

Chapter 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter consists of two sections. The findings from the school survey are presented in the first section, followed by the findings from the focus group discussions as well as a discussion of the study results.

5.1 Survey findings

The survey findings are presented in four sections. The first section consists of a description of the sociodemographic characteristics of the survey sample, as well as the sociodemographic characteristics of the sexually experienced female and male learners, their dating behaviour, and the characteristics of their dating partners. In the second section the findings on the prevalence of sexual coercion in dating relationships, alcohol use and high risk sexual behaviours are presented and compared for sexually experienced female and male learners. Victim/perpetrator differences in the acceptability of sexual coercion in dating, alcohol use, and high risk sexual behaviour for female and male learners are present in the third section. Results of the CHAID analysis examining the explanatory variables of learners' high risk sexual behaviour are provided in the final section of the survey findings.

5.1.1 Description of the survey sample

5.1.1.1 Sociodemographic characteristics

A total of 928 learners (494 females and 434 males) participated in the survey. The average age for female participants was 16.27 (SD=1.47) years ranging from 13 to 21 years. The male participants were slightly older than the females, with an average age of 16.84 years (SD=1.64) ranging from 14 to 23 years. Approximately two thirds of the learners were in the lower grades 9 and 10 (69.6% of the females and 63.6% of the males (see Table 5.1). The lower proportion of learners in grade 11 and 12 is a reflection of the high level of adolescents who tend to drop out of school and do not complete their education. Afrikaans speaking learners consisted of the largest group of respondents (48.9% of the females and 50.6% of the males). Just over a quarter of the learners were English speaking (25.3% of the females and

26.2% of the males), and another 12% of the females and 10.1% of the males were Zulu speaking. The other home languages reported by around 13% of the females and males were Tswana, Southern and Northern Sotho, Xhosa, Tsonga, and Venda. The majority of female (72.2%) and male (73.4%) respondents resided in Eldorado Park, and then in Soweto (21.4% of the female and 19.5% of the male learners). A minority of learners lived in other areas covering a wide geographical range from neighbouring suburbs and informal settlements to suburbs in central Johannesburg. Most (more than 80%) of learners indicated that they lived in a house, whilst comparatively fewer reported living in a flat (14.5% of the female and 10.2% of the male respondents). This finding is consistent with the nature of the Eldorado Park area which is dominated by small, low-cost, formal, brick housing, and in a few areas council owned apartment blocks. A very small proportion of the learners reported living in a shack (2.2% of the females and 3.5% of the males) and are likely to reside in the nearby informal settlements. The low percentage of learners from the informal settlements can probably be attributed to the selective nature of schools which typically only admit young people who reside in the area of the school. Therefore, youth from nearby informal settlements are likely to experience difficulties in gaining entry to schools within Eldorado Park.

5.1.1.2 Sociodemographic characteristics of the sexually experienced learners

The results reveal that most of the learners surveyed reported they had not yet engaged in sexual intercourse. Of the 928 learners who participated in the survey, just over a third (37.6%, n=349) reported ever having sex. With respect to gender, of the 494 females who participated in the survey, just under a quarter (23.5%, n=116) reported ever having sex. Of the 434 male respondents, just over half (53.7%, n=233) reported ever having engaged in sexual intercourse. In this respect, significantly more of the male learners (53.7%) reported having sexual intercourse than the female learners (23.5%) ($\chi^2[1, N=928] = 89.829, p = .000$).

Among the female learners, there were notable differences between the sexually experienced group and the sexually non-experienced group. For instance, female learners who reported ever having sex were significantly older than those female learners who reported they had not ever engaged in sex. The mean age for sexually experienced female respondents was 17.27 years (SD=1.43) compared to 15.96 years (SD=1.34) for the sexually non-experienced female

respondents ($t=-9.011$, $df=488$, $p=.000$). In line with this finding, more of the sexually experienced female learners were in the higher grades than the non-experienced female learners. For example, 40.5% of the females who reported ever having sex were in grades 11 and 12 compared to 27% of the female learners who reported never having sex (see Table 5.1).

Differences were also noted among the sexually experienced and sexually non-experienced female learners with respect to language and residential area. For example, there was a lower proportion of Afrikaans and English speaking learners among the sexually experienced females than the non-experienced females (43.1% compared to 50.7% for the Afrikaans speaking, and 16.4% compared to 28% for the English speaking female respondents, respectively) (see Table 5.1). Conversely, there was a higher proportion of Zulu and other language speaking females in the sexually experienced group than in the sexually non-experienced group (23.3% compared to 8.5% of the Zulu speaking, and 17.2% compared to 12.8% of the other language speaking female learners, respectively). With respect to residential area, a lower percentage of females living in Eldorado Park reported ever having sex (58.8%) than among the non-experienced females (76.3%), while a higher proportion of female learners residing in Soweto (35.3%) were among the sexually experienced group than the non-experienced group (17.2%). The differences noted in respect of residential area are consistent with language, as more of the Afrikaans and English speaking learners are likely to reside in Eldorado Park, while Zulu, Tswana, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda learners are likely to reside in Soweto. These differences probably reflect sociocultural and socioeconomic influences on adolescent sexual behaviour. Nevertheless, despite the abovementioned differences among sexually experienced and non-experienced female learners, it is important to recognise that the largest group of sexually experienced female respondents was Afrikaans speaking (43.1%), while approximately a quarter (23.3%) were Zulu speaking, 17.2% were from the other language group, and the remaining 16.4% were English speaking. Similarly, the majority of female respondents resided in Eldorado Park (58.8%), then in Soweto (35.5%), with 5.9% residing outside of Eldorado Park and Soweto.

A similar pattern of differences to that found among the female learners was found among the male learners. Male learners who reported ever having sex were significantly older than those

male learners who reported that they had not ever engaged in sex. For example, the mean age for the sexually experienced male respondents was 17.29 years (SD=1.68) compared to 16.33 years (SD=1.42) for the sexually non-experienced male respondents ($t=-6.319$, $df=420.8$, $p=.000$). Accordingly, a higher proportion of the male learners who reported ever having sex were in grades 11 and 12 compared to the male learners who reported never having sex (43% compared to 28.6%, respectively) (see Table 5.1).

As with the female learners, differences were also found among the sexually experienced and non-experienced male learners with respect to language and residential area, probably reflecting sociocultural and socioeconomic influences on adolescent sexual behaviour. For example, there was a lower proportion of Afrikaans and English speaking learners among the sexually experienced than the non-experienced male learners (44.1% compared to 58.1% for the Afrikaans speaking, and 24% compared to 28.8% for the English speaking male respondents, respectively) (see Table 5.1). On the other hand, there was a higher proportion of Zulu and other language speaking male learners in the sexually experienced group than in the sexually non-experienced group (14.8% compared to 4.5% of the Zulu speaking, and 17% compared to 8.6% of the other language speaking male learners, respectively). The differences found with respect to language are also consistent with residential area. For instance, a lower percentage of males living in Eldorado Park reported ever having had sex (64.1%) than among the non-experienced males (83.4%), while a higher proportion of male learners residing in Soweto (26.3%) were among the sexually experienced group than the non-experienced group (11.9%). Notwithstanding these differences among sexually experienced and non-experienced male learners, the largest group of sexually experienced male respondents was Afrikaans speaking (44.1%), while almost a quarter (24%) was English speaking, 17% was other language speaking, and the remaining 14.8% was Zulu speaking. This pattern is somewhat different to that of the female learners where English speaking respondents comprised the smallest group of sexually experienced learners. As with the female respondents, the majority of sexually experienced male respondents resided in Eldorado Park (64.1%), then in Soweto (26.3%), with 9.6% residing in other areas.

Table 5.1: Sociodemographic characteristics by sexual experience for female and male learners

Characteristic	Total % (n)	Females Ever had sex		Total % (n)	Males Ever had sex	
		No % (n)	Yes % (n)		No % (n)	Yes % (n)
Age (years)	(N=490)	(N=375)	(N=115)	(N=423)	(N=196)	(N=227)
13	0.8 (4)	1.1 (4)	0	0	0	0
14	9.8 (48)	12.0 (45)	2.6 (3)	6.4 (27)	8.2 (16)	4.8 (11)
15	22.2 (109)	26.7 (100)	7.8 (9)	14.9 (63)	20.9 (41)	9.7 (22)
16	25.9 (127)	28.5 (107)	17.4 (20)	22.9 (97)	29.1 (57)	17.6 (40)
17	21.0 (103)	17.9 (67)	31.3 (36)	23.2 (98)	22.4 (44)	23.8 (54)
18	12.7 (62)	9.9 (37)	21.7 (25)	18.0 (76)	13.8 (27)	21.6 (49)
19	5.7 (28)	3.7 (14)	12.2 (14)	8.7 (37)	3.6 (7)	13.2 (30)
20	1.6 (8)	0.3 (1)	6.1 (7)	3.8 (16)	1.5 (3)	5.7 (13)
21	0.2 (1)	0	0.9 (1)	1.4 (6)	0	2.6 (6)
22				0.5 (2)	0	0.9 (2)
23				0.2 (1)	0.5 (1)	0
School grade	(N=490)	(N=374)	(N=116)	(N=426)	(N=196)	(N=230)
Nine	35.9 (176)	39.8 (149)	23.3 (27)	35.2 (150)	42.3 (83)	29.1 (67)
Ten	33.7 (165)	32.9 (123)	36.2 (42)	28.4 (121)	29.1 (57)	27.8 (64)
Eleven	20.2 (99)	18.7 (70)	25.0 (29)	23.5 (100)	15.8 (31)	30.0 (69)
Twelve	10.2 (50)	8.6 (32)	15.5 (18)	12.9 (55)	12.8 (25)	13.0 (30)
Language	(N=491)	(N=375)	(N=116)	(N=427)	(N=198)	(N=229)
Afrikaans	48.9 (240)	50.7 (190)	43.1 (50)	50.6 (216)	58.1 (115)	44.1 (101)
English	25.3 (124)	28.0 (105)	16.4 (19)	26.2 (112)	28.8 (57)	24.0 (55)
Zulu	12.0 (59)	8.5 (32)	23.3 (27)	10.1 (43)	4.5 (9)	14.8 (34)
Other	13.8 (68)	12.8 (48)	17.2 (20)	13.1 (56)	8.6 (17)	17.0 (39)
Residential area	(N=439)	(N=337)	(N=102)	(N=394)	(N=185)	(N=209)
Eldorado Park	72.2 (317)	76.3 (257)	58.8 (60)	73.4 (289)	83.4 (155)	64.1 (134)
Soweto	21.4 (94)	17.2 (58)	35.3 (36)	19.5 (77)	11.9 (22)	26.3 (55)
Other	6.4 (28)	6.5 (22)	5.9 (6)	7.1 (28)	4.3 (8)	9.6 (20)
Dwelling type	(N=491)	(N=376)	(N=115)	(N=431)	(N=198)	(N=233)
House	82.7 (406)	83.2 (313)	80.9 (93)	85.2 (367)	86.9 (172)	83.7 (195)
Flat	14.5 (71)	13.8 (52)	16.5 (19)	10.2 (44)	10.1 (20)	10.3 (24)
Shack	2.2 (11)	2.7 (10)	0.9 (1)	3.5 (15)	2.5 (5)	4.3 (10)
Other	0.6 (3)	0.3 (1)	1.7 (2)	1.2 (5)	0.5 (1)	1.7 (4)

N=the number of responses to the item

5.1.1.3 Dating relationships and characteristics of partner

The majority of sexually experienced learners (23.5% of the 494 female and 53.7% of the 434

male participants) have been involved in heterosexual dating relationships, with 91.9% of the females and 94.9% of the males having indicated that their most recent (last or current) partner was of the opposite sex. The data also reveal that for a minority of female (8.1%) and male (5.1%) learners, their most recent relationship involved a same-sex partner. While it is possible that some of the adolescents have engaged in both heterosexual and same-sex relationships, the survey questionnaire did not elicit information on participants' dating history, but only their most recent relationship. Most of the sexually experienced respondents, although more females (86.6%) than males (77.3%), reported that they had a boyfriend/girlfriend in the year prior to the survey. Of these respondents, Table 5.2 illustrates that the female learners were on average 2.6 years younger than their dating partners whose mean age was almost 20 years. In contrast, male respondents were on average approximately six months older than their partners whose mean age was 16.7 years. This finding suggests that while sexually experienced female learners appear to be dating partners who have already completed their schooling years, many of the sexually active male learners seem in the main to be dating partners who are still at school.

Table 5.2: Dating behaviour and characteristics of partner in the year prior to the survey for sexually experienced learners

Behaviour and characteristics of partner	Females % (n)	Males % (n)
Gender of current (most recent) partner	(N=111)	(N=217)
Male	91.9 (102)	5.1 (11)
Female	8.1 (9)	94.9 (206)
Have had a boyfriend/girlfriend in the	(N=114)	(N=229)
	86.8 (99)	77.3 (177)
Age of last/current partner		
Mean (SD)	(N=92)	(N=170)
Age difference in years	19.9 (3.0)	16.7 (2.0)
Mean (SD)	-2.6 (2.9)	.5 (1.9)

5.1.2 Prevalence of sexual coercion and high risk behaviours

5.1.2.1 Sexual victimisation by gender

Approximately 96% (n=335) of the 349 sexually experienced learners who took part in the survey completed the section on sexual victimisation in the questionnaire. Among these 335 learners, 163 (48.7%) reported sexual victimisation on at least one occasion in a dating relationship. Of the 116 sexually experienced female participants, 109 (93.9%) responded to the items on sexual victimisation in the survey questionnaire. Of these 109 female participants, more than half (57.8%, n=63) reported at least one instance of sexual victimisation in a dating relationship. As illustrated in Table 5.3, the most common form of coercion reported by females was ‘My partner made me have sex without a condom’ (35.5%), followed by ‘My partner insisted on sex when I did not want to’ (27.3%). A minority of females (between 3.6% and 8.9%) also reported having been the victims of more extreme forms of coercion such as their partners’ use of threats or force for sex.

Among the 233 sexually experienced male learners surveyed, 226 (96.9%) completed the items on sexual victimisation in the questionnaire. A high proportion of these 226 male respondents (44.2%, n=100) reported being the victims of sexual coercion on at least one occasion in a dating relationship. Similar to that found among female learners, the most common form of coercion reported by males was ‘My partner made me have sex without a condom’ (28.3%), followed by ‘My partner insisted on sex when I did not want to’ (16.3%) (see Table 5.3). A minority of males (between 1.7% and 6.1%) reported having been the victims of more extreme forms of coercion such as their partners’ use of threats or force to make them take part in sex or other sexual activities.

Overall, significantly more females (57.8%) than males (44.2%) reported being the victims of sexual coercion on at least one occasion in a dating relationship ($\chi^2[1, N=335] = 5.405, p = .020$). From Table 5.3 it can be seen that with respect to the items for sexual victimisation, significantly more females (27.3%) than males (16.3%) reported that ‘My partner insisted on sex when I did not want to’ ($\chi^2[1, N=337] = 5.601, p = .018$). Although a significant gender effect is not noted for the other items of sexual coercion, the rates of victimisation reported for females is higher in all instances than that reported for males.

Table 5.3: Sexual victimisation by gender

Items for victimisation	Response	Females % (n)	Males % (n)	χ^2	df	p

My partner made me have sex without a condom	Yes	35.5 (39)	28.3 (63)	1.799	1	.180
	No	64.5 (71)	71.7 (160)			
My partner insisted on sex when I did not want to (but did not use physical force)	Yes	27.3 (30)	16.3 (37)	5.601	1	.018
	No	72.7 (80)	83.7 (190)			
My partner insisted that I take part in sexual activities with which I was not comfortable	Yes	17.9 (20)	13.5 (31)	1.138	1	.286
	No	82.1 (92)	86.5 (199)			
My partner used threats to make me have sex	Yes	8.9 (10)	5.6 (13)	1.339	1	.247
	No	91.1 (102)	94.4 (219)			
My partner used threats to make me take part in sexual activities with which I was not comfortable	Yes	8.0 (9)	6.1 (14)	.427	1	.513
	No	92.0 (104)	93.9 (216)			
My partner used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make me have sex	Yes	3.6 (4)	1.7 (4)	1.135	1	.287
	No	96.4 (108)	98.3 (228)			
My partner used force to make me take part in sexual activities with which I was not comfortable	Yes	5.2 (6)	2.6 (6)	1.574	1	.210
	No	94.8 (109)	97.4 (225)			
Overall % reporting victimisation	Yes	57.8 (63)	44.2 (100)	5.405	1	.020
	No	42.2 (46)	55.8 (126)			

5.1.2.2 Perpetration of sexual coercion by gender

Almost 97% (n=337) of the 349 sexually experienced learners surveyed responded to the items on the perpetration of sexual coercion in the questionnaire. Of these 337 respondents, 165 (48.9%) reported that they had perpetrated sexual coercion on at least one occasion in a dating relationship (see Table 5.4). Of the 116 sexually experienced female participants, 109 (93.9%) responded to the items on the perpetration of sexual coercion. Of these 109 female participants, 51 (46.8%) reported at least one instance of perpetrating sexual coercion in a relationship. Table 5.4 illustrates that the most common reported act of coercion perpetrated by female participants was making their partner ‘... have sex without a condom’ (33.6%). A few (between 6.9% and 8.7%) of the female participants also reported that they had insisted or used threats to make their partners have sex or take part in other unwanted sexual activities. A very small minority (2.6%) of the female learners also reported that they used force to make their partner have sex or engage in other sexual activities.

Table 5.4: Perpetration of sexual coercion by gender

Items for perpetration	Response	Females % (n)	Males % (n)	χ^2	df	p

I made my partner have sex without a condom	Yes	33.6 (37)	27.9 (64)	1.150	1	.284
	No	66.4 (73)	72.1 (165)			
I insisted on sex when my partner did not want to (but did not use physical force)	Yes	7.9 (9)	24.6 (56)	13.714	1	.000
	No	92.1 (105)	75.4 (172)			
I insisted that my partner take part in sexual activities with which s/he was not comfortable	Yes	8.7 (10)	19.5 (45)	6.680	1	.010
	No	91.3 (105)	80.5 (186)			
I used threats to make my partner have sex	Yes	7.0 (8)	8.2 (19)	.154	1	.694
	No	93.0 (107)	91.8 (214)			
I used threats to make my partner take part in sexual activities with which s/he was not comfortable	Yes	6.9 (8)	5.2 (12)	.424	1	.515
	No	93.1 (108)	94.8 (220)			
I used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make my partner have sex	Yes	2.6 (3)	2.6 (6)	.000	1	.995
	No	97.4 (113)	97.4 (227)			
I used force to make my partner take part in sexual activities with which s/he was not comfortable	Yes	2.6 (3)	3.5 (8)	.182	1	.670
	No	97.4 (112)	96.5 (223)			
Overall % reporting perpetration	Yes	46.8 (51)	50.0 (114)	.304	1	.581
	No	53.2 (58)	50.0 (114)			

Among the 233 sexually experienced male learners surveyed, 228 (97.8%) completed the section on the perpetration of sexual coercion. Of these 228 male respondents, half (n=114) reported at least one instance in which they had perpetrated sexual coercion in a dating relationship (see Table 5.4). The most common form of coercion reported by male participants was having ‘... made my partner have sex without a condom’ (27.9%), closely followed by having ‘... insisted on sex when my partner did not want to’ (24.6%), and having ‘... insisted that my partner take part in sexual activities with which s/he was not comfortable’ (19.5%). A minority of males (between 2.6% and 8.2%) also reported more extreme forms of sexual coercion, such as having used threats or force to make a partner have sex or take part in sexual activities with which s/he was not comfortable.

Although more male learners (50%) than female(46.8%) learners reported at least one instance in which they had perpetrated sexual coercion in a dating relationship, this result was not statistically significant (see Table 5.4). However, a separate analysis of the items reveals that significantly more male than female learners reported having ‘... insisted on sex when [their] partner did not want to’ (24.6% of the males compared to 7.9% of the females) ($\chi^2[1, N=342] = 13.714, p=.000$) and having ‘insisted that [their] partner take part in sexual activities

with which s/he was not comfortable' (19.5% of the males compared to 8.9% of the females) ($\chi^2[1, N=346] = 6.680, p=.010$). Similar percentages of female and male learners reported having '... made a partner have sex without a condom' (33.6% compared to 27.9%, respectively), as well as having used threats or force to make a partner have sex or take part in sexual activities with which s/he was not comfortable (between 2.6% and 7% compared to between 2.6% and 8.2%, respectively).

5.1.2.3 Victim/perpetrator status by gender

Figure 5.1 reveals that among the 116 sexually experienced females surveyed 40.5% (n=47) reported neither experiencing sexual victimisation nor perpetrating sexual coercion in a dating relationship, while more than a third (38.8%, n=45) reported both experiencing and perpetrating sexual coercion, 15.5% (n=18) reported only sexual victimisation, and the remaining 5.2% (n=6) reported only perpetrating sexual coercion in a dating relationship.

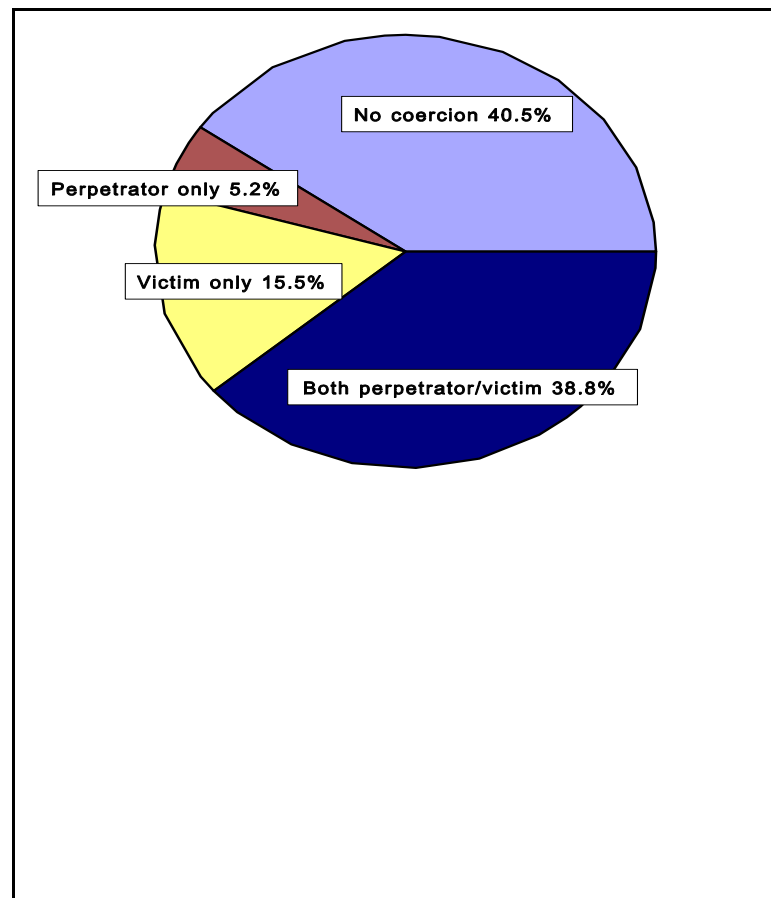


Figure 5.1: Victim/perpetrator status for females (n=116)

Figure 5.2 reveals that among the 233 sexually experienced males surveyed 42.9% (n=100) reported neither experiencing sexual victimisation nor perpetrating sexual coercion in a dating relationship, while more than a third (34.8%, n=81) reported both sexual victimisation and perpetrating sexual coercion, 14.2% (n=33) reported only perpetrating sexual coercion, and the remaining 8.2% (n=19) reported only experiencing sexual coercion in a dating relationship.

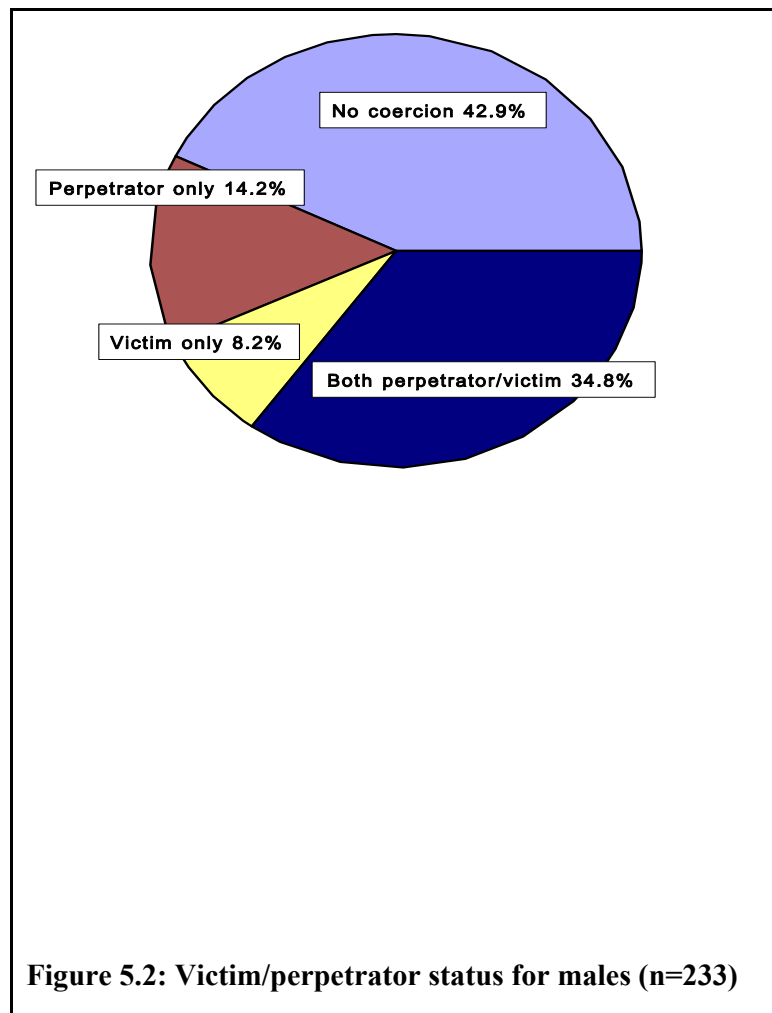


Table 5.5: Victim/perpetrator status by gender

Victim/perpetrator status:		Females % (n)	Males % (n)	χ^2	df	p
		(N=116)	(N=233)			
No coercion	Yes	40.5 (47)	42.9 (100)	0.183	1	.669
	No	59.5 (69)	57.1 (133)			
Perpetrator only	Yes	5.2 (6)	14.2 (33)	6.307	1	.012
	No	94.8 (110)	85.8 (200)			
Victim only	Yes	15.5 (18)	8.2 (19)	4.430	1	.035
	No	84.5 (98)	91.8 (214)			
Both perpetrator/victim	Yes	38.8 (45)	34.8 (81)	0.545	1	.460
	No	61.2 (71)	65.2 (152)			

Table 5.5 illustrates that there were no significant gender differences with respect to the percentage of female and male learners who reported neither sustaining nor perpetrating sexual coercion (40.5% compared to 42.9%, respectively), or both sexual victimisation and perpetrating sexual coercion in a dating relationship (38.8% compared to 34.8%, respectively). However, significant female-male differences were found for coercion that was reported to be one-sided. For example, significantly more females (15.5%) than males (8.2%) reported victimisation only ($\chi^2[1, N=349] = 6.307, p=.012$), while on the other hand, significantly more males (14.2%) than females (5.2%) reported perpetration only ($\chi^2[1, N=349] = 4.430, p=.035$).

5.1.2.4 Beliefs about the acceptability of sexual coercion in dating relationships by gender

Although in the minority, a fairly high percentage of the sexually experienced learners (33.0% of the female 37.1% of the male learners) reported that if a partner makes one have sex against their will, it is that partner's way of showing love (see Table 5.6) suggesting that they view sexual coercion as a positive aspect in a dating relationship. Similar percentages of female (30.4%) and male (35.7%) learners also reported that if a partner makes one have sex

against one's will, that partner is drunk or on drugs, suggesting that substance use may be seen as a plausible excuse for sexually aggressive behaviour.

Table 5.6: Beliefs about the acceptability of sexual coercion by gender

If a partner makes one have sex against their will, that means that:	Response	Females % (n)	Males % (n)	χ^2	df	p
It's just that partner's way of showing love	Yes	33.0 (37)	37.1 (82)	.536	1	.464
	No	67.0 (75)	62.9 (139)			
Partner is drunk or on drugs	Yes	30.4 (34)	35.7 (79)	.963	1	.326
	No	69.6 (78)	64.3 (142)			

5.1.2.5 Alcohol use by gender

Alcohol use is common among adolescents, with significantly more males having reported using alcohol on an occasional (46.1%) and regular (26.7%) basis than female respondents (35.6 occasionally and 10% regularly) ($\chi^2[2, N=281] = 22.186, p = .000$) (see Table 5.7 and Figure 5.3).

Table 5.7: Alcohol use by gender

Used alcohol:	Females % (n)	Males % (n)	χ^2	df	p
Never	54.4 (49)	27.2 (52)	22.186	2	.000
Sometimes	35.6 (32)	46.1 (88)			
Regularly	10.0 (9)	26.7 (51)			

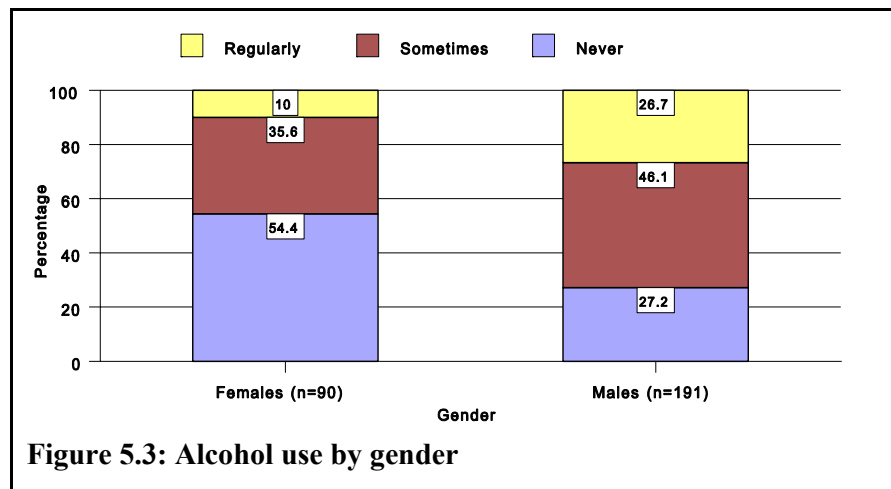


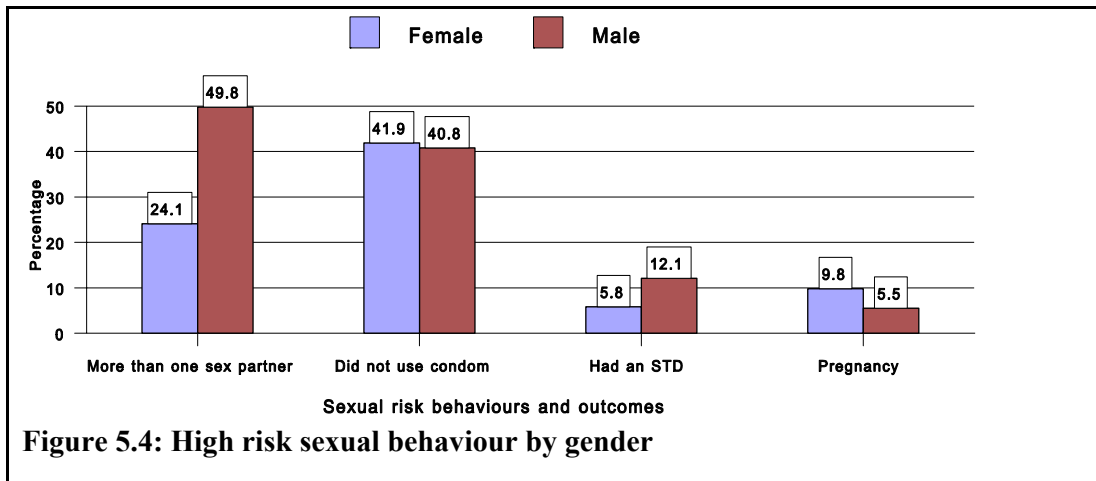
Figure 5.3: Alcohol use by gender

5.1.2.6 High risk sexual behaviour by gender

From Table 5.8 it can be seen that a substantial percentage of sexually experienced youth have engaged in high risk sexual behaviour. Although significantly more males (49.8%) than females (24.1%) reported they had more than one sexual partner within the last 12 months ($\chi^2[1, N=349] = 21.019, p=.000$), the percentage reported for females is also of concern (see Figure 5.4). With regard to the other risk behaviours, gender differences were not statistically significant. Similar percentages of females (41.9%) and males (40.8%) reported they did not use a condom the last time they had sex. A somewhat lower percentage of female learners (5.8%) than male learners (12.1%) reported ever having an STD. Almost one in ten female respondents (9.8%) reported having gotten pregnant, while 5.5% of the males reported that they had gotten someone pregnant. It is important to note that this finding is not a reflection of the rate of pregnancies among adolescent females within the community, but rather it provides an indication of those who have returned to school. Previous research with a group of adolescent mothers from the same community revealed that the majority did not return to complete their schooling (Swart & Seedat, 1999).

Table 5.8: High risk sexual behaviour by gender

High risk sexual behaviour and outcomes	Response	Females % (n)	Males % (n)	χ^2	df	p
More than one sex partner in the past 12 months	Yes	24.1 (28)	49.8 (116)	21.019	1	.000
	No	75.9 (88)	50.2 (117)			
Non-condom use at last sexual encounter	Yes	41.9 (44)	40.8 (86)	.038	1	.845
	No	58.1 (61)	59.2 (125)			
Ever had an STD	Yes	5.8 (6)	12.1 (25)	3.069	1	.080
	No	94.2 (98)	87.9 (182)			
Been or gotten someone pregnant	Yes	9.8 (10)	5.5 (11)	1.900	1	.168
	No	90.2 (92)	94.5 (188)			



5.1.3 Victim/perpetrator status differences

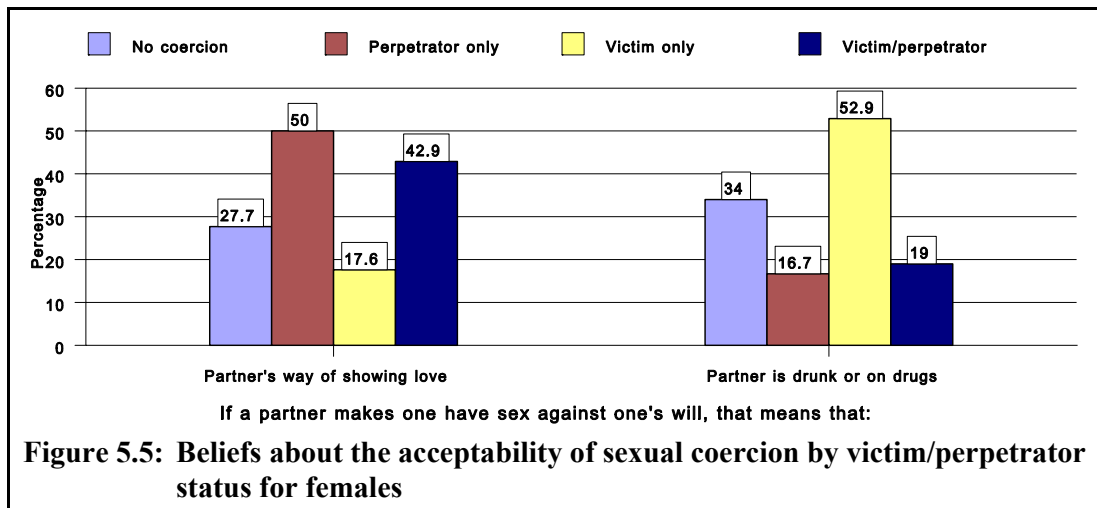
5.1.3.1 Beliefs about the acceptability of sexual coercion in dating relationships by victim/perpetrator status for females

Table 5.9 reveals that a higher percentage of females from the perpetrator only group (50%) reported that if a partner makes one have sex against their will it is that partner's way of showing love, closely followed by the victim/perpetrator group (42.7%), and then the no coercion group (27.7%) (also see Figure 5.5). Notably, females from the victim only group were the least likely to have reported that if a partner makes one have sex against their will it is that partner's way of showing love (17.6%). In contrast, the majority of females in the victim only group (52.9%) reported that if a partner makes one have sex against one's will that partner is drunk or on drugs, compared to 34% of the females from the no coercion group, 19% from the victim/perpetrator group, and 16.7% from the perpetrator only group. Therefore, the findings reveal a tendency for females from the victim only group to have reported different meanings for a partner making one have sex against one's will from females in the victim/perpetrator and perpetrator only groups whose reported meanings were similar. This finding suggests that the circumstances of sexual victimisation reported by the victim only group may differ from that reported by the victim/perpetrator group. In addition, the findings also suggest that the circumstances of perpetrated coercion may be similar for those in the perpetrator only and victim/perpetrator groups. These findings need to be interpreted with a degree of caution as some of the cell numbers are very small and thus could be unreliable, particularly with regards to the female learners who reported the perpetration of sexual coercion only. Keeping this in mind, the results suggest that depending on

victim/perpetrator status female learners appear to attribute different meanings to coercion in a dating relationship.

Table 5.9: Beliefs about the acceptability of sexual coercion by victim/perpetrator status for females

If a partner makes one have sex against their will, that means that:	Response	No coercion	Perp only	Victim only	Victim/Perp
		% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
It's just that partner's way of showing love	Yes	27.7 (13)	50.0 (3)	17.6 (3)	42.9 (18)
	No	72.3 (34)	50.0 (3)	82.4 (14)	57.1 (24)
Partner is drunk or on drugs	Yes	34.0 (16)	16.7 (1)	52.9 (9)	19.0 (8)
	No	66.0 (31)	83.3 (5)	47.1 (8)	81.0 (34)

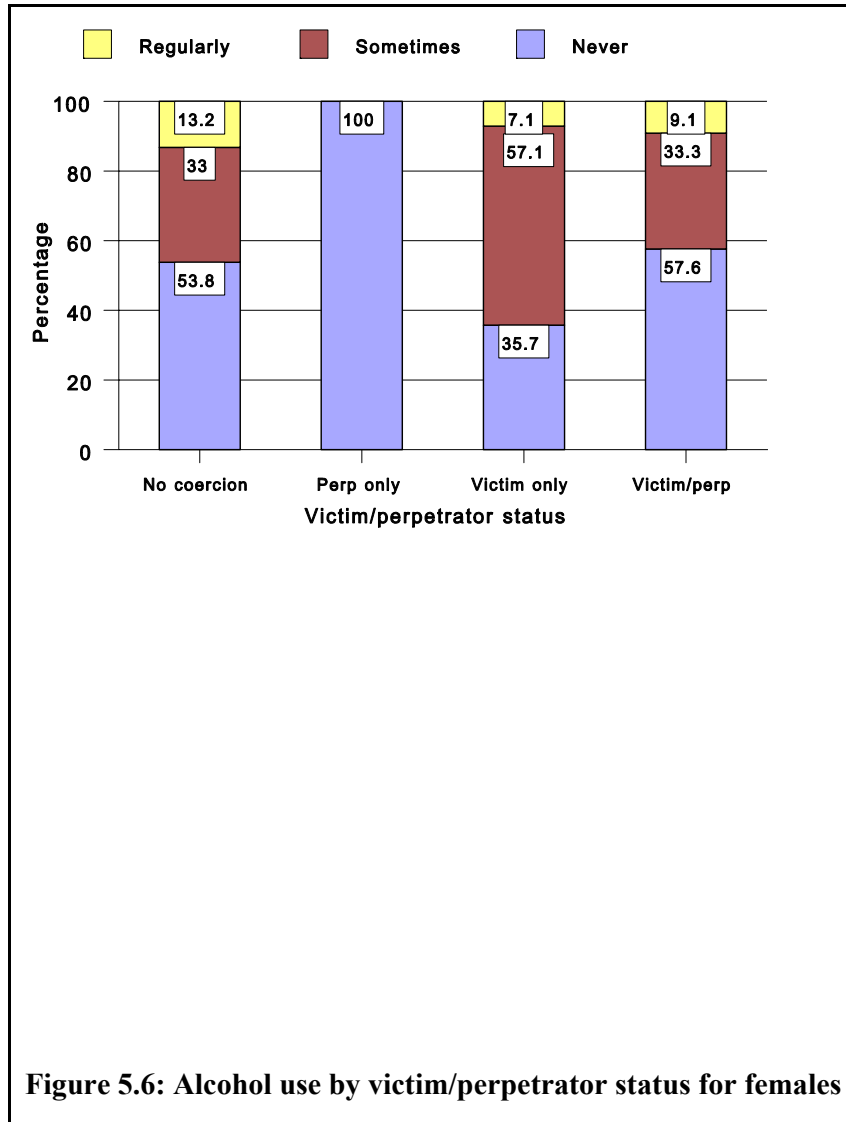


5.1.3.2 Alcohol use by victim/perpetrator status for females

Although the small number of females in some of the groups precluded significance testing, it is noteworthy that almost two thirds (64.2%) of those in the victim only group reported using alcohol either occasionally or regularly, compared to 46.2 of the no coercion group and 42.4% of the victim/perpetrator group, while all the females in the perpetrator only group reported that they never used alcohol (see Table 5.10 and Figure 5.6). The same concerns raised above about small cell numbers apply here warranting a degree of caution in interpreting these findings. However, it would appear that female learners from the victim only group are more likely to use alcohol than those females from the other three groups.

Table 5.10: Alcohol use by victim/perpetrator status for females

Used alcohol:	No coercion % (n)	Perp only % (n)	Victim only % (n)	Victim/Perp % (n)
Never	53.8 (21)	100.0 (4)	35.7 (5)	57.6 (19)
Sometimes	33.0 (13)		57.1 (8)	33.3 (11)
Regularly	13.2 (5)		7.1 (1)	9.1 (3)



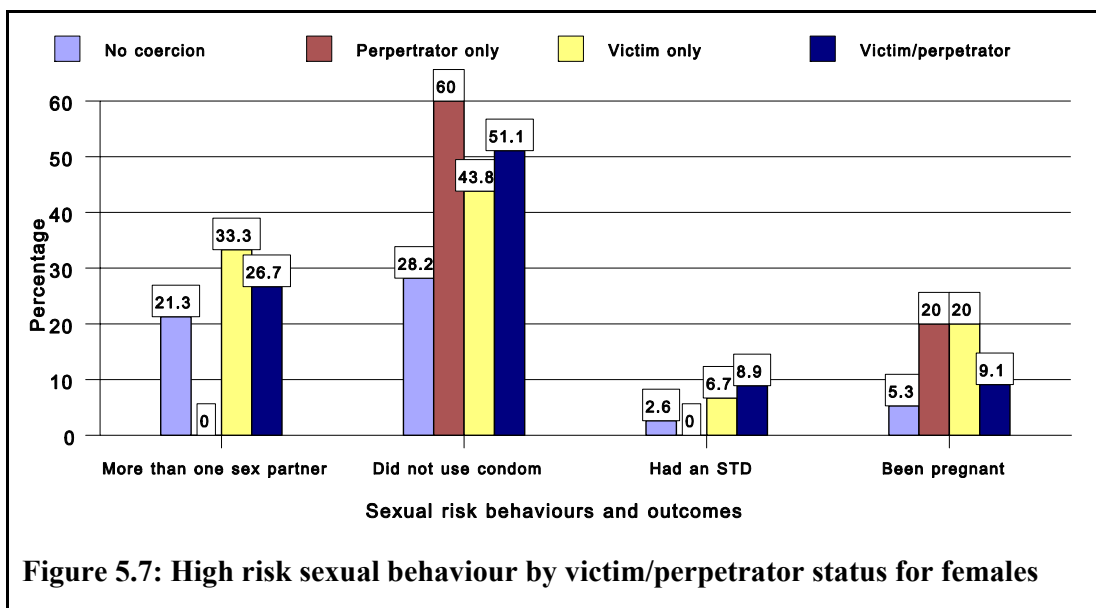
5.1.3.3 High risk sexual behaviour by victim/perpetrator status for females

The small numbers of females also precluded significance testing of high risk sexual behaviours for the four groups of sexual coercive experience. The results reveal that females

Table 5.11: High risk sexual behaviour by victim/perpetrator status for females

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High risk sexual behaviours and outcomes	Response	No coercion % (n)	Perp only % (n)	Victim only % (n)	Victim/Perp % (n)
More than one sex partner in the past 12 months	Yes	21.3 (10)	0	33.3 (6)	26.7 (12)
	No	78.7 (37)	100.0 (6)	66.7 (12)	73.3 (33)
Non-condom use at last sexual encounter	Yes	28.2 (11)	60.0 (3)	43.8 (7)	51.1 (23)
	No	71.8 (28)	40.0 (2)	56.3 (9)	48.9 (22)
Ever had an STD	Yes	2.6 (1)	0	6.7 (1)	8.9 (4)
	No	97.4 (38)	100.0 (5)	93.3 (14)	91.1 (41)
Been or gotten someone pregnant	Yes	5.3 (2)	20.0 (1)	20.0 (3)	9.1 (4)
	No	94.7 (36)	80.0 (4)	80.0 (12)	90.0 (40)



in the victim only group reported the highest percentage for having more than one sexual partner in the last 12 months (33.3%), followed by those in the victim/perpetrator group (26.7%), and those who reported neither perpetration nor victimisation (21.3%) (see Table 5.11 and Figure 5.7). The majority of females from the perpetrator only group (60%) reported that they did not use a condom during their last sexual encounter, followed by those in the victim/perpetrator group (51.1%), and victim only group (43.8%), with comparatively fewer from the no coercion group (28.2%) reporting that they did not use a condom the last time they had sex. More females from the victim/perpetrator group (8.9%) and victim only group (6.7%) reported having had a STD compared to those who reported neither victimisation nor perpetration (2.6%), while none of the females from the perpetration only group reported

having had a STD. The results also reveal that more females from the perpetrator only (20%) and victim only (20%) groups had ever been pregnant compared to those females from the victim/perpetrator (9.1%) and no coercion (5.3%) groups. Generally, fewer females who reported neither victimisation nor perpetration of sexual coercion in a dating relationship reported high risk sexual behaviour and outcomes compared to the other three groups, with the exception being the very few females who reported only having perpetrated sexual coercion in a dating relationship. None of the females from the perpetrator only group reported having more than one sexual partner in the past 12 months suggesting that their relationships with their present partners may have been more long-term and established than the other three groups. These findings also need to be interpreted with caution due to the small cell numbers, particularly with regards to the female learners who reported the perpetration of sexual coercion only.

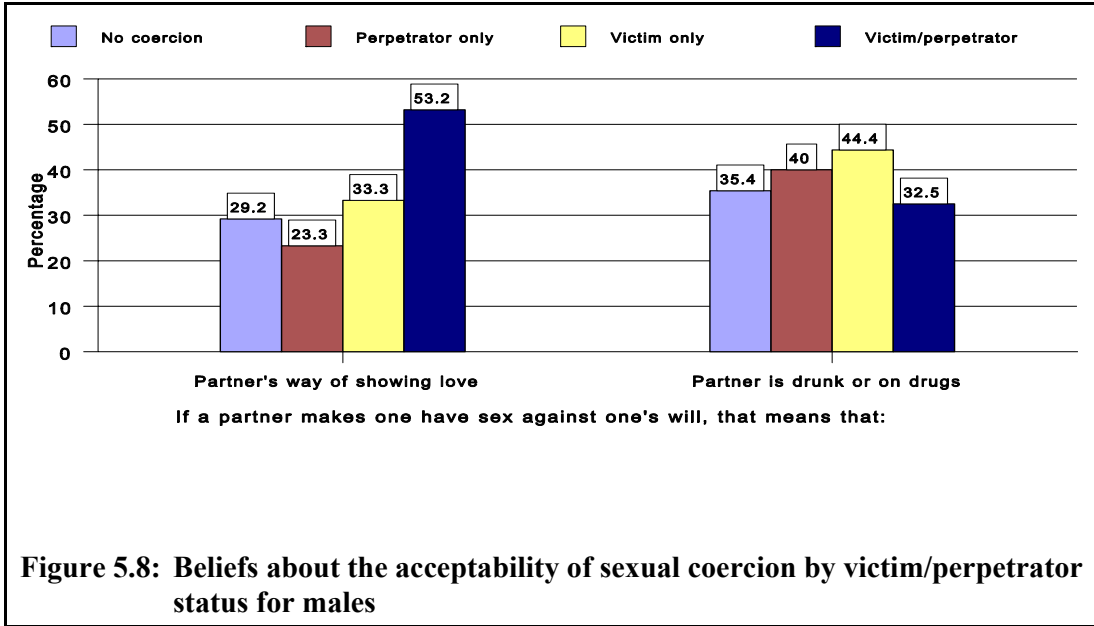
5.1.3.4 Beliefs about the acceptability of sexual coercion in dating relationships by victim/perpetrator status for males

A significant difference was noted among the four groups of male participants, with the majority of male respondents in the victim/perpetrator group (53.2%) having reported that if a partner makes one have sex against one's will it is that partner's way of showing love, compared to 33.3% of the victim only group, 29.2% of the no coercion group, and 23.3% of the perpetrator only group ($\chi^2[3, N=221]=13.737, p=.003$) (see Table 5.12 and Figure 5.8). It is noteworthy that males in the perpetrator only group were least likely to have reported that if a partner makes one have sex against one's will it is that partner's way of showing love. This finding suggests that the circumstances of sexual coercion differ among male learners who reported perpetration only compared to those who reported both perpetration and victimisation. Although more males from the perpetrator only group reported that if a partner makes one have sex against one's will that partner is drunk or on drugs (44.4%), they were closely followed by the victim only group (40%), victim/perpetrator group (35.4%), and the no coercion group (32.5%).

Table 5.12: Beliefs about the acceptability of sexual coercion by victim/perpetrator status for males

If a partner makes one have sex against one's will, that means that:	Response	No coercion	Perp only	Victim only	Victim/Perp	χ^2	df	p
		% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)			

It's just that partner's way of showing love	Yes	29.2 (28)	23.3 (7)	33.3 (6)	53.2 (41)	13.737	3	.003
	No	70.8 (68)	76.7 (23)	66.7 (12)	46.8 (36)			
Partner is drunk or on drugs	Yes	35.4 (34)	40.0 (12)	44.4 (8)	32.5 (25)	1.194	3	.754
	No	64.6 (62)	60.0 (18)	55.6 (10)	67.5 (52)			



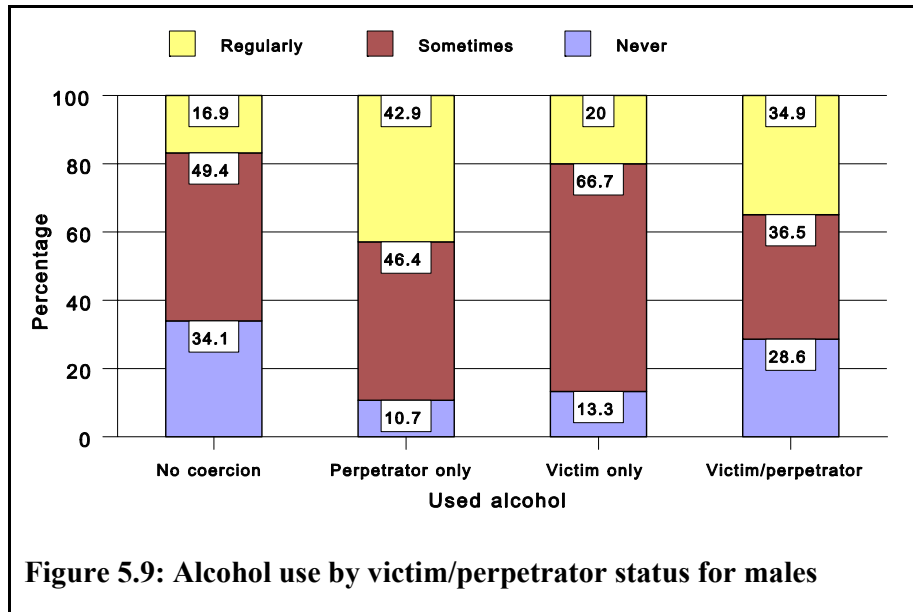
5.1.3.5 Alcohol use by victim/perpetrator status for males

Among the male participants a significant difference was also found among the four groups for alcohol use ($\chi^2[6, N=191] = 14.578, p=.013$). Almost 90% of the perpetrator only and victim only groups reported using alcohol on an occasional or regular basis, compared to 71.4% of the victim/perpetrator group and 65.9% of the no coercion group (see Table 5.13 and Figure 5.9). Furthermore, more males from the perpetrator group reported using alcohol on a regular basis (49.4%), followed by the victim/perpetrator group (34.9%), then victim only group (20%), with those from the no coercion group least likely to report using alcohol on a regular basis (16.9%).

Table 5.13: Alcohol use by victim/perpetrator status for males

Used alcohol:	No coercion % (n)	Perp only % (n)	Victim only % (n)	Victim/ Perp % (n)	χ^2	df	p
Never	34.1 (29)	10.7 (3)	13.3 (20)	28.6 (18)			

Sometimes	49.4 (42)	46.4 (13)	66.7 (10)	36.5 (23)			
Regularly	16.9 (14)	42.9 (12)	20.0 (3)	34.9 (22)	15.582	6	.016

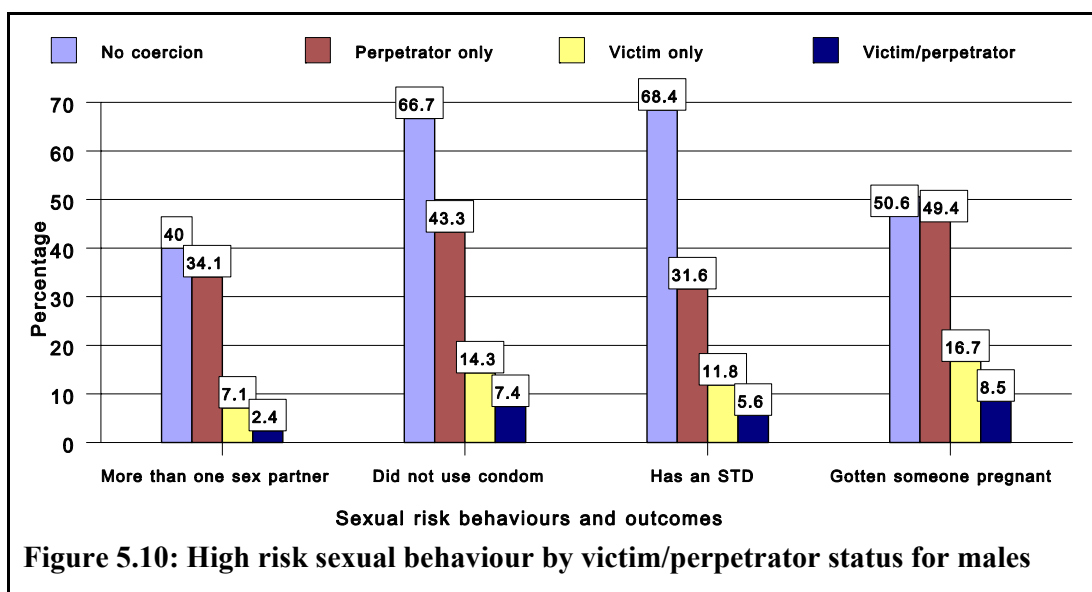


5.1.3.6 High risk sexual behaviour by victim/perpetrator status for males

For the male respondents, a significant difference was noted among the four groups with respect to having multiple sexual partners (see Table 5.14 and Figure 5.10). More than two thirds of those who reported victimisation only (68.4%) and perpetration only (66.7%), and 50.6% of those who reported both perpetration and victimisation reported having more than one sexual partner in the past 12 months compared to 40% of the males who reported neither victimisation nor perpetration ($\chi^2[3, N=233] = 10.254, p = .017$). Although no significant differences were found for the remaining high risk sexual behaviours, Table 5.14 illustrates that those from the victim/perpetrator group had the highest percentage for not using a condom during their last sexual encounter (49.4%), ever having a STD (16.7%), and gotten someone pregnant (8.5%). Similar percentages were recorded for those who reported perpetration only (43.3%, 14.3%, 7.4% respectively). With the exception of slightly fewer of the males from the victim only group (31.6%) having reported not using a condom on the last encounter, it is noteworthy that comparatively fewer males from the no coercion group than from the other three groups reported not using a condom during their most recent sexual encounter (34.1%), ever having a STD (7.1%), and ever gotten someone pregnant (2.4%).

Table 5.14: High risk sexual behaviour by victim/perpetrator status for males

High risk sexual behaviours and outcomes	Response	No coercion % (n)	Perp only % (n)	Victim only % (n)	Victim/Perp % (n)	χ^2	df	p
More than one sex partner in the past 12 months	Yes	40.0 (40)	66.7 (22)	68.4 (13)	50.6 (41)	10.254	3	.017
	No	60.0 (60)	33.3 (11)	31.6 (6)	49.4 (40)			
Non-condom use at last sexual encounter	Yes	34.1 (29)	43.3 (13)	31.6 (6)	49.4 (38)	4.652	3	.199
	No	65.9 (56)	56.7 (17)	68.4 (13)	50.6 (39)			
Ever had an STD	Yes	7.1 (6)	14.3 (4)	11.8 (2)	16.7 (13)	3.603	3	.308
	No	92.9 (78)	85.7 (24)	88.2 (15)	83.3 (65)			
Been or gotten someone pregnant	Yes	2.4 (2)	7.4 (2)	5.6 (1)	8.5 (6)	2.890	3	.409
	No	97.6 (81)	92.6 (25)	94.4 (17)	91.5 (65)			



5.1.4 CHAID results for learners' high risk sexual behaviour

Although the findings presented above highlight many interesting issues in relation to sexual coercion, alcohol use and high risk sexual behaviour among the learners surveyed, it is difficult to discern an overall pattern from the many individual chi-square analyses conducted. Furthermore, the repeated individual analyses also increase the possibility that some of the significant results may have occurred by chance. Therefore, further analysis is required that

Table 5.15: Characteristics of the sample for the

CHAID analysis

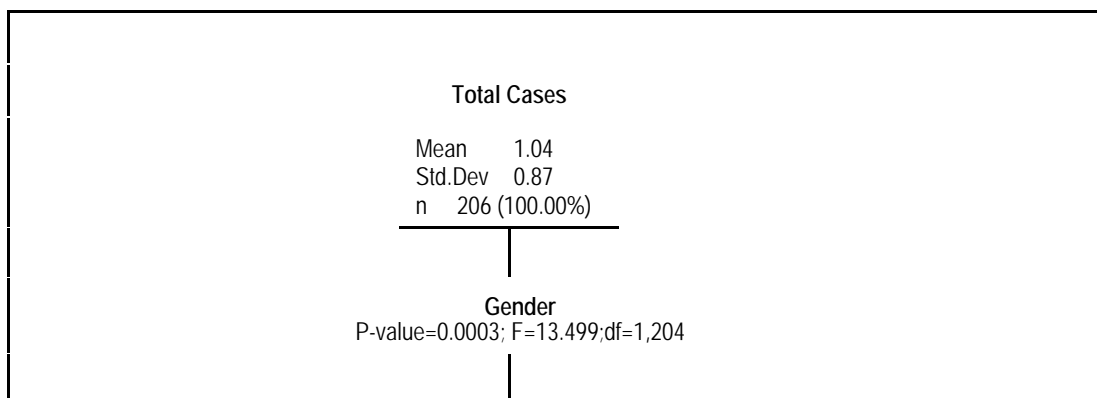
Explanatory variable	Total Cases (N=206) % (n)
Gender	
Male	66.0 (136)
Female	34.0 (70)
School Grade	
Nine	26.7 (55)
Ten	30.6 (63)
Eleven	28.2 (58)
Twelve	14.6 (30)
Language	
Afrikaans	40.8 (84)
English	21.4 (44)
Zulu	19.4 (40)
Other	18.4 (38)
Residential Area	
Eldorado Park	62.6 (129)
Soweto	30.6 (63)
Other	6.8 (14)
Dwelling Type	
House	82.0 (169)
Flat	12.1 (25)
Shack	3.9 (8)
Other	1.9 (4)
Alcohol Use	
Never	36.4 (75)
Sometimes	42.7 (88)
Regularly	20.9 (43)
Sexual Coercion	
No coercion	39.8 (82)
Perpetrator only	10.2 (21)
Victim only	10.2 (21)
Both perpetrator/victim	39.8 (82)

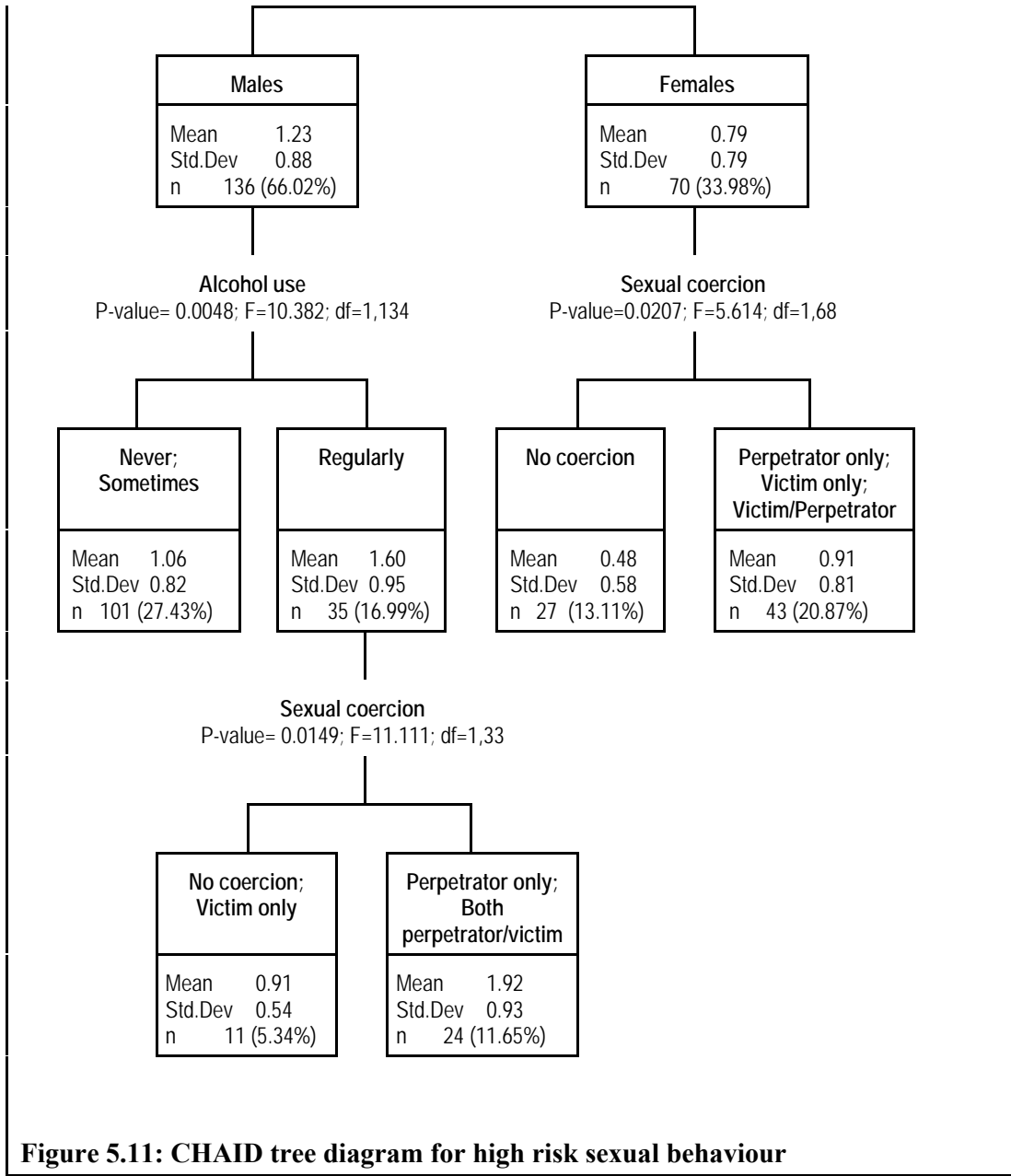
examines overall patterns in the data from several of the variables at the same time. Accordingly, a CHAID (Chi-squared Automatic Interaction Detector) analysis was undertaken to examine the association between sexual coercion and high risk sexual behaviours in relation to other explanatory variables. Gender, language, school grade, residential area, type of residential dwelling, alcohol use, and sexual coercion were investigated as potential explanatory variables of high risk sexual behaviour. Due to the high rate of missing responses with regard to some of the explanatory variables (particularly alcohol use) it was decided to exclude all cases with missing responses, which resulted in 206

(59%) of the 349 sexually experienced learners surveyed being eligible for the CHAID analysis. Though this severely impacts the representativeness of the CHAID results, it was nevertheless deemed as useful in providing insight into the patterns of categorical variables explaining high risk sexual behaviour. Details of the sample considered for analysis are displayed in Table 5.15.

The CHAID analysis presented here is based on the procedures described and used by Fletcher (1995) and Godley, Fiedler, and Funk (1998). The results of the CHAID analysis are presented in Figure 5.11. Each node gives the mean high risk sexual behaviour score, the standard deviation, and the number and percentage of participants in that node. Affirmative responses to the four items measuring high risk sexual behaviour and outcomes, namely, 1) more than one sexual partner in the past 12 months, 2) not using a condom the last time they had sex, 3) ever having a STD, and 4) ever been or gotten someone pregnant, were given a score of 1 and then summed in order to obtain a high risk sexual behaviour score for each of the participants (see section 4.2.1 in Chapter 4).

As illustrated in Figure 5.11, the mean high risk sexual behaviour score for the sample of 206 learners is 1.04. From this figure it appears that among the sample of 206 learners, CHAID found that the best explanatory variable of learners' high risk sexual behaviour was gender. It is evident that significantly more male participants ($\bar{x}=1.23$) engaged in higher sexual risk behaviour than female participants ($\bar{x}=0.79$). This difference is probably attributed to the higher percentage of male respondents than female respondents having reported sexual relations with multiple partners within the 12 months prior to the study (see Table 5.8).





At the second level of partitioning it was found that sexual coercion was the most important explanatory variable of high risk sexual behaviour for females. It is evident that females who reported no coercion ($\beta=0.48$) engaged in less risky sexual behaviour than those females who reported either sexual victimisation, the perpetration of sexual coercion or both sexual victimisation and the perpetration of sexual coercion ($\beta=0.91$). On the other hand, male learners who reported using alcohol regularly ($\beta=1.60$) were significantly more likely to have reported engaging in risky sexual behaviour than those male participants who never used alcohol or used alcohol sometimes ($\beta=1.06$).

At the third level of partitioning no statistically significant predictor could be detected for female learners. Likewise, no statistically significant predictor was found for male learners who never used alcohol or used alcohol occasionally. However, for males who used alcohol regularly there was a significant association between sexual coercion and high risk behaviour, indicating that those who reported perpetration only and those who reported both perpetration and sexual victimisation ($\beta=1.92$) were more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour than those males who reported no coercion or victimisation only ($\beta=0.91$). This finding reveals that among males who drink alcohol regularly, those who perpetrated sexual coercion irrespective of whether or not they reported sexual victimisation, were most likely to have engaged in high risk sexual behaviour. Males from the victim only group were probably less likely to have engaged in high risk sexual behaviour than the males reporting perpetration due to the greater likelihood that they used a condom the last time they had sex (see Table 5.14).

Therefore, the explanatory variables selected by the CHAID procedure to segment learners based on their high risk sexual behaviour scores were gender, sexual coercion and alcohol use.

5.1.5 Summary of survey findings

In summary the survey findings reveal that just over a third of the 928 learners ever had sex. Sexual coercion in adolescent relationships is prevalent with significantly more females (57.8%) than males (44.2%) having reported sexual victimisation on at least one occasion in a dating relationship. Although similar percentages of male (50%) and female learners (46.8%) reported at least one instance in which they had perpetrated sexual coercion in a relationship,

the use of coercion by females was largely confined to having sex without a condom, while for males this also extended to insisting on sex when a partner did not want to. A minority of females and males also reported the use of threats or physical force for sex.

A substantial proportion of learners reported both sexual victimisation and the perpetration of coercion in a dating relationship. Of the female learners, 38.8% reported both sexual victimisation and perpetrating sexual coercion, 15.5% reported only sexual victimisation, 5.2% reported only perpetrating sexual coercion, while the remaining 40.5% reported neither sexual victimisation nor perpetrating sexual coercion. Among male learners, 34.8% reported both sexual victimisation and perpetrating sexual coercion, 14.2% reported only perpetrating sexual coercion, 8.2% reported only sexual victimisation, while the remaining 42.9% reported neither sexual victimisation nor perpetrating sexual coercion. Significant female-male differences were found with more females than males reporting victimisation only, and more males than females reporting perpetration only.

No significant gender differences were found with respect to the meaning of sexual coercion in a dating relationship with approximately a third of the learners reporting that if a partner makes one have sex against their will, it is that partner's way of showing love. Around a third also reporting that if a partner makes one have sex against one's will, that partner is drunk or on drugs. Among female learners, some differences were noted for victim/perpetrator status with more females from the perpetrator only group and the victim/perpetrator group (50% and 42.7%, respectively) reporting that if a partner makes one have sex against their will it is that partner's way of showing love than females from the no coercion and victim only groups (27.7% and 17.6%, respectively). On the other hand, more females from the victim only group reported that if a partner makes one have sex against one's will that partner is drunk or on drugs (52.9%) compared to the other three groups (16.7% and 34%). Among male learners, a significant difference was only found in respect of more male learners in the victim/perpetrator group (53.2%) having reported that if a partner makes one have sex against one's will it is that partner's way of showing love compared to the other three groups (between 23.3% and 33.3%).

The survey findings also reveal that alcohol use is common among adolescents with

significantly more male respondents having reported using alcohol either occasionally or regularly (72.8%) than female respondents (45.6%). Among female learners a difference was noted for victim/perpetrator status with female learners from the victim only group more likely to report using alcohol (64.2%) than female participants from the other three groups (0 to 46.2%). Among male learners a significant difference was noted for victim/perpetrator status with almost 90% of the perpetrator only and victim only groups having reported using alcohol either on an occasional or regular basis, compared to the victim/perpetrator and the no coercion groups (71.4% and 65.9%, respectively).

The survey findings also reveal a substantial proportion of sexually experienced learners engage in high risk sexual behaviour. While significantly fewer females (24.1%) than males (49.8%) reported that they had more than one sexual partner within the past 12 months, similar percentages of females and males reported that they did not use a condom the last time they had sex (41.9% and 40.8%), ever having a STD (5.8% and 12.1%), and having been or gotten someone pregnant (9.8% and 5.5%). Among female participants there was a tendency for more learners from the perpetrator only, victim only, and victim/perpetrator groups to have reported high risk sexual behaviour and outcomes than learners who reported no coercion. The exception to this was the very few females from the perpetrator only group who reported neither having more than one sexual partner in the past 12 months nor ever having a STD. A similar trend was evident among male learners with comparatively more respondents from the three coercion groups than the no coercion group having reported more than one sexual partner during the past 12 months, not using a condom on their last sexual encounter, ever having a STD, and having gotten someone pregnant. The exception to this was that males from the victim only group were less likely than the other three groups to report not using a condom at their last sexual encounter.

According to the CHAID results, gender was the most important explanatory variable for learners' high risk sexual behaviour. Irrespective of sociodemographic characteristics, alcohol use, or the experience of sexual coercion, significantly more male participants reported engaging in sexual risk behaviour than female participants. Among female learners those who reported either sexual victimisation, the perpetration of sexual coercion, or both sexual victimisation and the perpetration, were significantly more likely to have engaged in sexual

risk behaviour than those females who reported no coercion. Among male learners those who reported using alcohol regularly were significantly more likely to have engaged in risky sexual behaviour than those male learners who never used alcohol or used alcohol occasionally. Furthermore, among males who used alcohol regularly those who reported perpetration only as well as both perpetration and sexual victimisation were significantly more likely to have engaged in high risk sexual behaviour than those male learners who reported no coercion or victimisation only.

5.2 Focus group findings and discussion

In this section I present the findings from my exploration of the ways in which learners viewed and talked about sexuality within the context of same-sex focus group discussions. Specifically, I looked for recurrent themes in young people's talk that perpetuate normative constructions of masculinity and femininity and serve to normalise male sexual coercion in relationships that contribute to high risk sexual behaviours. I also explored the manner in which young people resisted these constructions. However, the analysis revealed little evidence of resistance to normative female and male sexual scripts on the part of young people. It is possible that individuals with alternative views and experiences were reluctant to speak within the focus group context where they might have felt under pressure to conform to peer expectations.

5.2.1 Constructions of male and female sexuality

Young men and women in the focus group discussions described dating and sexual relationships as exclusively heterosexual. Even though a minority of the sexually experienced learners (8.1% of the females and 5.1% of the males) in the survey reported that their most recent dating relationship was with a partner of the same-sex, sexualities other than heterosexuality were largely unacknowledged in young people's talk.

5.2.1.1 Sex is important for boys, but not for 'decent' girls

As widely documented both internationally and in South African studies (Hird, 2002; Hird & Jackson, 2001; Holland et al., 1996; Wood & Jewkes, 1998) the notion of heterosexual sex as confirmation of masculine identity emerged strongly in young men's discussions. For boys, sex is about male competence and gaining approval and status among male peers, as

evidenced in the following discussion:

Facilitator: Is sex an important part of a relationship for boys?

Participant 1: Ja, it's for me the most important, but not so much the first time. After a while. After a while you don't have sex you get naar. After a while your friends is gonna say "Hi, jy slaap nou karretjie, kan Jan slaan?"

Facilitator: Okay. All right. What do you say?

Participant 2: Ek sê die selfde.

Facilitator: The same thing. Biggie what do you say?

Participant 3: The same thing.

In line with the male sexual drive discourse (Hollway, 1984), young men's talk was informed by the understanding that men's sexuality is biologically driven and thus men 'naturally' desire sex (Hird, 2002). As alluded to in the above discussion, not indulging in sexual relations with women has negative repercussions for young men in the form of ridicule from male peers for being 'less masculine'. This carries the risk of being labelled a '*moffie*', a term for an effeminate or homosexual male. Consequently, the male peer context offers little space for boys to talk openly and honestly about their sexual concerns and inexperience (Barker, 2000). Moreover, young men may exaggerate their sexual accomplishments to avoid censure from the group (Barker, 2000). Almost half (46.8%) of the boys surveyed reported that they had not experienced sexual intercourse. By claiming that sex is the most important part of a relationship the young men in the discussion above convey their interest and desire for sex, thus enacting the expectations of the peer culture. In the process of demonstrating masculinity and policing each other, the male peer group serves to reproduce and enforce sexual intercourse with women as confirmation of both heterosexuality and masculinity (Connell, 2002; Hird, 2002; Hird & Jackson, 2001) contributing to the view that boys are entitled to sex in a relationship.

While men are expected to display their desire for sex, a different script operates for young women. This script requires that they limit their sexual interest. Therefore, women are supposed to resist a young man's sexual advances, particularly early in the relationship, so sex is not expected '*so much the first time*' as suggested by the first male speaker in the above

extract. As conveyed in the next extract, which is a continuation of the discussion presented above, opposition to active female sexuality and desire emerged strongly in young men's talk:

Facilitator: Is sex an important thing for girls?

Participant 1: No! No!

Participant 2: Some, ja. Some girls can't live without sex.

Facilitator: Some girls. Which girls is it not important to?

Participant 2: Decent girls. Girls that take pride in herself. Some are so ... like judge between the two. I go to the other house. You see there's she in the room with someone else. I look up. I'm standing in line. I've loosened my pants already. Gaga comes out I'm in. When I'm out Kaikappakai's in. When Kaikappakai's ... All the guys can go. She's just like lying there like a Nando's chicken, open, and she's just waiting for the guys to come. Some of the guys she even asks "Are you finish now?"

The above discussion conveys and perpetuates several themes associated with the male sexual drive discourse (Hollway, 1984) and compulsory heterosexuality (see Reinholtz et al., 1995). Sex is male performance, and male sexual desire is established as active, persistent and satiated only by ejaculation during coitus (Hird & Jackson, 2001; Holland et al., 1996). To establish sex as something that men do to women necessitates the subordination of active female sexuality and desire (Hird, 2002; Hird & Jackson, 2001). Therefore, even though the young woman is alleged to be interested in sex she is portrayed as a passive object (Nando's chicken), acted-upon in service of male needs as she waits for the boy to 'finish'. The denial of female sexuality is also reinforced by the disparaging way in which adolescent boys talk about girls who seemingly show sexual desire. Young men regulate female sexuality through the prerogative to '*judge between the two*' based on whether young women conform to or deviate from the normative female sexual script. The sexual double standard serves to sustain male dominance by suppressing female sexuality to accommodate male sexuality.

'*I'm standing in line. I've loosened my pants already*' conveys the understanding among male adolescents that young men should always want sex and be ready whenever the opportunity presents itself. This expectation leads to boys engaging in sexual behaviours (including risky and exploitive practices) without the space to consider for themselves whether they even want to (Tolman et al., 2003). Although it is uncertain whether the young men in the above

discussion actually engaged in the practice of ‘*standing in line*’, performance stories nonetheless define and reproduce the sexual scripts to which young men are expected to aspire (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Scott, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1994, cited in Hillier, Harrison, & Bowditch, 1999). A study among Canadian adolescents reveals a similar practice which male participants described as the ‘sharing’ of a girl (Lavoie, Robitaille, & Hebert, 2000). This practice, described as ‘streamlining’, has also been reported among young South African men (Wood, 2001). Young men engage in this practice as a way of terminating a relationship or form of punishment by organising for their friends to have sex with their girlfriends or as a group of friends taking advantage of girls who were drunk or sleeping. While there is little evidence that the young men consider this practice abusive, the talk of ‘*standing in line*’ vividly reinforces the female body as a sexual object to be used by males to meet their sexual desires. Reinhotz and colleagues (1995) maintain that notions of male dominance and female passivity associated with the normative heterosexual script allow certain forms of exploitative behaviour to be constructed as normal male behaviour. While not all male talk was as predatory as that presented in the extract above, the theme of male dominance and female passivity featured prominently in men’s discussions of heterosexuality and masculinity.

5.2.1.2 Most of the girls do it just to please the boy

Young women’s discussions also revealed a strong sense of their understanding of male sexuality as inherently different from female sexuality, and of sexual relationships as male initiated and dominated:

Participant 1: I feel that control from a guy should be in a more nicer way. Not control will make you feel bad, when he is shunting you around, do this and do that. A control is when he makes the first move, that is understandable. Some girls, not all girls, they just prefer to be equal, especially when they want to kiss a guy at any time. They don’t wait for the guy to kiss them. I feel that is a bad thing.

Facilitator: What should a girl have control over?

Participant 1: Maybe if the guy feels down on that specific day, then the girl should take the first move and confront the guy, comforting him.

As revealed in the above quote ‘*When he makes the first move, that is understandable*’ it was apparent from young women’s talk that male dominance in sexual relations was considered normal based on young men’s ‘natural’ desire for sex. The normalising characteristics of the normative heterosexual script serves to preclude knowledge of acceptable alternatives (Gavey,

1993) and enforces male dominance for women. A positive discourse of active female sexual desire was notably absent in the discussions. Young women themselves tended to present active female sexuality and desire as *'a bad thing'*. By claiming that *'some girls, not all girls, ... prefer to be equal'* the female speaker implies that 'other' women rather than she engage in such behaviour. It is possible that young women managed and protected their sexual reputations during the discussions through the process of 'othering'. In so doing young women actively perpetuate the sexual double standard that regulates female sexuality (Schalet, Hunt, & Joe-Laidler, 2003) by privileging the sexually controlled female who 'waits' for men to initiate sex over the sexually desiring female who initiates sexual relations.

It was evident from the discussions that both the female and male peer culture provide a social context in which young women are taught to silence their sexual desire (Tolman, 1994; 2000) and to construct their sexuality in response to male sexuality (see Hird & Jackson, 2001). Not surprisingly, the idea that sex is something women do to please a boyfriend - *'Die meeste meisies doen dit net om die outjie te please'* - rather than of their own desire, was prominent in female discussions. An example of this view is highlighted in the following discussion on 'high rates' of pregnancy among teenage girls:

Facilitator: What is happening that they [are having children] at such a young age?

Participant 1: I think it is to please the boy because the boy says "No, I won't use a condom". And another thing is that when you want something from a shop they promise you that they will get it for you, that's why you have sex with them.

Participant 2: I would say it is peer pressure like you don't get forced by a boyfriend to have sex. Your friend might influence you to do some thing which

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Despite the dominant discourse around male dominance and female passivity, young women's talk revealed a strong resistance to the image of themselves as victims of men's sexual desires, as evidenced by the second speaker in the above discussion who challenges the idea of a girl being '*forced by a boyfriend to have sex*'. It is possible that young women may not recognise coercive behaviour as they learn that men's sexual desires take precedence irrespective of whether or not they want sex. Alternatively, in constructing their identities and managing their reputations, young women may reject the victim label to avoid negative depictions of themselves (Frith & Kitzinger, 1998). As revealed in the discussion, pleasing a boyfriend sexually also results in benefits for women in the form of gifts and peer approval for having a relationship. Notably absent however, is the idea that women have sex for their own pleasure.

Women's ambivalence towards sexuality is also illustrated in the line '*your friend might influence you to do something wrong*'. In a social context that expects girls to limit their sexual interest and desire, sex to please a boyfriend and to keep a relationship may represent acceptable ways that girls can speak about sexual experiences and avoid negative labels (Frith & Kitzinger, 1998; Tolman, 2000, n.d.). Ironically though, in challenging the image of themselves as victims of men's sexual desires, the young women simultaneously perpetuate the view that it is women's responsibility to take care of men's sexual needs, and that sex is required to have a relationship.

5.2.1.3 Condom use

As conveyed in the above excerpt, the notion of pleasing a boy sexually also extends to condom use. In the discussions female participants cited several reasons for men's unwillingness to use condoms. Young women that young men would not use condoms because '*it's nicer that way*'. The perception that condoms reduce sexual pleasure has been reported as significant barrier to condom use among young South Africans (NPPHCN, 1996; Richter, 1996; Rutenberg et al., 2001; Varga 1999). In the study by loveLife (2000) the majority of both sexually experienced boys (68%) and girls (54%) reported that sex without a condom is more enjoyable. Although very few young women in the present school survey reported perpetrating other acts of sexual coercion, around a third (33.6%) indicated that they '*made a partner have sex without a condom*'. Overall, the most common form of coercion experienced and perpetrated by female and male survey participants involved having sex without a condom (27.9% to 35.5%).

Studies also reveal that young people may be reluctant to introduce condoms because it may create mistrust in a relationship by implying that one's partner is unfaithful or HIV infected (MacPhail & Campbell, 2001; Meyer-Weitz, Reddy, Weijts, van den Borne, & Kok, 1998; NPPHCN, 1996; Richter, 1996; Varga, 1999). This view emerged in female discussions as illustrated in the following statement: '*Die jonkies dink as jy met 'n condom slaap, jy niks van hom dink nie. Jy voel nie die regte feeling nie*'. It is possible that both young men and women may insist on unprotected sex as evidence of their partner's commitment. Varga (1999) points out that in this respect young men and women experience similar constraints in negotiating safer sex practices in their dating relationships.

Female participants also reported that young men resisted using condoms as it implied that they were 'less masculine'. For example: '*Altyd net as jy wil 'n condom gebruik, die jonkie sê ... hy nie 'n moffie is nie*'. The perception that condom use is contrary to normative masculine constructions has been described in other South African studies (Eaton et al., 2003; MacPhail & Campbell, 2001; Varga 1999).

Surprisingly though, resistance to condom use was less evident in young men's discussions in the present study. Although misconceptions about condoms as an effective barrier to HIV transmission were expressed by some young men, claims that '*[one] should always use a condom*' were regularly voiced. Other South African studies have noted that young men use condoms for casual encounters rather than one's steady partner (e.g. MacPhail & Campbell, 2001; Varga, 1999). Therefore, it may be that by making claims that condoms should always be used male participants were attending to the expectations of the male group by demonstrating their interest in sex with multiple partners. Alternatively, such claims may illustrate that condom use is becoming more socially acceptable and expected. This was evident in the discussions when a male participant suggested that he preferred unprotected sex other participants made teasing remarks such as '*Jy eet net kaal goed*'. Approximately 60% of the young men and women in the present school survey reported that they used a condom the last time they had sex, a finding that is consistent with the recent *National Survey of HIV and Sexual Behaviour among 14-24 year olds* (Pettifor et al., 2004) that reveals an increase in condom use among adolescents compared to earlier studies (Department of Health, 1998; NPPHCN, 1996).

Nonetheless, a significant minority (around 40%) of young people in the school survey reported they did not use a condom on their last sexual encounter. The survey findings suggest that not only boys resist using condoms but girls as well. On the other hand, practising safer sex also involves open communication about sexual desire and concerns (Lear, 1995) and in this respect, it was evident from the discussions that normative heterosexual scripts as well as alcohol use are important factors limiting young people's, particularly women's, ability to negotiate safe sex.

5.2.2 Sex, love and relationships

5.2.2.1 If you love a boy ...

There were times when female participants acknowledged feelings of sexual desire, although only in the context of a love relationship and not free from discourse on appropriate gender scripts:

Participant 1: I heard some ... that boyfriends force girls into having sex. That's wrong. I disagree. If you love a boy ... You have been dating for maybe two or three months. The boy asks you to have sex with him. You say no. He's going to accept it. He's going to leave you alone. Okay, he's going to ask you don't you want to have sex every time when you together. He's going to ask you now, now and now and you still going to say no. But one day while you kissing you going to get hot, and it's just going to happen. You going to have sex and that's just that. He's not going to pressurise you.

Participant 2: Both of you are in a relationship. If you don't want something then he must accept that you don't want something. If he forces you into something then, if he forces you and one day maybe you on a date and he date rapes you, then I don't know, then you must have known from the start that's not the right guy for me.

Participant 1: If he loves you he won't force you.

Participant 3: I think girls are afraid. When you don't give this guy sex ... When you don't have sex with him then he's going to leave you for someone else. That's what I think.

While in the above discussion young women also wanted sex, talk on female sexual agency is absent. Men initiate sex in a relationship and their persistent requests for sex are not perceived as pressure. If women are expected to protect their sexual reputations by limiting men's sexual access, being pressured becomes the approved way for women to engage in sex. Furthermore, even though the first participant acknowledges sexual desire in the phrase '*you going to get hot*', she presents sex as an inevitable consequence of love - '*... it's just going to happen. You going to have sex and that's just that!*' - beyond rational control (Reinholtz et al., 1995). In a social context where women are not able to freely acknowledge their sexual desire, being in love and having '*sex just happen*' may provide young women with approved ways through which they can talk about their sexual experiences (Tolman, 1994; 2000). However, such constructions of love can be problematic for girls as they encourage passivity (Hird & Jackson, 2001; Tolman, 1994, 2000) where open sexual communication such as acknowledging consent (Reinholtz et al., 1995) and negotiating safer sexual practices is inconceivable (Tolman, 1994).

Coercion also does not exist within romantic discourse (Hird & Jackson, 2001) as conveyed in the above quote *'If he loves you he won't force you'*. The second female participant's response, *'if he forces you and one day maybe you on a date and he date rapes you, ... then I don't know ...'*, is telling as it alludes to the difficulties young women have in making sense of coercive experiences (Lloyd, 1991; Lloyd & Emery, 2000). Consistent with the view that male sexual urges are beyond their control, and hence women are responsible for limiting male sexual behaviour, the only way 'date rape' can be explained is by blaming the girl. Thus, the possibility of censure from the female group could have silenced women's talk about experiences of sexual victimisation, ultimately perpetuating men's lack of accountability for their sexual behaviour.

Another concern is that the association of love and sex facilitates the use of love as a coercive means to obtain sex (Hird & Jackson, 2001). Pressure to have sex in order to prove love was another theme that emerged in the female focus groups: *'Die jonkies sê as jy nie met hulle seks het nie, dan het jy hulle nie lief nie'*. In some instance women reported that if girls refused sex their boyfriends would threaten to leave them. Thus, as alluded to by the third speaker in the above discussion, even though a girl may not want sex she may acquiesce for fear of losing the relationship. In other instances men were reported to become angry when women refused sexual intercourse:

If you tell a guy you can't have sex now, maybe you are just going out for a month, and if he wants to have sex with you and you tell him, "No! Look here I can't. It is not that I don't want to, it is just because I'm not ready to have sex now". He then starts being aggressive. He tells you that he sensed this for a long time, "I know you don't love me". Sometimes you have to prove to the guy that you love him by making love to him or having sex.

The fusion of love and sex allows coercion to be forgiven, tolerated or even viewed as a positive aspect of a dating relationship. Approximately a third of the sexually experienced female and male learners reported that if a partner makes one have sex against their will, it is that partner's way of showing love. Among female learners some differences were noted for victim/perpetrator status. More female learners from the perpetrator only group and the victim/perpetrator group (50% and 42.7%, respectively) were likely to report that if a partner makes one have sex against their will it is that partner's way of showing love than females from the no coercion and victim only groups (27.7% and 17.6%, respectively). Among male

participants, a significant difference was noted with the majority of learners in the victim/perpetrator group (53.2%) having reported that if a partner makes one have sex against one's will it is that partner's way of showing love compared to the other three groups (between 23.3% and 33.3%).

5.2.2.2 The guys just say 'I love you' to get sex

Despite the abovementioned findings, sex as proof of a partner's love did not emerge in male discussions. Given the dominant expectation that men should pursue sex with multiple partners without any sense of emotional commitment, young men may have been reluctant to talk about sex as signifying love. Some of the young men did, however, admit to using love as a strategy to obtain sex in casual encounters: *'Like sometimes you just like wanna sleep with her and then you tell her you love her'* and *'Some of the guys just say "I love you" just to get sex. Then she takes him seriously'*. As suggested in these quotes, using deception to obtain sex is not seen as exploitive, but rather deemed to be the girl's fault for *'tak[ing] things too seriously'*. Not surprisingly, it was evident from the discussions that in some instances what girls may regard as a committed relationship may only be viewed as casual on the part of her boyfriend:

... and girls like their relationships is like living in a fantasy world or something. I think they take things too seriously ... like maybe you going out for two weeks and she like thinks you going steady and things like that.

5.2.2.3 Boys using girls

The notion of boys 'using' girls for sex was also prevalent in female discussions:

- Participant 1: Usually now these days the guy he can be how good to you, but he's not going to have one girlfriend, he's going to have more than one. So you just going to have to learn to accept that.
- Participant 2: ... a boy uses a girl. ... He has one girl, but with that girl he has ...
- Participant 1: ... lots of other girlfriends
- Participant 2: ... But in the end he still goes back to the one girl he knows. ...He's going out steady with the girl, he takes the girl out, and the other girl, he just uses the girl, has sex with her and then leaves her ... But he still goes back to the only girl he

loves in his life.

Facilitator: Is that true of all boys?

Several Participants: No, not all the boys.

Participant 2: Not all the boys, but most of the boys. ... Girls are very blind to see that these days boys use all of them, not only one of them. But most of the girls ... The girls see that the boy has a steady girl friend ... but they still come into the people's life and destroy the boy and the girl's life. So I don't blame the boys by having more than one girlfriend, because it's what the girls want. They don't want to leave the boys alone.

However, as illustrated in the above discussion the notion of 'boys using girls' was generally constructed as normative male behaviour rather than exploitative. While there was recognition that not all men were predatory in their approach, some female participants constructed young men as sexual predators and something that young women should 'accept'. Female constructions of love also allow young women to tolerate young men's sexual infidelity, as suggested above at least *'he still goes back to the only girl he loves in his life'*. However, this may be an example of what men referred to earlier on as girls *'living in a fantasy world'* due to the possibility that some young women may regard a relationship as more committed than her partner. In accepting young men's infidelity young women also place themselves at risk of HIV infection. Ironically, while the second speaker initially appears to take issue with the predatory approach of boys, consistent with the expectation that young men should want sex all the time and take the opportunity whenever it presents itself, she goes on to hold young women accountable for not keeping young men's sexual 'drive' under control. This understanding of the male sexual drive not only serves to pit females against each other, but reinforces the notion that boys are not responsible for their sexual behaviour.

5.2.3 Sex and alcohol

Alcohol featured prominently in learners' discussions of sexual relationships. Young men in particular spoke of drinking as an activity between male friends and that there was a certain amount of pressure to get drunk. While female participants also referred to the pressure to drink at night clubs and house parties, alcohol use for young women was presented as somewhat more complex and contradictory. This relates to the understanding among young people that alcohol increases men's and women's desire for sex. Therefore, while drinking was encouraged among boys there was evidence that such behaviour was deemed

inappropriate for young women. Although almost half (45.6%) of the females surveyed reported using alcohol, this was considerably lower than that recorded for male learners (72.8%). It is possible that due to perceived social disapproval, female participants may have under-reported alcohol use. Disapproval of women drinking was particularly evident in female discussions:

Die seuns like van alcohol, hulle wil nie party hou as daar nie drank is nie. If you sit at a party and you don't drink, they throw alcohol to you and then you drink like it is nobody's business. Wie drink nie?" ... Ek dink dis lelik as 'n miesie drink. Sy gaan 'n bad reputation kry. Meisies is baie lelik as hulle dronk is, hulle trek sommer hulle klere uit.

Although the female speaker in the above quote, expresses her disapproval of girls drinking, it is notable that in her initial contention that '*they throw alcohol to you then you drink like it is nobody's business. Wie drink nie?*' she presents the pressure from young men to use alcohol at parties as pervasive and unavoidable for young women, including herself. According to female participants, the reason boys give girls alcohol is to obtain sex, as expressed in the following statements: '*Meeste van hulle drink om hulle meisies te laat val*' and '*Die mans weet hoe om die miesies mak te maak. Maak die merries mak en doen alles*'.

In a social context that expects girls to limit their sexual interest and desire, 'being drunk' may provide what Tolman (n.d.) describes as a 'cover' story, that is an acceptable way for young women to speak about sexual experiences without being responsible. For instance, Tolman and Diamond (2001) noted in their study that some girls spoke about concealing their sexual feelings from others by drinking in public in order to 'blame it on the alcohol'. However, this may be problematic for young girls in that it reinforces the view that a woman who is drinking alcohol is sexually permissive and available (Abbey et al., 2001; Norris, 1994).

The belief in alcohol's sexually disinhibiting effects was also expressed by male participants who referred to the instrumental function of alcohol in obtaining sex as articulated in the following quote, '*Some girls, you give her brandy. They like open up all by themselves. They like giving you.*' This practice also alludes to the lack of sexual communication among young people, where instead young men rely on assumptions about a young woman's actions to determine sexual interest and availability. In some situations, it is possible that a young man may perceive a young woman as more interested in having sex than she actually is,

particularly when he has been drinking himself (see Abbey et al., 2004), and may not realise that he is forcing her to have sex.

In line with alcohol's disinhibiting effect (Abbey et al., 2004), drinking and not worrying about one's sexual behaviour at the time, featured prominently in young people's discussions. In the context of not thinking or worrying about one's behaviour, the construction of safe sex practices also appeared to be insignificant. Furthermore, sexual encounters involving alcohol were often casual. In young men's discussions, it emerged that they often go out with their male friends to the clubs with the intention of engaging in casual sex:

Your girlfriend is home. You go with you friends to the club. Even though they know you have a girlfriend it is expected of you to have another girlfriend for the night. A one night-stand.

After the party was over, they would get together with their friends '*and then the guys just relax and talk about ... I was with that girl. I was with that girl.*' However, some of the male participants admitted that not all girls want sex when they have been drinking:

Participant 1: The most common thing we do is like go to a house. We like make a house party. You call it a houser. The girls get drunk the guys get drunk. They do their thing. It's nothing. But then sometimes the girls also just wanna come drink ...

Participant 2: ... some girls just want to come and drink our money.

Participant 1: Ja, and they come just because ... Now I think all my money wasted like that, and she doesn't even wanna give me something. So I have to force her to give me something. So you start beating her up.

Facilitator: Yeah.

Participant 1: Ja, just to give you something because you think about all your money you wasted. Spended on her. That time you already drunk, so you wanna hear nothing. You just want, you know.

At least two important themes related to alcohol and sexual coercion are evident in the above extract. First is the notion that men are entitled to sex if they have spent money by paying for a girl's drinks, and thus are justified in forcing sex if the girl should refuse. While this view was not expressed in all young men's discussions, the idea that girls exchange sex for a boy spending money on her was alluded to in male and female discussions. The second theme, namely the understanding that alcohol heightens male sexual desire "*you just want you know*", and limits their ability to control aggressive behaviour "*so you wanna hear nothing*"

was more pervasive. This view was echoed by several male participants with the common perception that when young men are *'under the influence of alcohol they don't think. They just do'*. This talk reveals the manner in which the use of physical violence to obtain sex under certain circumstances is legitimated and encouraged in the male peer group.

Boys were significantly more likely to report multiple sexual partners than female participants.

The CHAID analysis revealed that among male learners those who reported using alcohol regularly were significantly more likely to have reported engaging in risky sexual behaviour than those male participants who never used alcohol or used alcohol occasionally. From the qualitative findings it is apparent that the situations where boys were most likely to use alcohol, for example at clubs and house parties, were also those situations where they were most likely to engage in casual sexual encounters.

The CHAID results also revealed that among males who used alcohol regularly there was a significant association between sexual coercion and high risk behaviour, indicating that those who reported perpetration of sexual coercion irrespective of whether or not they reported victimisation were more likely to engage in risky sexual behaviour than those males who reported no coercion. The qualitative findings suggest that young men who were likely to coerce a young woman into sex were out drinking with their male friends with the expectation that they would have a *'one-night stand'*. Therefore, young men who drink alcohol regularly and perpetrate sexual coercion are more likely to engage in high risk sexual behaviours due to having more sexual partners. These young men were also likely to have been intoxicated at the time and hence less likely to have used a condom. Being *'too drunk'* was one of the main reasons given by young men for not always using a condom.

5.2.4 Summary of focus group findings

The qualitative findings highlight how the peer group serves to reproduce and sustain male dominance and female subordination within sexual encounters, and ultimately normalises male sexual coercion in relationships (Hird, 2002; Hird & Jackson, 2001; Reinhotlz et al., 1995). Young people's accounts of sexuality tended to be mediated by narrow and restrictive ways of being masculine and feminine. Sexual intercourse was primarily constructed as the

desire and domain of young men, and was essential in establishing masculinity. Male sexual desire is presented as inherent, active, persistent and satiated only by ejaculation during coitus, while female desire is silenced and their sexuality is constructed in response to male sexuality. Although I looked for evidence of young people's resistance to the dominant versions of masculinity and femininity this was hardly apparent in the focus group discussions. Generally, young men's and women's talk reflected the dominant gender scripts that prevailed in the community.