jou te bespreek, en julle sal dan saam moet besluit wie die beste persoon sal wees om in te lig oor die situasie en watter stappe geneem moet word.

Ek onderneem dat:

1. Al het jy die toestemmingsbrief geteken, kan jy ter enige tyd weier om 'n vraag te beantwoord of om verder deel te neem aan die navorsingsprojek.
2. Die enigste manier waarop ek vir jou sal kan kontak is deur middel van die nommer wat op die vraelys was. Jy sal gevra word om hierdie nommer te behou en veilig te bewaar.
3. Ek sal die enigste mens wees wat hierdie nommers weet.
4. Die nommers, die vraelyste en die band waarop die onderhoud opgeneem is, in 'n veilige plek toegesluit sal wees.
5. Ek die enigste persoon sal wees wat toegang tot bogenoemde items het.
6. Na afhandeling van die projek sal 'n afskrif van die werkstuk wat ek gaan skryf aan jou beskikbaar gestel sal word.

As jy nou alles gelees het, en bereid is om verder deel te neem aan die navorsingsprojek, kan jy die volgende vorm lees en invul.

Baie dankie !!

TOESTEMMINGS-DOKUMENT:**Verklaring deur deelnemer:**

Ek, die ondergetekende,

van

..... (Adres).

A. Ek bevestig dat :

1. Ek uitgenooi is om deel te neem aan bogemelde navorsingsprojek wat deur die navorser onderneem word.
2. Die doel en aard en die prosedures van die projek aan my verduidelik is.
3. Die hoeveelheid mense wat betrek gaan word sowel as die hoeveelheid ure wat van my verwag sal word, aan my bekend gemaak is.
4. Ek gewaarsku is dat sommige van die vrae dalk ongemaklik of persoonlik van aard gaan wees.
5. Ek meegedeel is dat die inligting wat ingewin word as vertroulik en anoniem behandel sal word, maar wel vir 'n Meestersgraad tesis in Kliniese sielkunde, aangewend sal word.
6. Na afhandeling van die projek 'n afskrif van die navorsing aan my beskikbaar gestel sal word.
7. Ek meegedeel is dat ek mag weier om deel te neem aan hierdie projek asook deelname daaraan mag staak, en dat enige sodanige weiering of staking nie op enige manier my sal benadeel nie. Ek verstaan ook dat die navorser my van die projek mag onttrek indien dit in my belang geag word deur hom/haar.
8. Ek gewaarskuis dat as enige inligting na vore kom, wat die navorser laat bewus word van mishandeling binne in die huis, of die familie of deur iemand anders, dat die navorser verplig is deur die reg om saam met my daaroor te praat en te laat besluit wie die mees toepaslike persoon sal wees om hiervan te laat weet.
9. Ek die inligting wat hierbo weergegee is, verstaan het, en dat ek die geleentheid gegee is om vrae te vra en dat al my vrae bevredigend beantwoord was.

10. Daar geen dwang op my geplaas is om toe te stem tot my deelname aan hierdie projek nie en dat ek beseft dat ek deelname te enige tyd mag staak sonder enige penalisasie.

11. Deelname aan die projek geen addisionele koste vir my inhoud nie.

B. Ek stem vrywillig in om deel te neem aan die bogenemde projek.

Geteken te op 1998.

.....

(HANDTEKENING)

(GETUIE)

VERKLARING DEUR OF NAMENS NAVORSER:

Ek,, verklaar dat ek :

1. Die inligting vervat in hierdie dokument aan die deelnemer, verduidelik het;
2. Hom/haar versoek het om vrae aan my te stel indien daar enigiets onduidelik was;
3. Dat hierdie gesprek in Afrikaans plaasgevind het en dat geen tolk gebruik is nie.

Mnr/ Me

Geteken te op 1998.

.....

(HANDTEKENING)

(GETUIE)

APPENDIX C – QUESTIONNAIRE

NOMMER: _____

This questionnaire is based on standard sexual behaviour questionnaires designed by De Gaston, Weed and Jensen, 1996 and Lief, Fullard and Devlin, 1990.

DIE INHOUD VAN HIERDIE VRAELYS SAL AS ANONIEM EN VERTROULIK BESKOU WORD.

Antwoord asseblief al die vrae.

1. Hoe oud is jy? _____
2. In watter standerd is jy tans? _____
3. In watter buurt woon jy? _____
4. Hoeveel mense bly in jou huis? _____
5. Hoeveel kamers is daar binne in jou huis? _____
6. Hoeveel slaapkamers is daar binne in jou huis? _____
7. Het julle 'n badkamer binne in jou huis?

(Merk asseblief die blokkie by die antwoord wat op jou van toepassing is.)

- JA
 NEE

8. Het julle elektrisiteit in jou huis?

- JA
 NEE

9. Hoeveel broers en susters het jy? _____

10. Bly jou ma in die huis?

- JA
 NEE

11. Bly jou pa in die huis?

- JA
 NEE

12. Werk jou ma?

- JA
 NEE

13. Indien jy JA geantwoord het, watter soort werk doen sy? _____

14. Werk jou pa?

- JA
 NEE

15. Indien jy JA geantwoord het, watter soort werk doen jou pa? _____

16. Werk jy?

- JA
 NEE

17. Indien jy JA geantwoord het, watter tipe werk doen jy? _____

18. Hoe oud was jy toe jy die eerste keer met 'n meisie uitgegaan het? _____

19. Wat beteken die woorde seksuele omgang vir jou? (Wat verstaan jy daar onder?)

20. Wat is die woord wat jy self daarvoor gebruik?

_____.

21. Wie was die persoon wat vir jou die belangrikste seksuele inligting gegee het? _____

22. Het jy al ooit seksuele omgang gehad?

(Merk asseblief die blokkie by die antwoord wat op jou van toepassing is.)

- JA
 NEE

23. Indien ja, hoe oud was jy toe jy die eerste keer seksuele omgang gehad het? _____.

24. Hoeveel keer het jy al seksuele omgang gehad? _____.

25. Wanneer het jy die laaste keer seksuele omgang gehad? _____.

26. Is jy al ooit gedwing om teen jou wil seksuele omgang te hê?

- JA
- NEE

27. Het jy al ooit iemand gedwing om seksuele omgang teen hulle wil met jou te hê?

(Ek is bewus dat hierdie vraag sensitief mag wees, maar onthou dat al jou antwoorde anoniem is en as vertroulik beskou sal word.)

- JA
- NEE

28. Indien jy nog nooit seksuele omgang gehad het, waarom nie?

29. Indien jy al seksuele omgang gehad het, wat het jou die eerste keer laat besluit om seksuele omgang te hê?

30. Wat is 'n voorbehoedmiddel?

31. Watter voorbehoedmiddel glo jy werk die beste?

32. Hoekom?

33. Indien jy al seksuele omgang gehad het, het jy voor die tyd die gebruik van voorbehoedmiddels met jou maat bespreek?

- Hierdie vraag is nie op my van toepassing nie.
- JA
- NEE

34. Wie dink jy behoort te sorg vir voorbehoeding wanneer 'n man en 'n vrou seksuele omgang hê?

35. Indien jy al seksuele omgang gehad het, watter vorm van voorbehoedmiddels het jy of jou maat in die verlede van gebruik gemaak?

36. Indien jy al seksuele omgang gehad het, hoe dikwels gebruik jy enige vorm van voorbehoedmiddel?

- Hierdie vraag is nie op my van toepassing nie.
- Nooit
- Somtyds
- Meestal
- Altyd

37. Indien jy Nooit/ Somtyds geantwoord het, waarom gebruik jy Nooit/ Somtyds 'n vorm van voorbehoedmiddel?

38. Indien jy Meestal / Altyd geantwoord het, waarom gebruik jy Meestal/ Altyd 'n vorm van voorbehoedmiddel?

39. Hoe dikwels gebruik jy kondome?

- Nooit
- Somtyds
- Meestal
- Altyd

40. Het jy al ooit 'n meisie swanger gemaak?

- JA
- NEE

41. Indien jy JA geantwoord het, wat het met die baba gebeur?

- Hierdie vraag is nie op my van toepassing nie.
- Aborsie
- Aanneming
- Miskraam
- Het die baba gehad.

42. Tydens die afgelope jaar, met hoeveel verskillende mense het jy seksuele omgang gehad? _____

43. Met hoeveel mense het jy al seksuele omgang gehad? _____

44. Het jy al ooit seksuele omgang gehad?

- JA
- NEE

45. Het jy al seksuele omgang gehad met 'n meisie van wie jy glad nie gehou het nie net sodat jy seksuele omgang kon hê?

- JA
- NEE

46. Het dit al ooit met jou gebeur dat jy seksuele omgang met 'n meisie wou hê, maar dat sy nie wou nie?

- JA
- NEE

47. Indien jy JA geantwoord het, beskryf asseblief hoe jy in hierdie situasie opgetree het?

51. Hoe gereeld het jy die volgende ondervinding tydens die laaste drie maande gehad?

(Merk asseblief die blokkie by die antwoord wat op jou van toepassing is.)

	NOOIT	TEN MINSTE EEN KEER PER MAAND	TEN MINSTE EEN KEER PER WEEK	DAAGLIKS
Uitgaan met 'n meisie				
Uitgaan met 'n groep vriende				
Soen				
Vryery				
Orale seks				
Seksuele omgang				
Masturbasie alleen				
Masturbasie met vriende				
'n Pornografiese vliek gekyk				
'n Pornografiese tydskrif bekyk				
Gesels met 'n meisie oor seks				
Gesels met 'n meisie oor voorbehoed-middels				
Iemand dwing om met jou seksuele omgang te hê				
Seksuele fantasieë				

52. Sal jy bereid wees, om na skool alleen met die navorser te praat op die voorwaarde dat alles as vertroulik beskou sal word? (Vervoer huis toe, sal vir jou gereël word.)

- JA
 NEE

APPENDIX D– INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

TENTATIVE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE:

(The duration of the interview will be approximately forty minutes to an hour.)

1. The interviewer will reassure the interviewee that the content of the interview will remain both anonymous and confidential. The interviewee will not have to tell the interviewer his true name and will be given the opportunity to decide upon a codename to be used throughout the interview if he so wishes. The interviewer will also remind the interviewee that at any time the interviewee is free to decline to answer any of the questions or to terminate the interview.
2. The interviewer will then request permission, once again to audiotape the interview.
3. The interviewer will then work through the interviewees previously completed questionnaire, with the interviewee. The interviewer will check to see that the interviewee understood the questions and will ask the interviewee to begin by explaining some of his responses to the interviewer.
4. Once the questionnaire has been discussed, the interviewer will pose open-ended questions to the interviewee in order to elicit a narrative from the interviewee, where the interviewees constructions of sexuality and sexual behaviour, will be explored.
5. Riessman (1987,1993) suggests that the interview remain as unstructured as possible and that approximately five open-ended questions be prepared as cues for the interviewer to use during the interview in order to elicit a narrative from the interviewee.

Possible cue questions:

1. Could you tell me, in your own words, about the first time you asked a girl out?
2. Tell me in your own words, the story of you and your girlfriend? How did you meet?
3. Tell me about the first time you decided to have sex with a girl, tell me about that time in your own words?
4. In your own words, tell me about your relationship with a girl you have had sex with, it needn't be your girlfriend now nor the first girl you had sex with, just tell me about how you came to have sex with one of or the one girl that you have had sex with?
5. In your own words tell me about any relationship that you have had with a girl that you consider to have been important in your life. Perhaps a relationship that was quite serious or a relationship that has meant a lot to you?

These questions will be translated into Afrikaans by the interviewer and into his own words. They will serve as guideline questions that he can pose to the interviewee.

6. Once the interview has been completed, the interviewer will thank the interviewee and once again reassure him of the anonymous and confidential nature of the interview. In addition, the interviewer will provide the interviewee with telephone numbers which the interviewee can use if he should feel that he would like to talk to someone about something that was raised during the course of the interview that is worrying or disturbing him.

APPENDIX E– QUALITATIVE CODES AND THEMES

Consent vs coercion > friends, >peers, >media etc
 Need to be male, need to do what peers do, need to do what men do
 Girls must be girls..., girls must not be...
 We all know it is wrong but > God, >parents, >teachers, > clinics, TV
 Keep a secret vs shame when out >gossip, reputation
 Pressure from friends, girls, teachers, parents, church, media, God, gossip
 Discovery, exploring
 Experience
 Curiosity
 Knowing better, knowing the risks
 Justify, defend, condemn
 Teenage pregnancy, HIV is the enemy
 As long as do not fall pregnant, HIV, get found out
 Double Standards
 Certain girls
 Individual knowledge vs pressure
 I couldn't control myself
 It just happened
 Girls are supposed to stop me
 She started so it is okay for me
 Parents were not there
 Sex with certain girls, relationships with others
 Friends get told only certain parts of the story
 Boys speak amongst themselves, girls gossip
 Responsibility for girl
 Girl responsible for green light
 Hormones
 She loves me
 I love her
 Only someone special
 Gift of virginity = love
 Girls are manipulating
 Girls want sex too
 Girls know what they are doing
 Girls are not that innocent
 Must be seen as a man
 Men must be more experienced than girls
 Sex is scary
 Sex can be anxiety provoking
 Sex can be a mistake
 Guilt
 Sex is not easy to negotiate
 Sex is hard to say no to
 Sex is a habit

Men are sexist, girls are good
Sex is dirty
Marry a virgin
Girls must be charmed
Sex is a physical not an intellectual decision
She might not say yes again
Sex is an opportunity / pot of gold
Available sex is unpredictable – grab your chance
Sex is a way to become a man
Sex is a way to be seen as popular
Fear of exposure
Sex is meaningful for girls
Sex happens to you, you do not create it – external
I'm a victim of my body
I didn't force her
Sex is not what I expected
Sex is not what they said it would be
Sex takes place in certain places
Sex takes place according to a script
Everyone knows the rules
Parents will be disappointed
Didn't know about these emotions
Difficulty communicating real thoughts
Difficulty putting own will or needs above script / peers
Condoms are not reliable
Entry into adult club
Entry into male club
Time of life = adolescence
Avoiding responsibility
Men on the defence
Secrecy versus shame
Sex =
Scripts / Rules of the game for each gender
Individual versus group/public exposure

MALE CONSTRUCTIONS

FEMALE CONSTRUCTIONS

COMMUNITY CONSTRUCTIONS

EXPERIENCE

RE-CONSTRUCTING / RE-CYCLING