University of KwaZulu-Natal

Masculinity and Sexuality: Investigating Risky Sexual Behaviours Amongst High School Boys in Umlazi.

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters in Education (Gender and Education)

By

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A research study submitted as the dissertation component in the partial fulfillments for the Masters of Education Degree in the Faculty of Education University of KwaZulu-Natal South Africa.

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December 2012

As the candidates Supervisor I agree/ do not agree to the submission of this dissertation

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Declaration

I, Pretty Mthembu declare that

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Abstract

In this paper I address the problem of risky sexual behaviours among boys between 16 and 17 in

an Umlazi high school, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The main question, which I address, is what boys in an Umlazi high school consider as risky sexual behaviour. My central thesis in addressing this question is exploring the boys' risky sexual behaviours in an Umlazi high school in order to understand their risky sexual behaviours which can lead to HIV and AIDS infection. My aims and purpose in this essay are thus to understand the boys meaning of risky sexual behaviour, why do these boys in the study engage themselves in risky sexual behaviors and how does the social constructions impact on risky sexual behaviours of boys in an Umlazi high school.

The research context of this study is in the domain of masculinity and sexuality. I start from premise that masculinity and sexuality are dynamic and fluid assuming that their risky sexual behaviours are the result of social construction of masculinities and sexualities. I used the qualitative methods in order to understand their world and their meaning of risky sexual behaviours. My results showed that the society shaped the boys meaning of masculinity and sexuality, their identity of being boys and attitudes towards sex and being a boy. In addition to that these boys were urging to be the boys that their society know and expect, they did not want to be different or act differently to what the society consider normal of which there is a price of being alienated or subordinated and ostracized if a boy perform alternative masculinity and sexuality and these constructions affects the girls and young women as they are expected to be permissive. Furthermore the boys aspirations in this study were geared by powerful males such as the President of South Africa in his openly polygamous relationships and they revealed that they promote polygamy which is the culture of the Zulus, so they are already practicing it by having multiple partners which they take as their prerogative as boys.

In short, this paper addresses the problem of risky sexual behaviours among boys in a selected Umlazi high school by the group interview held in the research site in order to understand the boys meaning of risky sexual behaviours in an Umlazi high school. Furthermore the study

explores what boys consider risky sexual behaviours, their reasons to engage themselves in risky sexual behaviours and the impact of the social construction of masculinity and sexuality.

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Glossary

Word	Meaning
AIDS	: Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndromme.
Amasoka	: people with many girlfriends.
Ekasi	: neighbourhood.
Faka	: offer or contribute.
HIV	: Human Immuno Virus
Ibari	: a person from the rural area who is not street wise or who not familiar with urban life.
Iginsa	: a thief who hijacks the cars/robs the banks.
Ikhekhe	: refers to female's private part.
Imali	: money.
Inyoni	: a narrow minded person from rural area who is naïve and not familiar with urban lifestyle.
Isitabani	: a gay person.
Izikhokho	: mighty/ powerful people who excel in whatever they do.
Lezi	: these.

Izithwathwa : people who are narrow minded and acting foolish.

Masgebengu : a girl or woman who sleeps around, very cunning, sexually experienced.

STI : sexually transmitted disease

Ushimile : without a girl friend or boyfriend.

Wunga : a drug that is made out of ARV'S (Antiretrovirals).

CHAPTER 1

1.1. Introduction

Risky sexual behaviours amongst young people are an issue of growing concern. Becoming sexually active can affect the lifestyles and health of young people. One such risk is contracting Human Immune Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) have been lethal challenges globally since many people have been affected and infected by the pandemic (Morrell, 2005). It is critical to examine the ways in which risky sexual behaviour is legitimated within constructions of masculinity. Many studies have been conducted in order to find ways of reducing HIV and AIDS infections.

According to Marston & King (2006) nearly half of new infections worldwide are occurring in young people aged between 15 and 24 years. Thus changing sexual behaviour amongst young people will be crucial in reducing the number of infections around this growing pandemic. According to Reddy & Dunne (2007) in KwaZulu–Natal it is estimated that among 15-19 year olds: 15, 64% of black African females were likely to be HIV positive compared to 2, 58% of black males; 1, 25% of white females, 0, 26% of white males; 1, 29% of Indian females and 0, 26% of Indian males. Campaigns targeting young people and encouraging safer sex either through condoms or avoiding penetration had disappointing results because some young people still have unprotected sex (Marston & King, 2006). The UNAIDS (2010) report suggests, however, that HIV prevention works as the new HIV infections are declining in many countries mostly affected by this pandemic. Furthermore, 25% of young people in Sub-Saharan Africa reported to have adopted safer sex.

I draw on my personal familial experience where a young member died at the age of 18 from AIDS related illness. My cousin had one girlfriend that he introduced into the family and according to us as a family, this girlfriend was the only girl in his life and he spent most of his time with her. He did not have time for friends. As a result the neighbors were calling them Romeo and Juliet (referring to my cousin and his girlfriend). It was a shock to discover that he had been infected by HIV. We were disappointed and angry because we believed that he was faithful to his girlfriend and since she was his first girlfriend we never stopped to wonder how he was infected. To be honest we suspected the girl though we were not sure. We wanted to blame someone but no one knew the truth. We were left with confusion and misery because we believed my cousin did not deserve to be infected with HIV as he had only had one girlfriend in his entire life. It was unfair that he was infected by HIV.

It is crucial to understand that adolescence is a time when young people usually begin to assert themselves as more independent: developing a sexual identity is often an important component of this process (Gilchrist & Sullivan, 2006). My study focuses on young men and there is still relatively little research done on the sexual lives of boys, particularly in the South African context. This dissertation forms part of a larger research project on adolescents and sexual behavior in different geographical locations in South Africa. The title of the project is "16 turning 17: Gender and Sexuality in the context of HIV and AIDS. This project seeks to explore the meanings young South African women and men give to their sexual identities. To do this, my study focuses on young African (Zulu) men in KwaZulu-Natal. This study in particular investigates the types of sexual behaviors boys engage in and explores how the constructions of masculinity relate to these behaviours.

The sample comprises six boys aged between sixteen and seventeen who attend a high school in Umlazi. This study explores the sexual behaviours of this group of boys in an Umlazi school context. Umlazi is a predominantly African township in the south of Durban, in KwaZulu-Natal. However the main thrust of this study is to explore the meanings these young men who participated in this study give their sexuality and what they regard as risky sexual behaviour. The study draws on multiple masculinities theory and seeks to show the diversity of sexualities within this context, by highlighting both the accommodation and resistance of particular forms of sexual behaviours. The aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of how these young men construct their sexual identities and to show how constructions of masculinities is related to it.

Several studies have been conducted in connection with risky sexual behaviours of youth and relatively few studies have been done on boys and sexuality. Historically, African sexuality has been cast in a negative light. However, the most recent literature reveals a shift away from a uniform and negative view of African masculinity and sexuality. Research shows that context plays a significant role in the ways in which boys construct their masculine and sexual identities (Salo, 2005a, Anderson 2009, Ratele 2007; Ouzgane & Morrell 2005).

1.2. Research Aims

The aim of this study was to explore what the groups of six boys understand by risky sexual behaviours and the reason for this group of boys engaging in these behaviours. Furthermore this study aims to

describe masculinity and sexuality which could be linked to risky sexual behaviours from the perspectives of this group of boys.

1.3. Research Questions

In order to get information on the topic the following research questions were asked:

• What do these teenage boys in an Umlazi high school consider as risky sexual behaviour?

• Why do these teenage boys in an Umlazi high school participate in or involve themselves in risky sexual behaviours?

• How do their social conditions enable these harmful sexual practices?

1.4. Research area
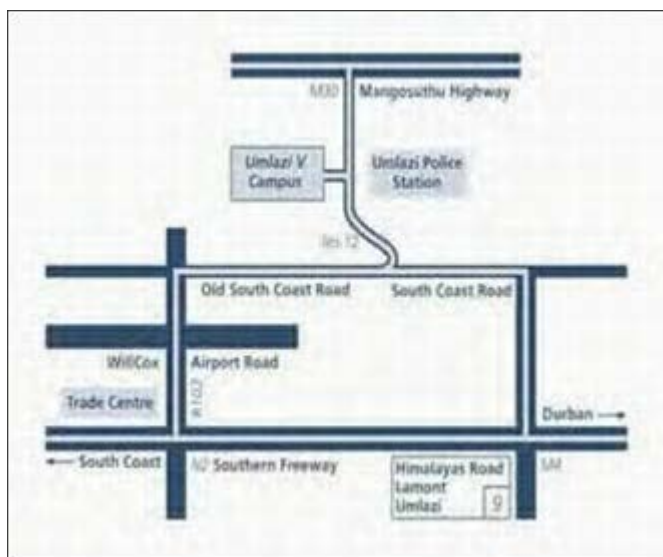
V. Section Entry into Umlazi   V. Section Exit from Umlazi

(Mchunu, 2012)

(Mchunu, 2012)   (Mthembu, 2012)

This research project was conducted in 2011 at a selected Umlazi high school. The group of six boys was selected from a government co-educational school. The student population is predominantly black learners although it is open to all. This school serves learners who are mostly from unemployed and working class backgrounds and who live in the nearby government housing and informal settlements. Very few learners are from middle class families. In this school all grades are taught Life Orientation (LO). There are few female teachers compared to male teachers, and the management has more males than females. Out of seven managers only two are female. The principal and deputy are males. Regardless of gender equity policies, few females are heads of departments. Only Home Economics and Languages, traditionally considered feminine departments, are headed by women.

Gender inequality in the form male privilege and male domination is prevalent in the neighbourhood of the school and is one of my reasons for choosing a school in this area. The construction of masculinity and sexuality that produce and contribute to this gender inequality is worth exploring. I did the necessary background study before choosing the school. The principal suggested I should ask staff members who are teaching LO to identify the learners who were willing to be interviewed. There is a high number of HIV and AIDS sufferers in this community, according to nursing sister T. Zwane who is heading the (Preventing Mother To Child Transmission (PMTCT). unit in Prince Mshiyeni hospital in Umlazi. At this hospital 50% of patients are HIV positive (United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 2012). Moreover, this school was selected on the basis of its typicality, location and accessibility and, in this way; the

sample was based on specific needs of the research focus (Cohen, Manion& Morrison, 2011). The qualitative design used in order to get the answers based on research questions and what do the group of six boys participating in this study understand about masculinity and risky sexual behaviours and their experiences. The interpretive paradigm was employed to analyse the data.

1.5. Sample

The purposive sampling based on age, race and availability was employed. African boys between 16 and 17 were selected by their Life Orientation (L. O.) educator. The educator selected boys who were between 16 and 17 who are active and whom she felt would speak openly. The fact that these boys often spoke about gender and sexuality and masculinity in the class lessons gave the educator an idea of who she should select. Moreover, these boys indicated their willingness to participate.

1.6. Data collection

Data was collected through interviewing the group of six boys aged between 16 and seventeen. Semi-structured questions were used and the interview lasted an hour (Stylianou, 2008). The life orientation (L. O.) teacher assisted in identifying the group of six boys between 16 and 17. The school had many boys who are between 16 and 17 but I could not use them because it was going to take time to conduct the study so six boys were enough because this is a mini study. However the group was presenting the wider group of boys in this high school in Umlazi. Before the interview started I asked for the permission to record the interview and told them the reason to record the interview (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).

1.7. Data Analysis

Verbatim data generated from interviews were analysed thematically. Then the group of six boys was given an opportunity to listen and view the analysis as some of my comments might have been contradictory to what they said.

1.8. Ethical Considerations

Consent was sought from the school principal, parents and participants themselves. All ethical procedures were followed and discussed in detail in the methodology chapter. Confidentiality was assured and pseudonyms were used to protect both the identities of the participants and the school from which the participants were selected.

1.9. Conclusion

Subsequently this study is organised into five chapters which as follows:

Chapter 1: This chapter provided the rationale for this study, the focus and the research questions.

This chapter briefly introduces the research sample and the research population from which the sample was drawn, gives a synopsis of the data collection process, data analysis and ethical considerations.

Chapter 2: This section is a review of related literature on young people and sexuality both locally and internationally. In this chapter I also present the theoretical framework utilised to understand the data.

Chapter 3: This chapter provides a description of the research design and method used in the study, describing the research site, sample and data collection procedures. Analysis, ethics, validity, trustworthiness are discussed in this section.

Chapter 4: This chapter presents the findings and analysis, discussion of data, using the theoretical frameworks of masculinities and sexualities as the core theories of the study.

Chapter 5: This chapter concludes the study by summarizing the main findings. I offer recommendations based on the findings of ways of working with young people to reduce the risk of sexual activities.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the literature that informs this study and draws largely on literature that shows how particular versions of masculinities are responsible for exposing boys and young men to sexual risky behaviours. Both local and international sources are utilised. I drew on scholarship, particularly Connell (1989, 1995 & 2000); Marston & King (2006); Kimmel (2006), Jewkes and Morrell (2011), WHO (2002) and McGuffey (2008) in the field of masculinities and sexualities. According to Connell (2000) masculinity emphasises heterosexuality which encourages boys or men to behave in ways that will guarantee a hegemonic position. Multiple masculinities theory is used to understand the ways in which these boys negotiate and perform specifically with regard to their sexual identities. Their investment in the hegemonic form of masculinity that prevails in their specific context and the harmful ways in which particular behaviours and attributes, such as sexual prowess, are exalted and are the focus of this study. The literature will also focus on that the ways in which some boys comply with harmful culturally exalted behaviours, sometimes under coercion, because they are afraid to be ostracised by their peers and society (Hunter, 2005).

2.2. Theoretical framework

2.2.1. Masculinity and sexuality

I draw on masculinity and sexuality as a tool to understand the data in this study and use the theoretical developments around masculinities and sexuality studies to explore the impact of masculinity constructions on these boys` sexual attitudes, behaviours and practices. This is located within contradictory notions of masculinity and sexuality. In order to theorise the relationship between risky sexual behaviours and masculinity this literature study also considers how gender (masculinity) intersects with race and class and how this contributes to particular ways of being. The study is mindful that the intersection of masculinity and sexuality cannot be understood without paying attention to race and class. The focus on race and class permits an understanding of the specific experiences, perceptions and difficulties in the lives of these boys. To do this, local African studies are also relied upon.

Masculinity is the way men act, talk and behave in order to show that they are men (ideals of manhood). Masculinity is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place gender and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture (Connell, 2000). However gender order suggests personal patriarchal power in which male dominance is enforced through power exercised by individual patriarchs (Sideris, 2005). Economic deprivation, poverty and uncertainty characterise the lives of men, shaping their sense of themselves as men and their relations with their families (Walker & Reid, 2005). Furthermore, to be considered a man, you must have a woman (Sideris, 2005). Masculinity promotes heterosexuality and is proportional to femininity (Renold, 2003). According to Connell (2000), ways of being a man are socially constructed and are is not static. Furthermore, social location creates the conditions for relations of power, and the context and the available cultural resources set the limits of what can be said and done in the making of masculinities.

However hegemonic masculinity is celebrated, presented as an ideal, and invested with power, not all men embody the common form of masculinity (Bhana, 2005). Connell (2000) asserts that notions of masculinity are fluidity, since it is socially constructed as some males are mindful of what they do because they do not want to behave or do things that will make the society question their masculinity and sexuality and depending on what that particular society regard as masculine. Furthermore what is considered to be masculine in a rural area might differ to people living in urban areas in addition to that masculinity of people who were living hundred years ago is different to the current masculinities (Morrell, 2001; Anderson, 2009). Masculinity cannot be understood without paying particular attention to race and class. Bhana`s work on South African masculinities (2005) shows that racialised gender identities are characterised by poverty, unemployment, and economic dislocation and violence. Literature on masculinities studies argues that teenage and adolescent boys' experiences are shaped by notions of power and these are strongly related to racialisation, classification and marginalisation (Connell, 1995; Morrell, 2001). Anderson (2009) stated that boys' experiences and perceptions of masculinity are quite context-specific and the ways in which race, class and gender intersect have implications for their schooling and social experiences. Connell (2000) offers an explanation that supports the multiple masculinities theory: He offers four categories of masculinities but other researchers contend that masculinity it is not limited to these four categories.

According to Walker & Reid (2005) the transition to democracy in South Africa had allowed some forms of masculinity to flourish, particularly among races that were subordinated and powerless before

democracy and so the gender order has shifted in the work place and domestically. There is dominant, complicit, submissive and optional/protest to make sense of the relationships between groups of men and boys (Connell, 1996). Nevertheless, the masculinity framework is trying to extend and strengthen the understanding of and insight into the behaviours and identities of boys and men (Connell, 1989, 1995, 2000). Connell's work further draws on recognition of masculinities that are not dominant, that are complicit, marginal and subordinate.

Hierarchy and hegemonic masculinity: different masculinities do not sit side–by side: there are definite relations between them (Connell, 2000). Some masculinities are more honoured than others more especially the masculinities that show bravery, daring and fearless, yet masculinity such as homosexuality which is linked to feminine behaviours as this masculinity is viewed as soft dishonored and socially marginalised in Western culture as it was discovered by (Connell, 2000). Some masculinities, such as sporting heroes, are considered exemplary. The culturally dominant masculinity is known as hegemonic, signifying a position of cultural authority and leadership, not total dominant, other forms of masculinity persist alongside this hegemonic masculinity is hegemonic in relation to gender roles (ibid, 2000). In addition, Hamlall & Morrell (2009)'s study discovered that the dominant and dominating (hegemonic) form of masculinity claims the highest status and exercises the greatest influence and authority through cultural and institutional practices which is in line with Connell's discovery of hegemonic masculinity. Though hegemonic masculinity does not necessary involve physical violence associated with heterosexuality, toughness, power and competitiveness (Hamlall & Morrell, 2009).

However, Ouzgane & Morrell (2005) discovered that Africa is a diverse continent in terms of religion, language, climate, topography, economy, governance and culture, all of which contribute to constructions of the continent's masculinity. Therefore African masculinities are not uniform, not generalizable to all men in Africa and are not natural or unchanging which suggests the possible emergence of new ways of being masculine (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005). According to Bhana (2005), gender identities are characterised by poverty, unemployment and economic dislocation resulting in economic inequalities as a breeding ground for the creation of hegemonic masculinity that is violent, and bullies and subordinates other forms of masculinities. Perhaps one should note that the socio-economic conditions that made indigenous African men winners and women losers as the men were fighting in faction wars and the women were left at home to raise children and because of that men were considered heroes and they had

to hunt for food in the forests where they were dangerous animals however this notion has changed during the past century (Silberschmidt, 2005). Changes in cultural ideals and economic changes have occurred and resulted in different perceptions and characteristics of African masculinities and femininities (Hunter, 2005).

Silberschmidt (2005) revealed that men's authority has come under threat and, as a consequence, so is their identity and self-esteem. Subsequently masculinity has to be constantly reasserted in the continuous denial of feminine qualities (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005). According to Holland (2005) in mid twentieth century colonial townships, African men understood success in both indigenous and Western terms: social drinking, generosity among friends, money, European clothes and gestures, and a wife or wives, merging African and Western standards of manhood. Moreover, native intellectuals set a high value on customs, tradition and appearances of people.

2.2.2. Masculinity, sexuality and HIV and AIDS

Sex has been at the heart of HIV and AIDS from the beginning (Boyce, Huang Soo Lee, Jenkins, Mohamed, Overs, Pavia, Reid, Tan & Aggleton, 2007). Moreover, during early days of this pandemic, it became evident that unprotected sexual intercourse was the most common route of HIV transmission globally (United Nations on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) & World Health Organisation (WHO), 2005). Furthermore, (ibid, 2007) and UNAIDS & WHO (2005) illustrated that, despite enhanced knowledge of sexual risk, the majority of cases of HIV transmission continue to take place trough unprotected sexual intercourse. Nevertheless, masculinity is linked to heterosexuality and transmission through unprotected heterosexual sex and sodomy is the common mode of transmission in most parts of the world (Boyce, Huang Soo Lee, Jenkins, Mohamed, Overs, Pavia, Reid, Tan & Aggleton., 2007). Males' desires and entitlement to women's bodies are still issue as some males still think that women do not have a say when it comes to sex so some males force themselves to women. (Dolez, Harnson, Hoffman,O'Sullivan, Harnson & Monroe-Wise, 2006). Moreover, individual perceptions of health and vulnerability, community-level factors, such as peer and parental pressure, and wider social influences, including the social construction of male and female sexuality, and gender power relations as well as economic constraints all discourage young people from using condoms and place them at risk (*ibid*, 2006).

HIV and AIDS has been a problem in Sub-Saharan Africa since it was discovered in the eighties (UNAIDS, 2004b). According to a 2003 United Nations (UN) report, by far the fastest spread of HIV and

AIDS among young people in the world is in sub-Saharan Africa, where an estimated 8.6 million youth - 967% of them female - are living with HIV and AIDS. Sixty per cent of young people living with HIV and AIDS reside in sub- Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2004 b). Although the UNAIDS (2010) reported the decline in new infections, the youth are still infected. However, 25% of young people, according to the report, have adopted safer sex, but the majority is exposed to infection risk. Furthermore, Mac an Phail& Campbell (2001) revealed that the level of knowledge about HIV and AIDS is high but the level of condom usage is low amongst young boys.

Despite the campaigns targeting youth and encouraging safer sex either through condom or abstinence or avoiding penetration, youth is still infected (King & Marston, 2006). By exploring particular constructions of what it means to be a male in Umlazi high school boys, the study will provide insight into their lives which can facilitate understanding of the multiple and evolving nature of masculinity. Furthermore, men might have multiple ways of behaving but performance of masculinity is ultimately located within gender power structures, which locate and place limits on their particular performance (Anderson, 2009). Anderson (2009) further states that sexual risky behaviour is located within complex notions of masculinity and in so doing draws attention to contradictory patterns of behaviour of men and boys.

If masculinity is like an egg, in its multiple manifestations, the institutional power and privilege accorded to its hegemonic form make for hard boiled variety (Heath, 2003). Jewkes & Morrell (2011) discovered that masculinities prescribe particular ways of being a man and legitimate gender inequitable practice which is in line with what Connell (1989) assert: that hegemonic masculinities are socially constructed. Nonetheless (Connell, 1995: Messner, 2011) highlighted that configurations of family and work relations in post-industrial societies have brought about crisis tendencies in the practices of gender relations, fuelling the emergence of men's movements that focus on renegotiating the conditions of men's power in society. Moreover, what was once hard boiled masculinity is now more fragile as many race-and-class privileged men struggle to re-establish their position of authority (Heath, 2003).

Furthermore Jewkes & Morrell (2011) stated that in South Africa masculinities valorize the martial attributes of physical strength, courage, toughness and acceptance of hierarchal authority but, most of all, demand that men are able to control women and other men. Masculinities that are labeled homosexual or feminine are relegated to the bottom of gender hierarchy among men (Connell, 1995:78). However, by performing activities not conceived of as traditionally male, men and boys can be expelled from the circle

of legitimate masculinity (Connell, 2000). Jewkes & Morrell (2011)'s study revealed that hegemonic masculinity is seen as a cultural ideal that links to risky sexual practices and uses violence against women. Furthermore sexuality is not static, its meanings and expressions change over time; fluctuate throughout an individual's life course and as reification for other social identities such as gender and race (McGuffey, 2008).

According to Naiker (2010) sexuality refers to gendered identity developed in males and females and in relation to one's needs for sexual pleasure and relationships. However, WHO (2002) & Jenkins (2004) revealed that sexuality is a central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction. In addition, WHO (2005) stated that sexuality is experienced and expressed in thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviours, practices, roles and relationships, sexuality is influenced by interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical, religious and spiritual beliefs. According to McGuffey (2008) sexuality is not simply a manifestation of sexual impulse, sexuality is more accurately described as a control mechanism for defining how, where, when and with whom one should be sexual. Dowsett defines sexuality as reduced to components of gender and other ways of understanding sexuality as a structure of ideas, an array of discourse and sensations, as the embodiment of pleasure and the forming of sex object choices and the unfolding of categories of desires (2003).

2.2.3. Constructions of masculinity and sexual risk

Gender and sexual identity are inextricably linked; the communities where adolescents live play an important role in the construction of identity and provide the cultural context for their development (Gilchrist & Sullivan, 2006). Furthermore according to Gilchrist & Sullivan (2006) the undeniable dominant cultural construction of what constitutes appropriate feminine and masculine behaviour exerts a strong influence on most young people. The notion of cultural politics captures the way that women and men, the young and the old, gay and straight, contest everyday cultural beliefs and have real material consequences. The practice of multiple partners has been static in South African history is contested within the ebb and flow of changing material livelihood (Hunter, 2005). Society has much impact on the sexual behaviour of boys. Gender norms, social expectations of appropriate roles and behaviours for men and women: the production of these norms in institutions and practices are related to men's health-related

behaviours, with implications for themselves, their partners, their families and their children (Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento, Olukuya & Santos, 2009).

Connell (1989, 1995 & 2000) stated that men might have multiple ways of behaving but performance of masculinity is ultimately located within gender power structures, which locate and place limits on their particular performance. Despite the disagreement over the extent to which poverty in itself enhances risky behaviour and sexual activity, scholars largely agree that belonging to lower social strata equals less frequent use of condoms and that socio-economic inequality has disempowering consequences for both men and women in the field of HIV and AIDS and reproduction (Marston & King, 2006). Furthermore many youth do not have access to health promotion material and advice. Media messaging is one way of increasing access to HIV and AIDS material (Mac n Phail & Campbell, 2001). The diversity of sexual practices and risks that may actually take place within the context of putatively chaste or faithful relationships presents serious challenges for HIV prevention (Boyce, Huang Soo Lee, Jenkins, et al, 2007).

2.2.5 Gender based violence, masculinity and sexuality

It is the coming together of male power in some ideological and material domains with male weakness in other domains, including, for instance, the difficulties a man might experience in building a home that can create the violence and risky masculinities so often tragically noted in the era of HIV and AIDS (Hunter, 2005). According to Walker (2005), respect from family, friends and partners has often been exacted through the use of force, being a man has been about being able to inflict pain on others and take pain yourself, you had pain in order for you to be a man so everything you do should be by force, by pain. Strong social and cultural forces shape sexual behaviour and are helping to explain why providing information and condoms, while important, are often not enough to change sexual behaviour (King & Marston, 2006). McGuffey (2008) discovered that males were seen as biologically unable to control their passions including sexual desire, anger and jealousy, self centred, led by their sexual desire and attracted to violence.

In addition to that McGuffey stated that the more 'macho' a male was perceived to be, the more these attributes were exaggerated and double standards for males and females prevailed: when a female's sexual behaviour resembled that of a male she was called 'slut' but sluts were not violent as machos (Leclerc-Madlala, 2002; McGuffey, 2008; Reddy & Dunne, 2007, Anderson, 2009). According to

Marston & King (2006), complying with gender expectations can raise social status, for some men by chastity or securing stable, exclusive relationship with a man for a woman, sex can also be a way to obtain money and gifts from boyfriends, this is particular described for Sub-Saharan Africa but not exclusive to region. Nonetheless reputations are linked to displays of chastity for women or heterosexual activity for men, but for women's reputation is damaged by many partners whereas being labeled homosexual lead to isolation (Marston & King, 2006).

2.2.6 Masculinity and sexual prowess

Pattman (2005) demonstrated that having multiple sexual partners was highly valued by boys as a positive confirmation of masculinity and being a man. Conversely, girls who initiate and agree to gangbang are negatively viewed by boys who objectify girls and see them as merely there to satisfy their sexual needs Anderson (2009). However, complying with gender expectation can raise social status for boys by having many girlfriends (Marston & King, 2006) and men's reputations can suffer if they are not seen to push for sexual access and numerous partners so displaying heterosexuality. Moreover, young men and boys are made vulnerable by rigid social norms of masculinity as they have to behave in ways that are socially expected from boys (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Furthermore, young people subjectively access the risks from sexual partners on the basis whether they are 'clean' or not, how they know their partners socially, their partners' appearance and other unreliable indicators (Reddy & Dunne, 2007). Nevertheless complying with gender expectation can raise social status: for boys by having many girlfriends (Marston & King, 2006).

According to Silberschmidt (2005) man's identity, self-confidence and social value are linked to his sexuality. In addition to that, in attempting to compensate for feelings of inadequacy and despair, men engage in extramarital sexual activity, often with casual partners. According to Hallman (2005) reducing the number of concurrent sexual partners is another main approach to HIV prevention. Moreover, young men's reputations can suffer if they are not seen to push for sexual access and numerous partners so displaying heterosexuality. Subsequently vaginal penetration is perceived to be important in determining masculinity and mark the transition from boyhood to manhood (Marston & King, 2006). Despite the fact that HIV and AIDS are transmitted through sex, boys generally assessed their personal risk as low compared to girls (Reddy & Dunne, 2007). This was due to both use of condoms and careful selection of girlfriends as an assessment risk based on trust and duration of relationships and then condom usage becomes inconsistent (Harrison, Kunene & Xaba, 2001). Moreover control over women is a social index

for masculine reputation; many men had chosen the lifestyle of sexual behaviour with multiple partners (Silberschmidt, 2005). Nevertheless Allen (2003)'s study unveiled that some girls resisted to the stereotypical in their constitution of their unconventional expressions of female sexual pleasure and desire emerged and some girls were not seeking any emotional attachment yet some boys were. Furthermore these findings stabilized the oppositional binaries that suggest that women and girls are emotional beings who are looking for love and men and boys seek sexual gratification without any emotional ties (Anderson, 2009).

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the ways in which the sexual risky behaviours of a group of Umlazi high, low class boys have been investigated through the lens of a masculinity conceptual framework. It has been argued that the ways in which these boys construct their masculinities and sexuality results in their getting into sexual risky behaviours. The study applies theories of multiple masculinities, considering that masculinities are dynamic. Nevertheless the study draws on the literature around collective and socially constructed forms of masculinity. However, the international and local literature has been studied with the purpose of generating and presenting a sufficiently understanding perspective of both hegemonic and alternative forms of masculinities. Furthermore the socio-economic in contexts is seen in the formation of masculine behaviours where boys are viewed as agents contesting, challenging and accommodating particular attributes. The following chapter 3 will be discussing the method used in this study.

CHAPTER 3

METHOLDOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the research design and methodology employed to generate data obtained from interviewing six boys between 16 and 17 years in an Umlazi high school. This study used a qualitative method and interpretive approach in order to elicit verbal responses from boys in an attempt to understand their sexual behaviours, attitudes and practices.

3.2. Qualitative Research

This chapter will provide a detailed description of the research process used to obtain the views of teenage boys on their sexual behaviours. I used the qualitative approach in this research project. Qualitative research is useful in order to delineate the process of making meaning and to describe how people interpret what they experience (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). A qualitative approach is concerned with peoples' experiences, perspectives of their own world and therefore generates insights rather than statistically analyzing (Maree, 2007). It is by explorative fieldwork in the form of interviewing my participants that will enable this research to find out about their experiences and views on their sexual behaviours.

3.3. The Interpretive Approach

My study is about understanding the human, social lives of teenage boys and to explore their meanings of risky sexual behaviours so it is an interpretive study (Maree, 2007). I focused on the boys` subjective experiences and their constructions of masculinity. According to Maree (2007) human behaviour is affected by knowledge of the social world which will inform our understanding of issues; in turn assist us in making research decisions and its findings influence the constructions of masculinity and sexuality theories.

3.4. Research Site

Umlazi is a township located in Durban South-West, the east coast of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. According to Census of 2001 it had estimated that Umlazi has a population of 388 687.This township is predominantly black which is 99.9% black, 0,08% coloured, 0,06 Indian and 0,01% White (Census, 2001). The name Umlazi is derived from the IsiZulu word 'umlaza' meaning acid produced from fermented milk or sour milk and was named by the past King Shaka of the Zulu nation. Umlazi has many primary and high schools, two coastal colleges, one hospital, several clinics, one university of technology, one college for further education, churches, community halls, one stadium, two malls, three hostels and two libraries. The sport that has better facilities is soccer and is promoted as a result they are many soccer teams and soccer grounds. There are many taverns in Umlazi and there is this internationally recognized tavern where you find tourists and celebrities and politicians from all over the world, this tavern is called Maxi's Lifestyles. Furthermore over the weekends you find young girls in this place in the company of older men who are driving elegant cars. However the school is surrounded by taverns, factories and informal settlements and the school has pleasing academic results although some of the learners are naughty. Moreover the school has a high enrolment and it is very big with more than one thousand learners and more than thirty educators.

The society in Umlazi is patriarchal and they still practise their African culture by slaughtering animals such as goats; cows and sheep as offering to the ancestors, amongst others. Furthermore these cultural ceremonies are conducted by males as they are the ones who are in charge of slaughtering the animals and who are in charge of lighting the African incense to speak with the ancestors, which again indicates the patriarchal position of societies in the Umlazi area. Men and boys are allowed to drink alcohol freely in these parties yet women and girls are seen as a shame when seen having alcohol. If they drink alcohol they have to do it secretly. A woman seen drunk in public loses dignity and is labeled a `loose` (promiscuous) woman. There is a high rate of unemployment in Umlazi and most teenagers drop out from school. Those who finish matric are forced to seek employment as they cannot afford tertiary education.

3.5. Sample Strategy

Research has shown that a sample population is vital to research success and the best possible way to do this is by using purposive sampling (Naicker, 2010). Purposive sampling is the most important kind of

non-probability sampling (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The focus of my study is boys between the ages 16 and 17 thus I was able to purposively select boys in the school. Firstly I had to look for a school that has boys between the ages of 16 and 17, because I teach in a primary school and the learners are still younger than 16. Therefore the high school became the better option to do this study. In fact this is a small project so I had to use a small group for the interview. The ethical clearance from University of KwaZulu-Natal was issued so I used it to ask for the permission to conduct my study in the high school I selected at Umlazi. As a result the group of six black boys comprised the sample as the school had only black learners. Nevertheless the school has many boys who are 16 and 17 but I had to ask the educator who is teaching L.O. to assist me in selecting the boys who could be part of this study.

However the L.O. educator selected the boys that are outspoken in her lessons as her subject does involve sexual education and she knew they would not have problems to discuss sexual issues. Moreover the recommendation made by the L.O. educator made things convenient. In addition to that the sample group would then generate data and reveal findings specific to the Zulu culture and particular context of Umlazi. After the sample was chosen the participants were issued consent forms to be approved and signed by parents and guardians. Participants were notified about the nature of the study and the use of data supplied before the data was collected from them. Below are the biographies of the group of six boys who participated in this study:

3.6. Participants' Biographies

(They all live at Umlazi Township, and they are all in Grade ten)

Tholinhlanhla: He is 16 and lives in A section. He lives with his parents and siblings in an informal settlement, his neighbourhood is influenced by criminals and, there are many hijackers. Youth in his neighbourhood believe that crime and being a criminal is the way to live.

Dumsani: He is 17 and lives in B section with his parents and siblings and the area has many shacks.

Olwethu: He is 17 and lives in V section called area one. He says he lives with a nephew who is a drunkard. Olwethu's father lives in Gauteng with his stepmother and his father sends him money every month and always provides him with boxes of condoms. Olwethu's mother is separated from his father and, although she is still alive, Olwethu chose to live in his father's home although his father lives in

Johannesburg. Olwethu prefers Umlazi schools to those in Johannesburg. That is why his father left him with his nephew. His nephew spends all the money he receives from lodgers on alcohol.

Athini: He is 16 and lives at V section next to Sandakahle. He lives with his parents, who are employed, and his siblings and he is youngest boy in his family. This area is quiet though there isa problem with people who are womanizers, drinkers and smokers. No adult is at his home during the day and the young children are normally left alone. So everything they watch on T.V. inspires them and they want to practise what they have seen.

Sbonelo: He is 17 also lives at V section called Monkey Town. He is an orphan and he lives with relatives. He does not want the people to know he is orphaned because he believes they will make fun of him. He lives with one bigger brother, and two boys of his age and older sister and his aunt. In this area there is much fighting during weekends, especially after people have been drinking and smoking.

Sboniso: He is 16 and lives at A section with his parents and siblings. On weekends he likes to spend his time with friends visiting different sections so that they can meet different girls.

3.7. Data Collection: Interviews

I conducted an hour-long one semi-structured open-ended group interview as my research instrument as it helped the respondents to clarify their points and stimulated the participants to give full answers (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). The interview was conducted in a school library at first but the school librarian wanted to close the library and the interview group of had to move to the classroom which was not that private because other learners were passing by and wanted to see what we were doing. Six boys were interviewed and the interview lasted for about an hour. I used an interview guide. Interviews have some advantage over questionnaires because they can generate more personalized information about how people view the world, especially if one veers towards qualitative, open ended unstructured interviewing (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). The format of my interview was more flexible and I was able to elaborate on questions that were confusing or needed clarification when I observed that the participants did not understand what I requested them. While an interview guide was used to discuss specific topics it did not dictate the direction the interviews took. According to Esley (1993) every interview has a structure. The difference lies in how that structure is negotiated (*ibid*, 1993). For some interactions, the strategy is predetermining. For others it is shaped in the process, as I ended up asking questions that were not in my interview questions in order to probe particular responses.

Furthermore, questions in my interview schedule were simple and comprehensive and required answers of a personal nature, as the boys were required to divulge somewhat personal information about their lives and sexual experiences and their masculine performances. The semi-structured open-ended interview is suitable when the topic is of a sensitive nature (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007) which was the case with my topic. It required participants to answer questions on their personal views on the issues of masculinity and sexuality and HIV and AIDS. Nevertheless I observed their silent cues and recorded them, such as expressions of disbelief, and disagreement. I wrote their non- verbal responses into the transcript. The participants were encouraged to speak freely about their personal experiences and their views. The process of face–to-face interviewing is undoubtedly the most common method by which qualitative data is collected in educational research (Maree, 2007). According to Cohen, Manion& Morrison (2007), semi-structured interviews set the agenda but do not presuppose in answering questions and allow some flexibility in the process of interviewing. Though there were both structured and unstructured questions the participants were actively involved and answered questions without a problem. I used probes such as asking the participants to explain more and to clarify their answers that also allowed additional information from their responses which made my interview stronger. They were aware that under no circumstances would I discuss the interview with their teachers or family members.

Each key question had sub questions which allowed detailed responses from the participants and this ensured rich data was generated. This method also allowed the respondents and me to clarify misunderstandings which resulted during the interview. The challenge I had was that of laughter, the participants were laughing at each other and they were taking some responses as a joke. So I had to stop them from laughing and reminded them that the interview was being recorded and that I wanted them to treat this session seriously. Some were laughing when others were talking about girls and sexual experiences. Holstein & Gubrium (2003) describe interviewing in qualitative studies as a unique form of conversation which provides the researcher with empirical data about the respondents' social world, simply by asking participants to speak about their lives. During the interview, I gained participants' cooperation and established a relationship with them, by being welcoming to yet neutral about their responses and therefore high participation (Leedy & Omrod, 2001). I used a relaxed style of interviewing; allowing the participants to answer questions freely. I interviewed the participants during May 2011.

However the interview was conducted in a friendly and purposeful manner. I ensured that participants were free from anxiety so that they would not be threatened by questions and the fact that I am an educator and an adult. I do not have a stereotypical appearance of a teacher which is authoritative and formal which was my advantage and I am friendly and they were not even aware that I am an educator, which is what they told me afterwards. I approached them in a way that was not threatening and I addressed them using their language (the 'ekasi' language of young boys). Although they felt relaxed, when they had said sensitive things they wanted me to reassure them I was not going to let their teacher listen to the interview. The semi-structured interviews conducted were held in a comfortable atmosphere in a relative quiet atmosphere though later it turned out noisy during the interview. The library of the school was supposed to be quiet but the librarian kept on coming in and out. This certainly posed a problem initially and was a limitation in the study. Unfortunately there was no other venue available to use. The participants were distracted and also seemed a bit anxious with the teacher being in the vicinity. Eventually the teacher stopped and we continued.

Another possible limitation of this study was the power relations between me and the participants. The adult-child/teacher-pupil power differentials in some ways may have influenced the responses. Also my gender as a researcher interviewing young men is to be considered. Being a female and the participants being males were expected to talk about sex and sexuality a topic that is hardly discussed between parents and children; teachers and learners. However, most of the young men who participated in this study did not appear reluctant to talk to me although some were more comfortable than others. Because talking about sex amongst adults and children is taboo I thought I might have difficulty breaking through to the boys. I do feel that they withheld some thoughts, experiences and perceptions and believe that had I been a male interviewer, they might have been a lot more forthcoming in their responses.

3.8. Data Analysis

I transcribed the recorded data verbatim and analysed it by coding to present the grouped data and searched for similar terms (Gibbs, 2007: 114). Recordings were replayed and I read the transcripts several times to get some idea of the content. I continued to interpret the data, organise and analyse the information so that it answered my research questions. In order to interpret the data I used masculinity and sexuality as lenses with which I will view this study and the themes generated during the research. Furthermore the literature, both national and international, will be used to support my findings.

3.9. Ethical Considerations

According to Gratton & Jokes (2004) the best approach is that of informed consent. However during the process of developing the research design I considered ethical issues associated with this study. Ethical committee at UKZN issued a clearance letter which I produced to the principal of the high school selected. After the principal of this selected high school granted me permission to do this study I approached the boys aged between 16 and 17, selected by their L.O. teacher to be interviewed. They were all doing grade 10 and I informed the participants of the purpose of the study and the process of data collection. The grade 10 of the school consists of learners between 16 and 17 years so it was important to issue the consent forms to be filled by their parents or guardians in order for them to participate in my study and be interviewed. The interview date was scheduled at a time suitable for both participants and the researcher. The interview was recorded so that I could pay attention to what the participants were saying and to be aware of the non-verbal responses. I requested permission from the participants to record the interviews.

Consent is a vital issue in my research and signed consent forms was required from the participants because they are still considered minors. Parents and guardians needed to also give consent for participants to participate in my study. The participants were given the right to withdraw from the research at any time if they were not comfortable with the topics being discussed. All participants were notified through informed consent that I was the only one who had access to the research data. I assured them that when the data was collected, no one would have access to the transcripts. I informed the participants of utmost confidentiality and anonymity. I informed them that pseudonyms would be used in place of their names and the name of their school to protect their identities. The assurance of confidentiality for both participants and school helped the interviewees to feel comfortable. I also thanked them for allowing me to interview them. However, this study was modest in reality; no ethically challenging issues arose in the research process. Subsequently no harm was done by this study. The boys did not reveal sensitive information that could have resulted in engagement of other parties such as legal staff and social workers.

3.10. Strategy

Population validity refers to extent to which the outcomes or results obtained for the sample of individuals may be generalized to the population to which the research hypothesis applies (Mason, 2002:

127-32.). The level of the population validity achieved depends exclusively on how representative the sample is of the population from which it has been obtained (Huysamen, 2001). This study does not seek to generalize the findings to the wider population because it is a qualitative study that has a very small sample that focuses on the specificities of this group of boys. However the results from this study are credible from the perspective of the group of six boys participated in the research.

3.11. Limitations

There were two limitations that impacted on the findings of this study. The first relates to conditions under which the data was collected, the second relates to the claims that can (cannot) be made on behalf of my findings. Though I was granted a permission to conduct the interview in this school I had no power to decide the venue I had to hear from the principal and the staff on which room will I be allocated to conduct the interview. The principal decided to set the date that was convenient for the school and learners. Eventually the interview took place during exam time. The exam process was the whole school day and I had to wait until the participants had completed writing their exam paper. The school was very noisy after the examination. The interview was conducted in the library and the librarians wanted to lock the room before I had finished the interview as it was home time for them. For that reason we were allocated to another class. The boys were very excited to discuss the topic I do not know whether they were excited by the fact that I am an adult and it is not easy to discuss sexual issues and masculinity with adults especially with black people so they had a chance to talk about sex to another adult besides their teacher. Moreover some boys seemed to be more talkative and dominating in the interview than other boys in the group which was another limitation.

3.11. Conclusion

This chapter described how I conducted my research project at a selected high school in Umlazi, how I selected my participants, research instruments and modes of analysis I used in my study. This section discussed the research design data collecting method, data sources, the research questions, the research process and limitations of the study. The next chapter will analyse the findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

In this study, I will focus on what boys say about their experiences of relationships, sexuality and their voices as a basis for discovering the factors that inform their constructions of masculinity. The data is analysed and interpreted using the multiple masculinities theory offered by Connell (2000), with multiple masculinities and multiple or diverse sexualities theories used as a lens to interpret the data. In this chapter I will analyse and discuss the data generated from semi-structured open-ended interviews. After multiple readings of recorded transcripts I organised the data according to themes. The following themes emerged:

•   Iginsa hegemonic masculinity: Getting the girls

•   'Isitabane', 'izithwathwa' or 'inyoni': Subordinate Masculinities

•   Objectification of women: '….As long as she has 'ikhekhe' it is the same.

•   Double standards and sex: boys talking about Masgebengu (loose girls)

•   Not discussing sex: Being a parent and being a Christian

•   Media and exposing sexual contents

•   Love and lust: 'Eih…eih there are those when you look at them you feel horses'

•   Proving love by having unsafe sex

4.2. Background to the study

According to the participants their area is dominated by criminals, a high level of school drop outs, substance usage and promiscuity. Even though being a criminal is not a good thing the people in this community have accepted it. The boys in the study showed that they do not want to things that will make

people suspicious and call them by names, they do not want to be different from other boys and these boys indicated they wanted to do things that are socially accepted.

4.3. `Iginsa`hegemonic masculinity: Getting the girls

According to the participants the people who are prominent are mostly criminals who are living lavish lifestyles. As a result the criminals are their role models they look up to them and these criminals attract girls and women as they are the ones who date the most beautiful girls and have multiple partners which these boys admire. The participants revealed more than one form of masculinity and seem to portray masculinity in different ways. Their masculinity has a version that is organised around expertise of the society (Connell, 2000). Furthermore they admire the people who perform the hegemonic masculinity and their performance is based on their role models and the social construction of masculinity.

It is evident that `ginsas` access much power in this area and have much influence on the young ones because of their ability to live flashy lifestyles, supporting their families, dating beautiful women, having multiple partners and being feared by the people because they shoot people who get in their way or who provoke them. The 'ginsas' are showing hegemonic lifestyles because they dominate both society and their girlfriends in this place. For this reason young boys in this area want to grow up and become `ginsas` since they live fancy life styles of girls, cars and money. This is what Tholinhlanhla revealed about *'ginsas':*

Tholinhlanhla: Criminals influence my neighbourhood; there are many hijackers living a posh lifestyle so the youth grow up wanting to become ginsas (hijackers).

Tholinhlanhla:..'after selling the car they talk about how much money they have and how they spend on liquor, girls and fancy places they visited. They drive expensive cars, live in beautiful houses, their siblings and parents get what they want from them. They are really supportive. Some have developed to business people, they have breakdowns, taxis and tenders, and some have even bought houses in the suburbs. (Talked boldly and proudly) When they visit 'ekasi' they buy people liquor and meat so people adore them.

Researcher: So tell me how do 'ginsas' get the girls?

Tholinhlanhla: (easy hooooowh) Ha... ha hey it so easy they drive expensive cars and girls love to ride cars and they wear expensive clothes their money talks for them don't you know? Ha...ha (laughs) you can see how some girls throw themselves to 'ginsas' even the girls young enough to be their daughters.

Researcher: *Why do they throw themselves to 'ginsas'?*

(Loud laughter from the participants' one whispered 'Where do you come from if you have not seen it happening?')

Tholinhlanhla: (laughter 'izikhokho lezi') you know (coughs) girls do strange things sometimes. Even if they know who is dated by the 'ginsa' in the area they still go out with him. There is this one who lives two houses away from my house. He has three babies from three different women in one street. They know each other and they always fight over him.

Researcher: *Does being 'iginsa' makes you have lots of girls?*

(All participants answered simultaneously in a mocking way 'faka imali uzobona' and whistling.)

According to Campbell, Faulis, Maimane, et al (2005) in conditions of poverty, girls depend on sexual partners for gifts such as money or clothing. The participants held the view that 'ginsas' girlfriends depended on the 'ginsas' for money and other favours. According to the data the 'ginsas' performances are inextricably tied to dominant notions of heterosexuality and `ginsa` are viewed as proper men and feared by most in the society as they can shoot those who interfere with them in any way. This resonates with Renolds` (2003) study affirming boys' heterosexuality as a signifier of hegemonic masculinity. The 'ginsas' seem to occupy the no man's land Duncan (2006) because no one interferes with them or their girlfriends and people who are close to them. The society accepts 'ginsas' to avoid persecution. The 'ginsa' are macho in this area and portray hegemonic masculinity and for that reason some young boys see them as role models. Some have been so successful that they now own businesses through their criminal activities and have all the girls they want. This places them at sexual risk as, for instance, *Tholinhlanhla described regarding the 'ginsa' in his neighbourhood who has three babies from different women in one street and, in addition, has other women who visit him.*

The participants revealed that these 'ginsa' get women easily because of the cars they drive, expensive clothes they wear, money and their reputation of being untouchable. It is evident that 'ginsas' exert much power in this area and have much influence on young boys because of their expensive cars, beautiful

houses , money and many girlfriends. For this reason young boys grow up and become 'ginsa' since they live lavish lifestyles and attract as many girls as they like. According to Walker (2005), women place pressure on men to conform to more hegemonic notions of masculinity, which is clearly very difficult to resist, so the 'ginsas' become criminals in order to be able to provide for their girlfriends and by so doing they become role models to the participants.

Even young girls want to date 'ginsas' as they want to be protected and spoiled. The 'ginsa' girlfriends find it hard to leave them because they will lose protection and the benefits they receive from them. Moreover, boys and men fear what might happen to them if they approach the ex-girlfriend of a 'ginsa' so the 'ginsas' girlfriends remain with them and accept that they are sharing their boyfriends with other girls and women.

Researcher: *Why do they fight instead of leaving him?*

Tholinhlanhla: *You know when you are a girlfriend you are protected. No one mess with you in the area; they know if they do what will happen to them. So (thinking) I think it is hard for girls to leave them cause they will lose protection and money they get from their 'ginsa' boyfriend. Hey, he really spoils them! He bought cars for three of them and when they arrive unexpectedly and he is with someone he chases them away.*

4.4. 'Isitabane', 'Izithwathwa' or 'Inyoni': Subordinate Masculinities

The data revealed that the participants do not want to be different from other boys in their neighborhood to avoid name calling. The participant revealed that not having a girlfriend places one at risk of being labeled as 'isitabane', 'isithwathwa',or 'inyoni'. However to have a girlfriend will imply that a boy is heterosexual.

Sboniso: *There are those who are called 'Izithwathwa'. You see (stressing) they are people who expect everybody to have girlfriends. If you do not have a girlfriend they say 'ushimile' (unattractive to opposite sex) or 'uyisitabane' (gay).*

It is important to these boys to show that they have a girlfriend. If they do not, they are labeled homosexual/gay which they consider a derogatory term. Furthermore to be a real boy you have to show certain qualities that are highly esteemed by arbiters of masculinity in this society as Sboniso revealed

above. Being ostracised seems to be boys' main concern so the participants seem to live and perform according to the society's expectations to avoid being seen as different.

Being a man in this community hinges on outward expressions of heterosexuality which include having a girlfriend, commenting on girls, the way the boys' dress is commented on when it is different from what boys are expected to dress and even colours the boys wear and engaging in substance usage and having multiple partners. As in Renold`s (2003) study, differentiating oneself and subordinating homosexuality by loudly proclaiming other boys as gay, the boys assert and attempt to make coherent their heterosexual identities and police a perceived boundary of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity. As these boys highlighted, a boy who acts differently is at risk of name calling. Furthermore, calling other boys names, such as 'inyoni' or 'izithwathwa', is part of the process of differentiation from homosexuals and subordinates alternative masculinities. The participants assert and attempt to make coherent their heterosexual identities which others suggest, involves external (social) and internal (psychic) processes (Renold, 2003).

The data also shows the heterosexual male gaze is prevalent. It is evident that the participants are expected to comment when women walk past.

Sbonelo: *…I cannot look at the girls and say nothing. I have to propose.*

The above comments support Connell's (2000) view that the situational formed gender identities, practice and representation of boys are socially constructed. Both Connell's (2000) and Duncan's (2006) data assert that boys and men need to flirt, date and move between desirable girls to enhance their sexual reputations. The participants revealed that proposing and commenting when a girl passes by is part of their hegemonic matrix which resonates with Renold's study (2003) that some activities, such as proposing to girls, place boys in a position of dominance.

Dumsani*: The way you talk, walk and your clothes tell if you are a man.*

Dumsani*: …Older men are smoking in front of children and even children are smoking 'wunga'.*

Olwethu*: Most of the times when you are not smoking you are called 'inyoni', looked down upon. If they see you they call you 'ibari' and say you are acting academic and you think you better than them.*

According to Renolds, boys need to act macho by smoking and drinking, are expected to avoid colours associated with homosexuality and should walk in a way that is accepted for men, no shaking of the body (moving bums up and down) even when you talk not much hand gestures. A boy will be socially rejected and subordinated if he does not comply with social expectations. According to Renold (2003), the process of differentiation (homosexuality) and sub-ordination (alternative masculinities) were ways in which the boys in her study asserted and attempted to make coherent their heterosexual identities which, others suggest, involves external (social) and internal (psycho) processes. This is in line with what participants in this study revealed about how they tell if a person is a man or not.

This data shows that the participants struggle to protect the sense of self and their environment pressurises them to inhabit particular forms of masculinity where they have to: use substances; talk and walk in a particular way that shows masculinity; behave in a way that would not make them different to other boys; and have girlfriends (Anderson, 2009). The participants associated themselves with masculinity and sexuality by pointing out things that could be suspicious in other boys. They are aware of privileges gained from practices of masculinity which appear heterosexual as no one will call them names (Frank, 2000).

4.5. Objectification of women: '…..As long as she has 'ikhekhe' it is the same'

The data reveals that some participants view women as sex objects. As the following participant said, he only dates for sex and does not have a straight girlfriend:

Sboniso: ….as long as she has 'ikhekhe' it is the same. I do not have a straight/steady girlfriend for now.

The participants claimed that looks are the main attraction to them when they first meet a girl. Beauty is objectified as women with an attractive figure.

Sboniso: *I do not look for personality when I meet a girl. Most of the times we like to look at buttocks, body shape is what attracts us boys.*

Even though the participant was talking about himself he never forgot to highlight his view as similar to other boys' which places girls as objects. According to Duncan, (2006) 'proper lads' are popular with girls but emotionally distant. Sboniso indicated this when he revealed that he does not want a close relationship and his main focus is sex implying that he wants to enhance his a sexual reputation at the same time (Duncan, 2006). Sexual reputation, wherein sexual performance is crucial, is an arena in which

masculinity is socially constructed and enacted (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005). Sboniso`s expression of not having emotions for girls concurs with Anderson's study which demonstrated that expressions of emotion is constructed as contradictory to the hegemonic ideal (2009). The participants declared themselves heterosexual in a variety of ways, both private in a sense that whatever is discussed in the interview would not be told outside the interview and public declaration for greater knowledge to sexual objectification of girls Hegemonic masculinity highlighted differences between the participants and `lesser` boys by labeling them gays or popular with girls but emotionally distant (Duncan, 2006).

Sbonelo: I like a girl with big buttocks. A girl like that would make me want to sleep with her instantly.

Olwethu: … those girls I propose or advance because they have money if I go out with them I will have money for airtime and if I need cash I will get it from her. Sometimes I do not have to ask for money she will just look at me and ask "why you are like this baby, are you ok?" Then I would say I'm not ok then she will just give me money.

Olwethu: …you approach today, she accepts you and have sex same time and she does not even know you.

The data reveals that participants view some girls as sex objects and sources of benefits such as airtime. According to Olwethu it is evident that some boys date girls for benefits which place the boys at risk as they will end up having sex with girls and those girls are objects to satisfy the boys' sexual desire.

4.6. Double standards and sex: Boys talking about 'Masgebengus'

'Masgebengu' is an IsiZulu term referring to a `loose` or promiscuous girl who has many boyfriends. The participants revealed that they like to have this type of girl as one of their girlfriends because she does not bother them about their whereabouts, gives them money and it is not possessive because she knows she has other boyfriends. The 'masgebengu' issue reveals a double standard: these boys have many girlfriends but they do not want to be questioned about them yet if the girl they regard as their girlfriend is caught with another guy it becomes an issue. The boys seem to be excited about the fact that the 'masgebengu' is experienced and does everything in bed to make them satisfied and to give the boys sexual experience. Their main focus was on sexual gratification. As Olwethu revealed:

Olwethu: *Whenever you want Masgebebengu she is available. Haaaaaa…Masgebengu drives you crazy in bed. You feel as if the world is yours and you reach all her corners and she turns you like a screw. (Laughter). She is not shy; she makes sure she does everything that will satisfy you as a man.*

Researcher: *So Masgebengu could be your steady girlfriend? (Weeee… No… no)*

Sbonelo: *(HaaaaayMasgebengu) She can break other peoples' relationships but no I can't take her as my steady girlfriend as most of the boys have slept with her.*

The boys in this group seem to be reckless because, despite knowing about the 'masgebengus' sexual behavior, they still choose to have sex with them, sometimes without a condom, which puts them at risk of being infected or making the girl pregnant.

Olwethu: Sometimes 'masgebengu' will take you off your feet that it will be hard to reach a condom and you are so horny that you cannot look for it because when you leave the girl while she is in the mood for sex when you come back you start afresh romancing as she will be cold and it is a tough job. (coughs)

According to participants they all have more than one girlfriend. Some participants stressed that they do not even know how many girlfriends they have. Moreover, having multiple partners is associated with African culture, which some boys and men practice. Having lots of girlfriends makes the boys and men respected, as Sboniso said:

Tholinhlanhla: A man with lots of girlfriends is respected in my area.

Athini: I have many girlfriends (lots of laughter). Let me think how many girlfriends I have here at school (thinking)

Researcher: Just recall your girlfriends.

Athini: Ok…I will count by grades

Researcher: Just estimate the number

Athini: I would say they are seven in this school. Let us forget about ex-girlfriends…Eishh…I've got girlfriends (laughter)

Boasting about the number of girlfriends is met with much excitement from other boys. It indicates that a boy with many girlfriends is appreciated and regarded as 'isoka'. One of the participants alludes to having so many girlfriends that he cannot even remember. Even though the Zulu culture promotes multi-partner relationships, some people who practiced it (called 'amasoka') were doing it safely (having 'thigh sex' and not penetrating their girlfriends (Hunter, 2005). Some participants, however, revealed that they have penetrative sex in the ordinary manner.

Sboniso: *…It should be known that you slept or had sex with your girlfriend so that other boys can respect you.*

Having sex with a girlfriend affirms boys resonating with Renold's (2003) study which identifies sex as the performance signifier for public affirmation of a boy or girl's heterosexuality and hegemonic masculinity. The participants revealed that the number of sexual partners, especially in concurrent relationships, was a measure of their achievement of manhood (Simpson, 2007). The room was full of laughter during the girlfriend discussion. The participants were glowing when they were talking about how many girlfriends they have. The participants illustrated that they have girlfriends from other places *besides girlfriends from their neighbourhood and school.*

Sboniso*: Here I've got one girlfriend and have other girlfriends from other places.*

Tholinhlanhla*: A man is man because he has many girlfriends or wives. When I grow up I like to have as many wives as my president so that if one wife gives me trouble I'll visit the others. (laughter)*

This participant demonstrates how women and girls are commodified and objectified and can be discarded if they do not conform or comply. The advantages available to men, where culture which privileges men is central to the constructions of masculinity, are evident here. Nevertheless South Africans have sought to protect what is best in their own cultural heritage from the onslaught of Western culture and lately supported by the constitution (Kretzschmar, 2000).

According to the Zulu culture a wealthy man is identified by the number of wives he possesses. The boy who is a hero is a Casanova: one who has many girlfriends but a girl who changes boyfriends is regarded as loose (Hunter, 2005). The culture of polygamy was outlawed by the Customary Marriage Act of 1961, allowing only one legally bound wife. Since democracy, polygamy is allowed but on the condition that the parties concerned practise Zulu culture as defined by the Customary Marriage Act (Act 120 of 1998).

Although in line with freedom of association, this act seems to discriminate against other people in terms of ethnicity and origin. It also reveals a double standard because females are not allowed to be polyandrous and because the wife does not have a choice if the husband decides to have another wife. Also if the husband had an extra marital affair, he puts the wife at risk of contracting a disease. This data reveals that there are young people who are in favour of polygamy and their value judgment on President Zuma as a role model. Mr. Zuma is popular and the first South African president to be polygamous. He has recently married the sixth wife. The Zulu culture sanctions, promotes and upholds polygamy, a clear indication of an imbalance of power. The president's polygamous marriage is enticing and acceptable to some participants and to them he is a role model. The Zulu culture at this time makes it hard to problematise promiscuity and representation of African masculinities (Hunter, 2005).

In the next extract, the double standard around multiple concurrent relationships is evident. Participants reveal that having a `straight` or steady girlfriend is sought after or desired. They all agreed that a straight girlfriend is that girl who does not 'cheat', who focuses on one boyfriend and is the one participants claim to love truly.

Olwethu: I call her straight when I first meet her I feel love and wish I could propose love to her…

According to the participants it is ok to have a straight girlfriend and other girls on the side which implies a double standard. The data shows that the participants do not want their girlfriends to have affairs with other boys even though it is acceptable for them to have more than one girlfriend. The data reveals that when a boy discovers that the girl has another boyfriend, he leaves or ends the affair and the girl is regarded as unfaithful. One of the participants, Athini, had more than one girlfriend but when he discovered his girlfriend was cheating, he ended the relationship and claimed he was faithful, despite many girlfriends.

Athini: I had one before she was unfaithful and we parted…

'She had an affair with my friend's friend. While I was with her I was faithful.'

Sbonelo: … When I date this girl she is patient (smiled) and gives me her attention and time and sometimes she comes to me and asks me why am I ignoring her and that's the girl I consider my straight girlfriend. She calls me and sends messages. I like the girl who gives me attention.

Olwethu: She will love me only not other boys…

Sexuality is a central aspect of these boys` lives according to the data and it encompasses sex, gender identities and roles together with the boys' sexual orientation in this study (WHO, 2002). According to the participants they do have sex with their girlfriends who fortify social norms as all the boys in the study find it normal and acceptable to have sex with their girlfriends (Connell, 2000). The boys also state that they "*cannot live without sex for long because the sperms go to your head and you act abnormal*". This myth causes some boys to make sure that they have sex often to avoid becoming insane. It is myths such as this that prevail in this community that contributes to risky sexual practices.

The participants adhere to rigid views about masculinity such as believing that they need more sex than girls (Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento, et al, 2006). Sboniso in the study revealed that:

Sboniso*: '….I had two girlfriends and have sex with both of them'*

Interviewer: *Why do you sleep with both of them?*

Sboniso*: It bores me to have sex with one girl, I know everything about her, and I know when she orgasms and how she cries. There is nothing new whenever we have sex so I become bored. It is better to have sex with different girls because each of them reacts differently and that excites me.*

According to the data Sboniso is one of the people that could be considered as 'isoka' since he has many girlfriends and has sex with them but being 'isoka' could lead to embarrassing illnesses (Hunter, 2005). Nevertheless the study revealed a gender stereotype and differential expectations about appropriate sexual behaviours of the participants as the key factors influencing their sexual behaviours (Marston & King, 2008). Sboniso is exposing himself and his girlfriend to sexual risk due to his lifestyle.

4.7. Not discussing sex: Being a parent and being a Christian

Discussing sex with adults is considered disrespectful. All the participants revealed that it is tough to discuss sex with their parents as they will be seen as inappropriate. Simpson (2007) states that sexual knowledge is generally assured to come naturally to boys and says that many former students expressed regret that, while instructions on sexual matters was given to their sisters at puberty and again prior to marriage, they were left to find out for themselves because of notions of respect and propriety,. Subsequently parenting is a process in which both parents are expected to meet the spiritual, personal, physical and social developmental needs of the child (Kretzschmar, 2000). According to Kretzschmar, affection and intimacy are essential to humanity whether one is married or single. Some Christians see

sexuality as evil in itself and regard sexual pleasure as wrong (2000). Kretzschmar posits that Christian ethics and other religious and moral traditions seek to control or limit sexual drive precisely because it is so powerful and potentially both harmful and healing in its effects. Many people view people under 18 as innocent children, too young to talk to about sex (Hunter, 2005). Some older people, such as parents in the Zulu nation (Hunter, 2005) seem to be embarrassed to discuss sex which also the lack of information, awareness around sexual risk proper guidance from adults places young people at risk of sexual infections. This participant expresses how elders view children talking about sex as being improper. Below is what a participant said about discussing sex with adults:

Dumsani: ….I am scared to discuss sexual issues because they are old. They will think I am naughty and I don't think they will understand boys' issues.

Sboniso: At home they are strict. My parents are Christians and it's hard to discuss sexual issues (smiled)

Many adults are embarrassed to talk about sex because these boys are still young children and sometimes parents who are Christians feel that if you talk about sex to children who are young you are encouraging them to have sex. As the Bible said, people should abstain from all the appearance of evil (Thessalonians 512, 2-23), evil in this context is sex before marriage so adults avoid the topic so that they will not be linked to evil. According to the Bible, sex is bound to be the preserve of the institute of marriage. Christian parents are mindful of talking about sex to children as it could be perceived as encouraging the children to have sex.According to Leviticus: 18: 17-18 from the Bible, "People should live their lives in purity before a sinful and wicked world". Furthermore, sex is lawful in the context of marriage (1 Corinthians. 10:23), fornication is unlawful sexual intercourse (Titus, 1:15).

Furthermore the Bible teachings highlight that the body is not meant for sexual immorality but for the Lord, which is referred to as the Temple of God and makes it even harder for young people who are already sexually active to discuss it with parents. It is the participants' fear of being condemned or judged because they have already sinned by having sex before marriage. In addition, raising sexual issues might lead the Christian parent to suspect that the child is engaged in sex already and this might have repercussions.

4.8. Media and exposing sexual contents

In this place the parents do not spend much time watching television they view it as entertainment for young ones. They normally watch sports and news and children are often left alone to watch it which was mentioned by the participants.

Athini: At home there's no one during the day, young children are normally alone. So they watch anything they like on television and DVDs. They watch things that inspire them. When my parents return from work they watch news and they go to bed early because they work far. They wake up as early as four to catch the train.

Television often broadcasts sexual content. The participant reveals how adults become embarrassed when adverts are showing some romance or sexuality. Even though the media indicates when the content has sexual content and advises parental guardians during the viewing, it does show sexual scenes during highlights and it is hard for parents to close their children's' eyes as these highlights appear instantly and, moreover, they are often away when children watch television and it is not easy to know what is playing on television. However it becomes a challenge to watch T.V. with adults as Sboniso revealed:

Sboniso: Even when we are watching television, when an advert shows people who are kissing they become embarrassed (parents) (laughter). I would rather ask one of my teachers that I trust.

Television has sexual content that is regularly marketed to younger children, pre-teens and teens and this affects young people's beliefs about sex (Lebedies, 2012). There is much exposure of explicit sex which makes parents embarrassed to watch television with their children as the participant stated above. Moreover, the participants are engaged in sexual activities and they keep it a secret from adults. They normally choose a place that has no adult present so they can be free. The data revealed that the participants are more advanced in technology than their parents so some parents ask the children to fix the channels and children are the one who know the codes to those channels that have sexual scenes and it is hard for parents to control their viewing.

Athini: So everything the youth view on television inspires them and they want to practice it.

It is evident that boys are exposed to movies that have explicit sexual scenes and they are influenced by the things they view and want to experiment.

Sboniso: At home my older sister has her own television in the bedroom, (coughs); she doesn't watch it often during the day so when I am bored by the family television in the dining room I go to her room and play games, music and porno videos.

Researcher: Are your parents aware that you watch porn in your sister's room?

Sboniso: (smiled) (background coughed) I keep it a secret, my friends and I exchange porn and we use cartoon CD covers so that adults cannot see what is inside.

Researcher: Tell me how you manage to hide what you are watching.

Sboniso: I put the headphones so that people outside the room would not hear what is playing. Ha! If she can find out she would tell my parents and I would be in trouble.

The participants are exposed to sexual content on television through games, music and movies and the participants hide from adults when they want to watch things that have explicit sex. According to Gruber &Thau (2003), adolescents now have greater access to X-rated movies through TV channels and video-tapes, and soap opera story lines have become increasingly sexual with romantic subplots involving teenaged characters to draw in adolescents and young adults. Televised content may induce adolescents to follow stereotypical sexual scripts emphasizing male dominance, female submission and the primacy of sexual attractiveness (Gruber & Thau, 2003).

Researcher: Why do you watch porn?

(*A lot of laughter*)

Athini: We want to see different styles, hoo we do not want to be a joke to girls after sex as sometimes you can have sex with an experienced girl (laughter). (Athini is right: yes..yes)

According to the participants they watch pornography in order to learn and gain more knowledge on sexual styles. Subsequently they believe that when they watch porn it will make them good in bed and if the girl is experienced she would not recognise them as inexperienced as they would know different sexual styles.

4.9. Love and lust: *'Eih…eih there are those when you look at them you feel horses'*

According to Cunninghan (2001) gender is an ongoing performance, rooted in social interaction, in which women and men enact and reinforce their own femininity and masculinity in specific social contexts. However, men and boys who adhere to rigid views about masculinity such as believing in multiple partners and those men need more sex than women do and who value lust over love are reported to have a higher incidence of transmitted infection and been arrests for substance abuse and violence against partners (Barker, Ricardo, Nascimento, et. al. 2009).

The data shows that participants have mixed feelings about girls they lust after and sometimes love them. Multiple concurrent relationships are a norm amongst this group and having one steady girlfriend is unusual to some boys. However some revealed that they could feel when they meet the love of their lives, this feeling is based on physical attraction and instant arousal.

Sbonelo: Eih...eih... there are those when you look at them you feel horses in your chest as if you are scared, those are the ones I like to approach as I feel we will get along well (laughter).

The participants revealed that they feel different when they meet some of the girls, a feeling that possibly indicates love. They say they are swept off their feet when they meet the girls they truly love. One of the participants emphasized that he does not have a stable relationship because girls bring stress. The data reveals that boys who fall in love find themselves stressed and vulnerable.

Sboniso: I do not have a straight girlfriend for now. I do not need it for now. They bring stress if she loves you and you are both in love. You always think about her even after the relationship has ended.

Some participants illustrated that beautiful girls are attractive and appealing to everyone so dating them puts one at risk of sharing them with other boys. This reveals the vulnerability of boys who express their concern around dating physically beautiful girls. Girls who are beautiful are attractive to many and attract much attention, thus making boys who date them insecure.

Sboniso: Those that are beautiful eih…. We share them with other guys (laughter)

The data reveals that participants do not mind being shared by more than one girl but it is difficult for them when the girl has many boyfriends. Then they prefer to end the relationship. Some boys, however,

accept girls who have other boyfriends and in this way this place both girls and boys at sexual risks. Although some are aware, they continue doing it.

4.10. Proving love by having unsafe sex

Teenagers are at risk not only from AIDS and STDs (Lebedies, 2012). According to Matthews (2012) young people who exhibit characteristics of depression and low self-worth often place themselves in more risky situations, including risky sexual practices. According to the data, the participants are aware of condoms and use them when it is convenient and depending on whether the girl wants it or not which puts both the boys and girls at risk. Some girls claim sex with a condom feels like plastic. As a result they do not enjoy sex (Simpson, 2007) and this is borne out by what was said about girls in this study.

Olwethu: (Sigh) When I had STI (gonorrhea) it was tough.....Shuuuu........but I will tell you this girl said she does not enjoy sex with a condom, she accused me of sleeping around and scared that I might have an infection, and do not love her.

Many studies show that boys prefer "flesh to flesh" sex whereas in this study girls are viewed by the participants as dangerous as they are the ones who suggest "flesh to flesh" sex and have power to decide on whether or not to use a condom. The boys' focus is to have sex regardless of the risks that it entails. Olwethu was unable to control his sexual desire so that his ex-girl friend could perceive him as a real man who was not afraid of any danger, and this resulted in an infection. This study implies that some boys are in danger because they cannot control their libido and are prepared to engage in sex without a condom in order to satisfy their lust.

Olwethu's ex-girlfriend seemed to be dominant and in order for him not to be dominated he chose to be tough by engaging in risky sexual behaviour to avoid being mocked and teased Renold`s (2003) study reveals that some girls use their sexual prowess to subordinate boys and thus place boys at risk. Sboniso revealed that his girlfriend took the condom away from him and told him she "*did not want to smell condom all the way back home*" as she does not like its smell. Furthermore Olwethu preferred to take a risk by having sex without a condom, resulting in infection, rather than being viewed as scared to have sex without a condom. This action resonates with the findings of Reddy & Dunne (2007) who claimed that males in that study did not fear anything including disease and death. The data revealed that condoms are used in exceptional cases as this participant proclaimed:

Sboniso: It depends on the place we met and I use condoms.

According to Simpson (2007) chancing was a preferable risk to the hazard of embarrassment as the participants revealed that it is tough to resist a girl who does not want condoms.

Olwethu: As a boy I was so horny by then I was willing to do as she pleased in order to have sex.

Regardless of risk, sexual libido, or male sex drive seemed to be normalised as uncontrollable as Olwethu indicated above which resonates with Renold (2003)'s discovery that heterosexual performances are based on the production of proper boys. The participants were aware of the safety the condoms bring although they were more worried about pregnancy than infections. Sboniso revealed that he ejaculates outside the girl's vagina to avoid impregnating her because the condoms are too far from the bed.

Although sex is the responsibility of both parties engaged in it, the participant blames the girl for infecting him. The participant spoke with a deep and pained voice. Even though this infection happened in the past, his emotions were conspicuous. The participant claims that he still resents and hates that girl.

Olwethu: The painful experience I had with the STI was unbearable. I hated that girl who infected me and still do. When I meet her I look the other way. She suggested for us not to use condoms and at the end I she infected me with an STI (frowning).

Researcher: Olwethu why did you accept to have sex without a condom?

Olwethu: (sadly) I was so horny and could not control myself. I was willing to do as she pleases as long as I was going to have sex with her (coughs).

According to Hunter (2005), penetrative sex had become a mark of manliness especially to urban men, and yet the embarrassing symptoms of STIs reminded men of the hazards of masculinity that celebrated multiple sexual conquests. In this study, girls are sometimes seen to be making decisions on whether or not to use condoms. What Olwethu and other participants revealed in this data resonates with Anderson (2009) and Reddy & Dunne (2007) who stated that some girls do not want condoms and link this refusal of condom usage to love and trust. However the boys spoke about girls who have power to decide on condom issue though the boys in this study seem to construct their masculinity in terms of their sexual prowess (Anderson, 2009). Olwethu had to prove his sexuality to his girlfriend by engaging in unprotected sex in order to be marked as heterosexual (Epstein & Sears, 2000). Masculinity and sexuality

are viewed as a set of behaviours that are socially learned, culturally acquired and cognitively interpreted (Connell, 1987, 1995, 2000), as Olwethu felt that if he insisted on a condom to his girlfriend he was going to appear weak and scared of taking risks as boys and men are expected to be brave and fearless of anything in Zulu culture.

4.11. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided findings and statements of results from key informants about risky sexual behaviours and performances of masculinities and sexualities at the research site. These findings have provided insight into the respondents` sense of masculinity and heterosexuality including the determinants of being a man in the society. The findings informed what boys consider masculine and heterosexual behaviours that are socially expected and accepted and the challenges these boys face by engaging in risky sexual behaviours. Each research question was dealt with or attended in this chapter and an analysis provided.

The above findings and statements were analysed using theories of masculinities, sexualities. The analysis of the research project offers evidence that masculinities are dynamic and based on contextual variables. The context in which the participants find themselves informs their masculine behaviours, as the boys revealed that they should be cautious of what and how they practise their masculinity because the society is judgmental about gender behaviours. There are ranges of masculinities and sexualities constructed and performed at this research site. These included the hegemonic ('iginsa' a man with multiple partners); subordinate ('izithwathwa' and 'izinyoni'). The respondents were so protective of their masculinities that they demonstrated, through their responses, their risky sexual behaviours despite their awareness. The next chapter focuses on discussions of major findings, implication for HIV and AIDS policy, curriculum content and classroom practice and for research on masculinities and sexuality education in schools.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1. 1ntroduction

This research was based on exploration of risky sexual behaviours among young boys and the growing concern that HIV and AIDS still affects and infects the youth regardless of the Department of Education and Non-Governmental Organisations' efforts to reduce the pandemic by including HIV and AIDS in the Life Orientation curriculum. The boys in this study revealed that they used condoms occasionally and there should be ways of encouraging those boys who do not use condoms to do so. The context had much impact on their sexual choices and attitudes towards sex and it will be very helpful to teach the society about gender equality, diversity and tolerance so that the society can pass the knowledge to the younger generation. The society should work with schools to instill democratic values.

Addressing sexual risk will be a battle that will require active involvement of all government sectors, key organisations in the non-governmental and religious sectors, community leaders and, more importantly, parents and teenage boys themselves (Reddy & Dunne, 2007). I interviewed the group of teenage boys who revealed that they are sexually active and collected the data from the interviews I had with them in order to find out about their risky sexual behaviours.

In chapter 1 provided the rationale for this study and the focus. Chapter 2 reviewed the local and international literature with definitions of masculinity and sexuality which are core theories of this study. Subsequently Chapter 3 provided a description of the research design and method used in the study. In addition to that this chapter described the research site, sample and data collection procedures and analysis. Ethics, validity and trustworthiness were discussed. Chapter 4 discussed the findings and analysis of data using sexuality and masculinity theories. Chapter 5 will summarise the information received through group discussions. This study has shown that the participants engage in risky sexual behaviours that lead the boys to HIV and AIDS infections.

Young men and teenagers responded in a way that shows they have internalised patriarchy as their accepted way of life. Sexuality and their socialisation seem to be their guide and policing the boys of how to be a real man and the risky sexual behaviours that serve as a status quo of whom they are accordingly ranged. Masculinity and sexuality seem to have an effect on how the boys behave and construct

themselves. Furthermore the society and culture play a role in engineering the norms and expected behaviour that distinguish the boy and the girl and label the actions and behaviours to specific genders which contributed to risky sexual behaviours of boys in the study. Exploring particular constructions of what it means to be a male in Umlazi high school boys, the study provided insight into their lives which might assist in refining the vision of the multiple and evolving nature of masculinities and sexuality which contribute much to the spread of HIV.

This study further revealed that even though we live in an era where there is much westernisation of culture, these boys mix it with the indigenous culture which promotes patriarchy which as a result encourages the practice of having multiple concurrent relationships and perpetuate double standard that limit girls` and women sexual agency. However girls are seen as sometimes being in control of sexual activities and they are referred to as 'masgebengu' and they are berated.

This study has raised significant issues about the risky sexual behaviours among boys between 16 and 17 in a selected Umlazi high school. The study has shown despite the learning areas such as Life Orientation which teaches them about sexuality and safe sex, teenage boys are still at risk of being infected with HIV and AIDS and STIs as they continue performing their masculinity in a dangerous manner, having sex with multiple partners without a condom. The boys in this study are acutely aware of sexually transmitted infections yet they continue taking risks such as having sex with more than one partner and having sex without condoms. They are more worried about pregnancy than infection. The boys in this study revealed that whatever they do is based on what society expects and accepts as normal behaviour.

The data has revealed that this group of boys were engaging sex at an early age, the prevalence of concurrent multiple sexual partners and practices around safe sex. Despite their knowledge of safe sex practices the boys in the study still engage in risky sexual practices. The boys' ideas and views on masculinity and sexuality are in line with what the society condones and serves as central in the construction of heterosexual practices, norms, values and identities. From the research it was evident that the group did not have good role models since their area is surrounded by criminals or 'ginsas', who, as a result, were their role models as they were hegemonic masculine, providing for and protecting their women and families and being feared and powerful in the society. The 'ginsas' are accommodated although they are criminals. Their actions, such as having multiple partners and hijacking cars, are regarded as the norm for men. This study has shown how context is implicated in the types of masculine and sexual behaviours these boys engage in. Many boys aspire to the hegemonic masculine ideals of

having many girls. Having money is central to acquiring social status as it is a tool which gets the beautiful girls. As these boys are still at school, there should be an opportunity for education to bring transformation but the promotion of polygamy as the preferred culture hampers this effort.

5.2. Conclusion

While South Africa is known for its democratic constitution, this study revealed that people with diverse sexualities are still discriminated against and, called names even though they have rights. The group of boys highlighted that they are taken by loose women, otherwise known as 'masgebengu' for sexual gratification, not steady relationships. 'Masgebengu' were mere sexual objects which placed the boys and 'masgebengu' at risk of sexual infection as, one of the participants revealed, condoms were not always used. As they could be far from where they are having sex and a myth that if he could leave a woman to search for condoms when he returns the woman will be turned off not ready for sex and he has to restart romance.

'Masgebengus' are in contrast to the ascribed social values, attitudes and beliefs that women do not want sex and traditional role of a woman during sex. She takes control during sex, according to the boys in this study. The usage of condoms by the group was based on availability, how far the condom is from the scene of sexual activity and the desperation for sex by the boy. Sexual safety was linked to trust condoms have a reputation for being used by casual partners so some boys find it hard to insist on a condom when the girl does not want to use it as a sign that she trusts the boy. The boy's focus is basically on sex at that moment and he does not want to be seen as treating the girl as a casual girlfriend. This study portrays that multiple partner and sexual intercourse as parameters of heterosexuality and masculinity. The findings of the study reveal that boys' masculine and sexual behaviour is largely constructed around the dominant patriarchal norms and expectations of their culture or society. Any masculine and sexual behaviour which deviates from the dominant norm is considered unacceptable and discriminated against. The study does not offer any evidence of masculine identity deviating from traditional norm and make some recommendations as to initiate measures which can be taken to encourage a redefinition of what it means to be a male (with status) in Zulu communities. However this study has revealed that though the constitution of South Africa has democratic, inclusive and socially just some people tend to select and practice cultures that are discriminating, oppressive to women and other masculinities and sexualities such as dominant hegemonic and polygamous practice which in my perspective favours men.

5.3. Recommendations for further studies

In view of the findings that show how parents do not communicate about sex and sexuality to their children, I recommend that the adults and parents, more specifically, should be involved in the upbringing of boys and be taught how to handle boys' issues. Parents should discuss issues around sexuality with their children and inform and educate them in a way that would make sense to the children and be age-appropriate. The government should be actively involved in promotion of a healthy society and should spear head the projects that promote health in South Africa. The health department should be more active and design projects that will involve parents and children in promoting a healthy society. The schools should be assisted in promotion of health that is each district should have doctors and nurses and psychologist who visit schools at least once a month to deal with issues that are concerned with health for the learners, particularly issues around sexual health.

Masculinity and sexuality is dynamic and socially constructed and thus can be deconstructed. The focus should be more on developing the boys internally, teaching them responsibilities and assisting them to be individuals who respect other peoples' choices and understand gender equality (Swain, 2003). The curriculum in schools should teach the learners to celebrate diversity (McNaughton, 2000). Leaders should assist in the development of youth as some youngsters are raised by single parents. In that way the youngsters look up to them as mother figures and father figures. The ministers and presidents should lead by example. If they decide to promote culture or religion in their lives they should make sure that they do it properly and by challenging double standards around sexual behaviours and practices.

There should be broader studies of boys from the context of different racial groups and class so that there would be wider scope on risky sexual behaviours. Further studies should focus on attitudes towards risky sexual behaviors as well and research on whether the risky sexual behaviours are driven by personal choices or personalities. It is important to explore how and why young men engage in risky sex so as to offer interventions both in school and at policy level. The boys in the study revealed that their context does not tolerate sexual diversity so there should be more comparative studies with contestations of race, religion, gender, class and culture since South Africa is a rainbow nation and we need to understand each other as diverse nation in order to live democratic lifestyles with respect for individuals in the society. The study demonstrated that the boys do not have many positive role models. Due to high socio economic challenges the `ginsas` emerged in the society and they appear to be role models. The boys should be taught that there are no short cuts in life and crime does not pay.

The government needs to expose the youngsters to more sports to keep them busy and to organise motivational speakers to schools. People who are successful in life should not be selfish. They should uplift their societies. Some `ginsas` are very good in uplifting their societies but the problem is they use 'blood money' to do that which makes them unsuitable role models and influences on youngsters. The adults in the societies should organise people that are influential to motivate youngsters and people who know that crime does not pay at the end and form youth clubs that will do good things for the society and promote healthy lifestyles. Condom usage should be promoted even in schools because it is undeniable that some learners are sexually active. Schools should make condoms available in the toilets so that whoever wants to use them may have access. This is not to encourage the learners to have sex but to protect those who are already engaged in sex to do it safely. However many programmes have been designed to teach the youth about abstinence, some youth continue to engage in risky sexual behaviors. Parental involvement is critical as some participants revealed that it is tough to discuss sex with their parents and the government should devise a strategy to help parents to deal with their children's sexual issues.

The media seems to have high impact on the participants as they revealed that some of the contents they view teach them about sex. It is my recommendation that the government and the broadcasting board should screen the programmes that are going to be broadcasted. The country needs to view things that are going to shape the society not things that are going to destroy the society such as violence, abuse and gender imbalances. As this is a democratic country we need to view things that are going to promote democracy, peace, equality and safety in our society. Furthermore crime and violence should be attended to and dealt with accordingly. People, including youth should be encouraged to report crime and be awarded for doing so because crime seems to be the easy way to get to the top and youngsters are influenced by crime.

Both boys and girls should be taught responsibility for their health, lifestyles and future choices and be able to avoid bad influences from other people that involve risky sexual behaviours. The media should contribute in equipping parents on how to discuss sexual issues, techniques to talk positively and imparting knowledge that will be useful in shaping the youth's sexual decisions. Parents should be educated on sexual education and be aware that discussing sex with their children does not promote promiscuity but it helps in providing knowledge that will help their children to make right decisions about sex.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX: I

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

APPENDIX: 2

Request and approval to conduct a research

INFORMED CONSENT PARENTS

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

1 March 2011

Dear Parent/Guardian

MASCULITY AND SEXUALITY: EXPLORING RISK SEXUAL BEHAVIOURS AMONGST BOYS IN A HIGH SCHOOL IN UMLAZI.

My name is Pretty Mthembu and I am currently studying towards a Masters degree at the University of KwaZulu Natal. As part of the requirements of the degree, I am required to complete a research thesis. My study aims to explore the risky sexual behaviours amongst boys in a high school in Umlazi.

In order for the study to be a success, I required six boys between 16 and 17 from a high school in Umlazi Township KwaZulu-Natal to participate in the research. I would be grateful if you would consent to your son/daughter participating in my study.

If you choose to allow your son/daughter to participate in this research, he/she will be invited to participate in a group interview during the month of May.

Participation is completely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw your son/daughter (and your son/daughter has the right to withdraw him/herself) at any time. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained at all times and in the analysis of the data and the completion of the Masters degree.

A summary report of the findings will be made available to the participants.

If you would like any further information or are unclear about anything, please feel free to contact me via e-mail: gunguluzazn@gmail.com or telephonically on 0829589447

Your cooperation and your son/daughter's participation is valued and appreciated.

Kind regards

_____

Mthembu Pretty   Dr. B. N. ANDERSON

Researcher   Supervisor/promoter

DECLARATION BY PARENT OF PARTICIPANT

I, _____ (I.D. number_____)

in the capacity of parent/guardian of

_____ (I.D. number _____)

hereby confirm as follows:

(Please initial against each paragraph)

1. My child was invited to participate in the above mentioned research project, which is being undertaken by Mthembu Pretty in Gender Education in the Faculty of Education, University of KwaZulu Natal.

2. This research aims to explore the sexual risky behaviours of boys in Umlazi. The information will be used as part of the requirements for Masters Degree.

3. I understand that I will need to complete the consent form and return it to the researcher on completion. In addition, my child will be required to participate in the group interview , of the masculinity and sexuality: exploring the sexual risky behaviours of boys in Umlazi.

4. My child's identity will not be revealed in any discussion, description or scientific publication by the researcher.

5. My child's participation is voluntary. My decision whether or not to allow my child to participate, or my child's decision whether or not to participate, will in no way affect his/her present or future school career or lifestyle.

6. No pressure was exerted on me to consent to my child's participation and I understand that I may withdraw my child, or he/she may withdraw at any stage without penalization.

7. Participation in this study will not result in any cost to my child or myself.

I CONSENT VOLUNTARILY TO ALLOW MY CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PROJECT.

Signed at _____on_____ 2011.

Signature of parent or guardian of participant: _____

APPENDIX: 3

INFORMED CONSENT LEARNERS

Assent Form for Child participants

Masculinity and Sexuality: Exploring the risky sexual behaviours amongst boys between 16 and 17 years in an Umlazi high school.

 1 March 2011

Explanation of the Study (What will happen to me in this study?)

My name is Pretty Mthembu and I am currently studying towards a Masters degree at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. As part of the requirements of the degree, I am required to complete a research thesis. My study aims to explore the risky sexual behaviours amongst boys between 16 and 17 in an Umlazi high school, using audio-tape to record the interview.

Procedures

If I agree to participate in this research study, the following will occur:

•   I will be asked to reveal my Biographical Information.

•   I will be asked to share my ideas as a way of mobilizing the whole school discussion and collective find.

•   I will be asked to discuss my understanding of risky sexual behaviours, masculinity and sexuality as a way of helping me shape my life within the school context in a focus group interview (Not more than 1 hour).

- Participation in this study will take a total of one session during the months of May, 2011 .

Risks or Discomforts of Participating in the Study (Can anything bad happen to me?)

- There are no known physical, economic, social or psychological risks associated with participation in the interview. Should there be any discomfort I may inform my parents/guardian/researcher e.g. If I am sick or in pain as a result of being in the study.

Benefits of Participating in the Study (Can anything good happen to me?)

- There are no guaranteed benefits to me; however I understand that I will have the opportunity to reflect on my own involvement in providing information required by this study.

Confidentiality (Will anyone know I am in the study?)

- The information gathered from this study will be kept as confidential as possible. The participants' real name or any identifiable information will not be used in the report and all files, but information about participants will be given to the study sponsor.

Contact Information (Who can I talk to about the study?)

- If I have further questions about the study, I can contact Pretty Mthembu by calling 0829589447 or contact her via email at gunguluzazn@gmail.com

Voluntary Participation (What if I do not want to do this?)

- My participation is entirely voluntary and I am free to withdraw from the process at any time.

- At any time, I may choose not to answer any questions, if I feel uncomfortable.

Consent

I have been given a copy of this consent form to keep. PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH STUDY IS VOLUNTARY. I am free to decline to participate in this research study, or I may withdraw my participation at any point without penalty.

Printed Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participants: _____Date:_____

APPENDIX 4

Interview Schedule

NAME: Mthembu Pretty

PROJECT TITLE: Masculinity and Sexuality: Investigating risky sexual behaviors amongst high school boys in Umlazi.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A. What do high school boys in Umlazi consider as risky behavior?

B. Why do high school boys in Umlazi engage in risky behavior?

C. How are their constructions of masculinity linked to risky behavior?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS (1-5)

1. What is your name?

2. How old are you?

3. What grade are you doing this year?

4. What are your favorite subjects? Why?

5. Where do you live? Tell me more about your area

6. Do you have friends?

7. What type of qualities do you look for in a friend?

8. Do your friends have girlfriends? What about you?

9. How many girlfriends or boyfriends do you have?

10. Do your girlfriends still go to school?

11. How did you meet?

12. What type of girls are you attracted to? What qualities do you look for in a girl?

13. Do you love your girlfriend(s)? How do you show your girlfriend that you love her?

14. Do you have sex? At what age did you start? If you have more than one girlfriend do you have sex with all of them?

16. Do you have to be dating someone to have sex with them? Explain

18. Is it ok to share your girlfriend and why?

18. Do you use protection when having sex? Explain

19. Do you consider HIV /AIDS and pregnancy when you have sex?

20. Do you think is it ok for a boy to have more than one partner? What about girls?

21. What does it mean to be a `man` in this community?

RESEARCHER'S PROFILE

NAME: Mthembu Pretty

INSTITUTION: UKZN (Edgewood)

YEAR: 2012

Email: gunguluzazn@gmail.com

RESEARCH INTEREST: GENDER AND EDUCATION/ EQUALITY PHENOMENONS

EDUCATION INFORMATION: MENZI HIGH SCHOOL

ESHOWE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

DAMELIN

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

UKZN (EDGEWOOD)

MY POST: POST LEVEL 1 (EDUCATOR)

INSTITUTION TYPE: COMBINED PRIMARY SCHOOL

SUBJECTS TAUGHT CURRENTLY: SOCIAL SCIENCES and NATURAL SCIENCE & TECH