

**Gender Role Heuristics used by Adolescent Boys when Negotiating
Sexual Practices of a Heterosexual Nature**

Full Name: Candice McCain
Student Number: 207524471
Supervisor: Dr. Kay Govender
Degree: MSocSci (Counselling Psychology)

Abstract

The aim of this study was to ascertain whether or not South African adolescent boys between the ages of 16 and 18 make use of heuristics when thinking about heterosexual relationships. Currently, some of the greatest challenges facing South Africa are that of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the high rates of violence, especially against women and children. These issues are closely linked with cognitions about masculinity and the male and female gender roles in men and boys. The methodology was qualitative and focus groups were utilized as the method of data collection. The results of this study indicate that adolescent boys do make use of a variety of heuristics and also engage in the process of splitting when thinking about heterosexual relationships.

Keywords: Masculinity, adolescents, heuristics, gender roles, heterosexual relationships, HIV/AIDS

Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Social Science in Counselling Psychology, in the Graduate Programme in the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science: Counselling Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university.

Student Name

Student Number

Date

Acknowledgements

It has occurred to me often through the process of completing this degree that something of this magnitude cannot be done by oneself. All of the important people in my life have had some input in some way into this piece of work and I would like to take the opportunity to thank them for walking this road with me.

Firstly, a huge thank you must go to Dr. Kay Govender for all his support and input – without his extensive knowledge and unique viewpoint, I would have been quite lost.

Secondly, I would like thank my parents, Trish and Charles McCain, and my sister, Nicole McCain, for their assistance and support throughout my studies. Without their love, understanding and support (although I'm sure they thought I was quite mad occasionally); I would never have come as far as I have. Thank you for not allowing me to give up, even when things were beyond the point of tough.

Thirdly, a huge vote of thanks must go to Tamryn Currin and Candice Clarke for the assistance in proof reading and transcribing. Thank you for the support and for having such unwavering faith in my abilities, even when I had lost confidence in myself.

Fourthly, thanks to my extended family, Dawn and Matthys Van Niekerk; Mike and Audrey Wheatley; and Barb and Dave Standen, for all the meals, support and laughter. You saved my sanity on more than one occasion. A special “thank you” must go to my cousin, Brett Van Niekerk, who has got me out of more than one sticky situation over the last three years.

Thank you to Karen Potgieter; Lebo Sebele; Yvette Nevin; Frances and Darren Haagman; and Neo Pule for the continual prayers and support.

Lastly and most importantly, I would like to give thanks to my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, for carrying me through all the dark times and long nights. None of this could have happened without Him.

I can do everything through Him who gives me strength.

-Philippians 4: 13

Table of Content

| | | |
|-------|--|----|
| 1. | Introduction | 7 |
| 2. | Literature Review | 10 |
| 2.1 | Gender Studies | 10 |
| 2.2 | Theories of Masculinity | 10 |
| 2.3 | The South African Context | 13 |
| 2.3.1 | Reactive or Defensive Reactions | 17 |
| 2.3.2 | Accommodating Reactions | 19 |
| 2.3.3 | Responsive or Regressive Reactions | 20 |
| 2.4 | Adolescent Masculinity | 21 |
| 2.5 | The Sugar Daddy Phenomenon | 24 |
| 2.6 | Traditional Sexual Scripts | 29 |
| 2.7 | Sexual Double Standard | 30 |
| 2.8 | “Othering” | 33 |
| 3. | Theoretical Underpinnings | 35 |
| 3.1 | Social Cognition | 35 |
| 3.2 | Historical Overview of Research on Human Judgement | 36 |
| 3.3 | Heuristics | 38 |
| 3.4 | Schemata | 40 |
| 3.5 | Bias and Optimism | 41 |
| 4. | Research Methodology | 44 |
| 4.1 | Research Questions | 44 |
| 4.2 | Data Collection | 44 |
| 4.3 | Sample | 46 |
| 4.4 | Data Analysis | 47 |
| 4.5 | Reflexivity of the Researcher | 48 |
| 4.6 | Trustworthiness of the Data | 49 |
| 4.7 | Limitations of the study | 49 |
| 4.8 | Ethics | 51 |

| | | |
|-------|---|----|
| 5. | Results and Discussion | 53 |
| 5.1 | The Male Sexual Achiever | 54 |
| 5.1.1 | Objectifying the Girl | 54 |
| 5.1.2 | Waiting for the Signal | 55 |
| 5.1.3 | Making the First Approach | 57 |
| 5.1.4 | Suggesting Sex | 58 |
| 5.2 | Splitting Gender Roles and Dislocating Risk | 63 |
| 5.2.1 | The Sugar Daddy Phenomenon | 63 |
| 5.2.2 | Good Girls vs. Bad Girls | 67 |
| 5.2.3 | “Othering” and Risk | 72 |
| 5.2.4 | Steady vs. Casual Relationships | 74 |
| 5.3 | Policing Girls’ and Boys’ Behaviours | 76 |
| 6. | Conclusion | 78 |
| 7. | References | 82 |
| 8. | Appendices A | 87 |

Chapter 1: Introduction

The aim of this research was to explore the heuristics used by adolescent boys when they think about issues surrounding heterosexual relationships and masculine roles. Studies on masculinity in South Africa are important at this time, as many authors argue that masculinity is in a state of crisis (see Morrell, 2001; Campbell, 1992). The high prevalence of violence, abuse and HIV infections in the country are a testimony to some of the crises that men are facing at this time. The country is also in a state of transition with regard to gender roles (Morrell, 1998).

The research study explored whether a sample of South African adolescent boys living in Pretoria make use of representative, availability, visual and gender role heuristics when they thought about issues related to masculine roles and heterosexual relationships, and whether or not these heuristics led to role confusion. As will be seen from the literature review, most of the local research conducted on adolescent boys and masculinity has explored issues from a discursive approach, and little has been done on gender heuristics.

Fiske (1995) argues that heuristics in most social situations provide people with mental shortcuts which generally work well enough to get them through their day to day existence. However, it does happen that these heuristics may also be incorrect under some circumstances and this may lead to risky behaviour on the part of the person who is using the heuristic (Fiske, 1995). An example of this is the visual heuristic identified by Bailey and Hutter (2006), in which people tend to base their decisions of whether or not another person is healthy on the basis of physical appearance. This heuristic usually does identify whether or not a person is healthy as a person who looks thin and drawn, and is coughing a lot is probably not very healthy. However, when using this heuristic in relation to HIV, it will not be as effective because many people infected with the virus remain quite healthy for a number of years (except for a few minor symptomatic signs and infections) before they start to show signs of opportunistic infections associated with the onset of AIDS (Van Dyk, 2001).

The situation of HIV/AIDS is one which is highly researched at the present time, because of the severity of the pandemic and the consequences that the pandemic will have on all levels of society. Much literature has been written about gender with regard to the

contraction of HIV/AIDS, as women tend to be far more at risk than men. The reasons for this are multiple and will be discussed further in the literature review, but in this instance it is sufficient to point out that gender roles play an important role in the HIV/AIDS infection rate. Swanepoel (2005) estimates the infection rate to be between 1500 and 2000 new infections each day. This is a truly staggering statistic. It was found by the Nelson Mandela/Human Sciences Research Council's HIV/AIDS study that 11.4% of all South Africans over two years of age have been infected by the HI virus (Freeman, 2004). It is also estimated that 10.2% of South Africans between the ages of 15 and 24 have been infected with HIV (Pettifor, Rees, Kleinschmidt, Steffenson, MacPhail, Hlonga-Madikizela, Vermaak & Padian, 2005). Swanepoel (2005) also comments that approximately only 20% of South Africans know their HIV status, and many HIV positive individuals only make use of voluntary counselling and testing services after they have started to manifest symptoms of opportunistic diseases. There is also a continued denial of the illness within the country (Swanepoel, 2005). There is currently no cure and no vaccine for HIV and contraction of the virus inevitably leads to death (Swanepoel, 2005). It is estimated that by the year 2010, there will have been 5-7 million cumulative deaths resulting from AIDS in South Africa (Dorrington, Bourne, Bradshaw, Laubscher & Timaeus, 2001).

Despite many awareness campaigns, the HIV infection rate is not decreasing as much as it should (Swanepoel, 2005). This poses serious implications for the country, not just due to the many orphans and loved ones left behind, but because the country loses valuable economic expertise and experience through the loss of each infected person. This is especially relevant to boys targeted for this study because they fall into the age group that is the most at risk (Pettifor *et al.*, 2004).

This qualitative study made use of focus group interviews as the mode of data collection. It is hoped that this research will add to the existing knowledge about masculinity in South Africa and that it may pave the way for more in depth research in the future. It is thought that by determining how these representative, availability, gender role and visual heuristics are used; it will be possible to gain insight into adolescent boys' cognitions and whether these heuristics could lead to problematic behaviours such as unsafe sexual practices, violent behaviours and sexist cognitions. The way in which these

thoughts may relate to both positive and negative behaviour can be the focus of further research. Some of the social issues which will be considered are risk behaviour in terms of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases and violence towards others, including women and children.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Gender studies

The term “gender” refers to a social process by which people and practices are divided into groups along the lines of “sexed identity” (Beasley, 2005, p.11). Within this process, hierarchies are often created and thus one of the groupings is often privileged, and the other is, by implication devalued (Beasley, 2005). With regard to gender, there are predominantly two subgroups, namely masculinity and feminism (Beasley, 2005). Western society tends to view gender as a “binary division” of human beings and the social practices performed by them (Beasley, 2005, p.11). These two divisions are that of masculinity and femininity. According to Beasley (2005), these binary divisions are generally seen as oppositional, as is evidenced by the phrase “the opposite sex” (p.11). It is to be noted that gender has been defined in different ways by different authors, and is still open to some debate (Beasley, 2005). Some define gender in terms of social identities while others view gender as a function of “social interactions and institutions” (Beasley, 2005, p.12).

2.2 Theories of masculinity

Masculinity studies is an area of academic study which offers “critical analysis of masculinity” although it is only peripherally related to the men’s movement, whose purpose is to focus on masculinity and its social status in society (Beasley, 2005, p.177). According to Beasley (2005), masculinity is seen as relational to what is not masculine and can vary as a function of historical, social and cultural variables.

The most prevalent theory of masculinity was proposed by Connell in two works, namely, *Masculinities* (1995) and *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (1987), and refers to Hegemonic Masculinity (Morrell, 2001). Hegemonic masculinity is quite a difficult term to define. The word masculinity tends to conjure up images of bravery, strength, power, heterosexuality, competitiveness and machismo in most people, according to Young (2001). Connell (1995) argues that the term masculinity cannot be in existence unless it is in relationship to femininity. The term “hegemony” was originally used by Antonio Gramsci, who conducted an analysis of class relations and

intended the term to refer to “the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life” (Connell, 1995, p.77). Connell (1995) makes use of the term hegemonic masculinity in order to describe the gender practices which represent the conception that the patriarchal system is justified and normalises the state of men in a dominant position while women are left in a situation of subordination. Hegemony in terms of masculinity is not a fixed state but does change over time, as ideals and culturally accepted norms change (Connell, 1995).

Young (2001) explains hegemony in terms of “the ascendant position of leadership and power” which is used when contrasting masculinity against femininity, and also to “other subordinated masculinities” (p.4). Donaldson (1993) continues with this train of thought and asserts that this process is the manner in which a dominant group creates and continues their authority over other groups, and refers to the manner in which the majority of people within the group are convinced that certain behaviours and principles are what is normal and even moral (Donaldson, 1993). Should a person not conform or abide by these ideals, they are more than likely to be punished for not conforming to what is “normal”, so the hegemonic standard of behaviour becomes more enforced (Donaldson, 1993).

With regard to hegemonic masculinity, Donaldson (1993) remarks that heterosexuality and homophobia are some of the core issues related to the idea of hegemonic masculinity. Connell (1995) notes that gay men are also kept in a subordinated position by heterosexual men. This occurs not just by stigmatization but through a variety of practices such as cultural exclusion and abuse, legislation, and “economic discrimination” (Connell, 1995, p.78). This does not even include the violence experienced by gay men in terms of what is known colloquially as “gay bashing”, or “street violence”, as Connell (1995, p.78) refers to it, which ranges from intimidation to murder. Connell (1995) argues that gayness is usually likened to femininity, although it is not only gay masculinities which are held in a subordinated position (Connell, 1995) – as will be seen later on in the literature review, many terms are used in order to reject certain men from the hegemonic masculinity domain such as “wuss” and “fag” (e.g. Pascoe, 2005; Martino, 1999). Donaldson (1993) also notes that the hegemonic masculinity paradigm asserts that women are viewed as the only group which can be regarded as sexual objects for men to make use of, thus implying that men should not make use of, or even consider the notion

that other men could be sexual objects. Within this paradigm, it is women (and only women), who provide men with sexual validation, and men are expected to compete with other men for this sexual validation (Donaldson, 1993). The term hegemonic masculinity was in fact a term coined by the feminist movement in order to indicate that there is an oppressive relationship between men and women, and the term is used to denote this central focus of the critique of the male-female relationship (Donaldson, 1993).

Connell (1995) refers to the crisis of gender relations as opposed to crises of masculinity as such. He argues that in a theoretical sense, the term “crisis” implies a “coherent system of some kind” which masculinity is not (Connell, 1995, p. 84). Therefore, he speaks of a gender order which is in crisis as opposed to a crisis of masculinity. One of the crises in the gender order is that of the power relations, which are no longer characterised by the patriarchal system as it has been in the past due to feminist efforts and calls for the empowerment of women (Connell, 1995). There have been differing approaches to masculinity because of this movement in the traditional gender relationships (Connell, 1995), and this will be discussed later on in the literature review, when considering the work of Morrell (2001). Another site of crisis is that of the workforce, where women have entered the workforce which has resulted in unemployment for men in some cases (Connell, 1995). There has also been a change with regard to the acceptability of a gay or lesbian lifestyle as an alternative to heterosexual practices (Connell, 1995). This also affects heterosexual relationships because the gay and lesbian movement has brought with it a new awareness of women’s control over their own bodies and their right to sexual pleasure (Connell, 1995).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been criticised by some, because of its pro-feminist standpoint that hegemonic masculinity exists as an engine which drives the oppression of women. It has been viewed as an attempt to remove all that can be viewed as masculine in society and thus becomes of little use when used in an attempt to create changes in males of various ages (Imms, 2000).

There are many theorists that argue that masculinity is not a fixed construct but is constructed over and over depending on the institutional sites in which behaviour is warranted, such as within the family setting, the workplace, schools and other social institutions (Young, 2001).

Other theorists argue that masculinity is not a homogenous entity nor can masculinity simply be reduced to a set of behaviours (Imms, 2000). A second argument is that masculinity is not just constructed by the individuals involved, but is also affected by many of the societal norms of an individual's context, and that masculinity is created in relation to other masculinities and in opposition to femininity (Imms, 2000). Imms (2000, p.159) argues that the approach of multiple masculinities is likely to reduce the tendency to try to fit men into a "limited definition of gender" so that they will not be viewed as homogenous. However, this approach does not encompass enough of the many variations of masculinity which may exist, and lacks the ethnographic data with which to increase the knowledge of the many variations of masculinity (Imms, 2000). This hegemonic masculinity argument has also been criticised for its tendency to treat males as "enacting a single masculinity", which, as Imms (2000, p.159) points out, is rather illogical. Despite these criticisms, the model of hegemonic masculinity has been used in many studies as the dominant form of masculinity and is a commonly used theoretical framework at the current time. It also fits Morrell's (2001) notion that South Africa has been (and still is in certain aspects), a predominantly male dominated country.

2.3 The South African Context

According to Morrell (2001), until fairly recently, South Africa was "a man's country" (p.18). Men were able exercise power in the public and political spheres of the country, although most of the political power was held by firstly the colonisers, then the white males during the Apartheid era but nevertheless, both black and white men held power when it came to their families, as they were the ones who earned money and who made the decisions (Morrell, 2001). Legislation also supported the notion of male dominance of females, which lead to the discrimination of women (Morrell, 2001).

Because of the socio-political context in which men in South Africa were living, different masculinities were produced, and these masculinities usually proved to be violent (Morrell, 2001). White men were highly privileged due to the uneven distribution of power in the country during Apartheid, in comparison to the men in other population groups, and were definitely more privileged in comparison to women (Morrell, 2001). White men were employed in "supervisory jobs" and thus related to men of other race groups from a

position of authority. This power also made them defensive against any challenges from any quarter, either from the men of other population groups or from women (Morrell, 2001). It must also be remembered that white men were forced into the South African Defence Force by means of the conscription legislation, so virtually every white man in the country had been exposed to some military action. This conscription practice also conditioned men to violence, through military training. Xaba (in Morrell, 2001) explores the masculinities which came about in the townships during the resistance to the Apartheid government, which comprised of young men whose occupation was to protect their communities from the threat of the Apartheid government. These young men were trained in military tactics during the 1970's and 1980's when the resistance to Apartheid became more pronounced (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001). These young men would then re-enter the townships and remove government institutions and some of the governmental officials, and would establish courts for the people instead (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001). These young men generally came from poverty stricken communities and had little education, as it was often interrupted by their association with liberation movements (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001). Known as "comrades", "liberators" or "young lions", the liberation movement provided these young men with much respect and status in their community (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001, p.110). With the "unbanning" of political associations in the early 1990's, the role of the comrades changed overnight (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001, p.111).

The conditions in which black men worked during the Apartheid era were characterised by brutality, as they had no protection whatsoever, neither from government legislation, nor from trade unions because the trade unions were banned by law at that time (Morrell, 2001). The harsh working and living conditions coupled with the "emasculatation" which came as a result of political powerlessness, gave "a dangerous edge" to black masculinity (Morrell, 2001, p.18). Often the only manner in which black men could gain respect or honour, either from women, peers or their white employers, was through violent means (Morrell, 2001). Campbell (1992) has argued that the Patriarchal system in Africa has been in a state of erosion for sometime and that the Apartheid era has had much to do in limiting the power of "working class men" (p.618). Because of the political systems, men often could only assert dominance over their women and younger men, as this was the only area in which they had socially legitimate power (Campbell, 1992). One of the

reasons why this crisis in African masculinity has come about is due to the fact that African men, as well as men of other non-white race groups, have traditionally been the providers for the family but due to the Apartheid legislation, they were only allowed to engage in certain types of employment, which also dictated their wages (Morrell, 2001; Campbell, 1992). Therefore, because men could no longer provide for their families as they had been able to do in previous generations, they began to lose the respect of their families (Campbell, 1992). Another way in which African fatherhood has been undermined is the need for migrant workers, many had to become absent fathers and their families were headed by women, as women and children were the only ones left at home (Campbell, 1992).

Since the democracy which came about in 1994, there have been different reactions in terms of masculine transitions which came about along with the changes in the political arena (Morrell, 2001). On the one hand, women were allowed to have seats in parliament, which had been a very rare occurrence in the country's Apartheid past, with the first democratic election finding 25% of the new parliamentary seats allocated to women (Morrell, 2001). In the second democratic elections in 1999, this number increased to 30%. This is of note because those men who agreed to this revolutionary change were men who had previously been involved in the South African Defence Force or part of the Freedom Fighters who had tried to overthrow the Apartheid government's rule.

Sadly, the Democratic South Africa was also characterized by exceptionally high levels of violent crime, encompassing assault, murder, rape, armed robberies and hijackings (Morrell, 2001). This rate has not decreased in recent years as the totals for rape remain extremely high with the total number of reported rape cases in South Africa in 2001/2002 reaching figures of 54,293, decreasing to 52,425 in 2002/2003, and increasing to 52,733 in 2003/2004 (South African Police Service, 2006). In 2004/2005 the rape figures reached another high of 55,114 (South African Police Service, 2005). South Africa is also second only to Columbia with regard to the amount of firearm related homicide (Morrell, 2001). The most recent statistics found for the rate of murder are for 2004/2005, and report 18,793 murders, as well as 24,516 reports of attempted murder (South African Police Service, 2005). The incidence of child neglect and ill-treatment is 5,568 reports in 2004/2005 (South African Police Service, 2005). The incidence of possession of an illegal

firearm was reported to be 15,497 in 2004/2005, and the incidence of carjacking, or “hijacking” as it is colloquially known, was reported at 12,434 incidents in the same year (South African Police Service, 2005). This violence in the Democratic South Africa is damaging and is considered criminal, whereas in the Apartheid era, violence was considered to be imperative to the struggle against the Apartheid government (Morrell, 2001).

Once the ANC government came into power, the country changed its focus to an emphasis on human rights for all, as well as equality for all (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001). This resulted in a change in the gender order of the country, and while many of the ex-comrades were placed in the military system, many suddenly found themselves in a situation where they had no war to fight, and no formal education to do any occupation deemed acceptable by society (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001). As Xaba (in Morrell, 2001) notes, the masculinity of the former comrades was no longer confirmed in the new democratic society of South Africa and was no longer held in high esteem by the communities. In the face of the harsh situation in which they found themselves, they turned to other former comrades for support, and they formed a type of family group with their own implicit rules and code of conduct (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001). These groups still took a stand against authority and these altercations often involved violence (Xaba in Morrell, 2001). These groups are still in existence to this day, although they are now thought of as criminal gangs, and the authority confrontations are usually with the police (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001). As Xaba (in Morrell, 2001) summarizes:

“When the gender norms of society change, boys who modelled themselves in terms of an earlier, ‘struggle’ version of masculinity may grow up to be unhappy men. Those who cannot change together with society or who do not possess the skills to make it in the new social environment find themselves strangers in their own country. If the new values are totally opposed to the former expressions of masculinity and manliness, boys find themselves, later in life, ostracised and outside the law. What was normal and acceptable behaviour suddenly becomes inappropriate and, often, criminal” (Xaba, in Morrell, 2001, p.114).

This instance is one of the masculinities found in existence among South African youth at the present time, and is highly linked to the criminal activities which are so common among young South African men.

It is difficult to decide which of the many masculinities found in South Africa is the dominant one (Morrell, 2001). Even now, the media still tends to portray the white masculinity more than others, giving rise to values which are primarily centred on “achievement and appearance” (Morrell, 2001, p.25). Other masculinities such as urban and rural masculinities are still in competition for supremacy (Morrell, 2001). This was present even before 1994, as can be seen by Inkatha Freedom Party, which adopted the ethnic representation of a rural Zulu male, linking the Party to ideals of patriarchy and authoritarianism, in contrast to other organisations such as COSATU, which focused more on urban black men (Morrell, 2001).

Morrell (2001) argues that no one masculinity is likely to create the change in values which is needed to fit into the Democratic South Africa, and has identified three ways in which men have responded to the changes in South Africa. These are the following:

2.3.1 Reactive or Defensive Reactions

This refers to a masculine reaction to attempt to reassert power and neutralise the changes (Morrell, 2001). Some of these reactions have been overtly racist and sexist, while others have targeted more diverse groups of people (Morrell, 2001). One concerning reaction has been that of the vigilante groups, in which men have taken on the roles of protectors of their wives and children and generally to protect society from lawlessness (Morrell, 2001). Although this should be a positive ideal, the organisations are often known for dispensing brutal and sometimes fatal means of punishment to those who are accused of committing a crime, and the movements also tend to be focused on restoring male authority (Morrell, 2001). Morrell (2001) argues that the large incidence of rape in South Africa can be attributed to masculinity which is in a state of transition at the current time. Morrell (2001) cites a passage by Goldblatt and Meintjies (1997, p.14) which demonstrates this reassertion of the traditional masculine role quite vividly:

“We rape women who need to be disciplined (those women who behave like snobs), they just do not want to talk to people, they think they know better than most of us and when we struggle, they simply do not want to join us” (Goldblatt & Meintjies, in Morrell, 2001, p.28).

This statement was made by a member of the South African Rapist Association, who was objecting to having been marginalised by senior members prior to the elections in 1994

(Morrell, 2001). This passage suggests that such abuse is a way in which men can reassert their dominance over women (Morrell, 2001).

Wood and Jewkes (2001) note that there has been an increase in firearm possession, alcohol and drug abuse among township youth in Ngangelizwe. There is a tendency among township youth, according to local police, to “hang around” the area, begging for money, engaging in petty crime and harassing the residents of the area (Wood & Jewkes, 2001, p.318). There have also been reports of violent actions by male youth, which includes assault such as beating, hitting, slapping and punching; assault with a weapon; “forced sex” and threats of a verbal nature (Wood & Jewkes, 2001, p.318). The physical violence is used as a means of controlling the behaviour of girls, with the majority of this violence occurring within an established relationship with a main partner, as opposed to relationships with “cherries” or casual partners (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). Wood and Jewkes (2001) explain that this violence is related to control which the male youth wish to exert, both over women and other males, who are considered to be rivals. Shefer and Ruiters (1998) support this explanation, as it was found in their study that men were “prepared to commit violence, towards women and other men, in order to retain their sexual (and therefore personal and social) power in the relationship” (p.43). Studies such as these emphasise the violent nature of certain masculinity types still prevalent in South Africa today.

Campbell (1992) exposes the fact that there is a rift occurring between older and younger men within the townships and that this division creates confrontations which have led to violence. The older men feel that the youth do not respect their elders and their dominance, while the youth seem to argue that:

“Parents appear as fools to their children, people who just say useless things, whose minds have ceased to think wisely – this results in growing disobedience because children do not see any reason to respect them” (Campbell, 1992, p.621)

This perceived disrespect on the part of the youth gives a very real motive for older men to feel that their dominance has been challenged and threatens their place in society, not just because of the movement of women into the workforce and political arena, but also from younger men, which is highly insulting for older men (Campbell, 1992).

2.3.2 Accommodating Reactions

There are masculine movements towards non-violent masculinities, such as the initiation practices which are prevalent among many African groups and are still practiced in South Africa to this day (Morrell, 2001).

This concept can be related to Connell's (1995) concept of complicity, which refers to the fact that there are few men who meet the standard for hegemonic masculinity in its entirety. Many men do benefit from the norm of hegemonic masculinity, but are not "in the frontline" of hegemonic practices (Connell, 1995, p.79). There are many "compromises" which are involved in this, as many of these men do not exercise full control and domination over others, but do actually respect the women in their lives, do help out with domestic tasks, and provide for the family economically (Connell, 1995, p. 79).

There is an important ethnic connotation attached to this initiation and this masculinity, which is promoted, is informed by the ideal that a man is "responsible, respectful and wise" (Morrell, 2001, p.29). This is a very important ritual for a young man to partake in as it signifies his entry into manhood, and it has been so revered that Clowes (2003) reports that there was an outcry during the Apartheid era in prisons when strip searches were conducted, where uninitiated men were asked to strip alongside of initiated or circumcised men, which was highly offensive to both groups. This masculinity encouraged by initiation is one in which violence is not condoned (Wood & Jewkes, 2001; Morrell, 2001). It seems as though the more urban township youth are not exposed to these ideals, and do not view traditions as the way to create an ideal of masculinity (Morrell, 2001). Morrell (2001) argues that young men within the urban township setting are attempting to renegotiate masculinity, although this may be a slow process, as there is still a general sense that men are superior to women which is being challenged and will continue to be challenged by the legislation which allows women economic and public influence in the Democratic South Africa. On the positive side, there is no pervasive opposition to the empowerment of women in the country and there is also a large amount of tolerance of gay men, thus suggesting that a large portion of men are adopting an accommodating approach (Morrell, 2001).

2.3.3 Responsive or Progressive Reaction

Morrell (2001) refers to this reaction as those of emancipatory masculinities, which attempt to create a new exemplar of what it means to be a man (Morrell, 2001). One of the most obvious reactions of this type is that of the gay movement which has been very prevalent in South Africa in recent years (Morrell, 2001). There are currently many organisations who attempt to encourage men to be accountable for violence and to criticise any form of violence, and encourage equality within the gender relationships (Morrell, 2001). There is a movement among the middle class to embrace the idea of “the new man”, which involves gender consciousness, equal division of housework and childcare responsibilities (Morrell, 2001). This “new man” can be identified by being caring, introspective, proactive with regard to women’s rights and prepared to take on domestic responsibilities (Morrell, 1998). Although at this stage this is predominantly a white phenomenon, there are also many black middle class men who are also adhering to this new ideal of masculinity (Morrell, 2001). However, there is a concern that this “new man” is in the process of being dismissed because some authors argue that men should “become real men again”, and that men should become assertive and take charge once more (Morrell, 1998). Feminism is generally blamed for the conditions in which men find themselves in at the present time (Morrell, 1998).

The new men’s movement was a motor for which men were able to actively be part in the struggle for gender justice, and some have even been supportive of women’s concerns (Morrell, 1998). Morrell (1998) argues that men must critically evaluate those practices in South Africa which add to the violence associated with masculinities, and there are many issues within South Africa at this current time which can be addressed (Morrell, 1998). It is important to open up other masculinity options to South African men and boys, such as the “new man” discourse in order to allow the expression of masculinity in a manner that does not include control, violence and domination (Morrell, 2001).

As these reactions show, it is clear that gender roles are shifting as is the idea of hegemonic masculinity (Morrell, 2001). As Morrell (2001) argues there is not any one “typical South African man” (p. 33). It will be interesting to note how adolescents are reacting to the transition of masculinity, and whether they are clinging more to the

regressive reaction to the transitions, or whether they are becoming more accommodating or progressive in reaction to the transitions in the country at this time.

2.4 Adolescent masculinity

According to various studies discussed in the following section, adolescent masculinity is policed by a variety of social agents. Adolescent behaviour is socially regulated by certain identities which are bestowed on them by their peer groups, which may or may not be temporary. Pascoe (2005) reports the fag discourse which is utilised frequently by adolescents in the United States. The term “fag” or “faggot” is an expression which is meant to be highly insulting, and has an interesting connotation. According to Pascoe (2005), the term “faggot” carries the connotation of a masculinity which has been penetrated, and penetration is a sign of a masculinity which is without the power usually associated with it. Pascoe (2005, p.329) describes this connotation as “penetrated men symbolize a masculinity devoid of power which, in its contradiction, threatens both psychic and social chaos”. Pascoe (2005) argues that the term “fag” does not necessarily mean that reference is being made to a gay boy, but the term is also used in order to police the behaviour of heterosexual boys and the term may temporarily be applied to a heterosexual boy as well. However, this term does have its basis in homophobia, which is a central tenet of the hegemonic masculinity, as was discussed earlier in the literature review (Pascoe, 2005). It is argued that “‘fag’ is not a static identity attached to specific (homosexual) boy” but that any boy can temporarily become a fag when he shows some form of incompetence (Pascoe, 2005, p.330). If a boy were to at some stage show some sign of weakness or exhibit a stereotypically feminine trait, he could be given the temporary identity of a “fag” due to the fact that he has somehow failed to exhibit the traditionally accepted masculine behaviour traits (Pascoe, 2005).

What is interesting about this is that there seems to be no female parallel to this insult, according to Pascoe (2005), thus making it a “gendered homophobia” (p.335). The term “slut” was used as a direct insult to another girl but, according to Pascoe (2005, p. 336), the term “slut” was used once for every eight times the word fag was used. The terms “lesbian” or “dyke” was not used as an insult to another girl in any manner similar to the way in which “fag” was used by adolescent boys (Pascoe, 2005, p.336). Lesbian

behaviour is not frowned upon in the same way that gay behaviour is, in fact, Pascoe (2005, p.335) has recorded some responses from the sample group used which indicated the following:

“Lesbians, okay that’s good.”

“Being a lesbian is accepted because guys think ‘oh that’s cool’.”

“They’re [guys are] fine with girls. I think it’s the guy part that they’re like ewwww!”

Pascoe (2005, p.335) suggests that lesbianism is acceptable to adolescent boys because lesbian activity has a place in “heterosexual male fantasy”.

Another interesting finding from this study is that the term “gay” does not have the same connotation to these adolescent boys as the term “fag” does (Pascoe, 2005). According to Pascoe (2005), “fag” is only ever used under the conditions of referring to a boy who has not behaved in a masculine fashion, while the term “gay” is used to include male, females and even “inanimate objects” (Pascoe, 2005, p.336). One of Pascoe’s respondents described the situation in this manner: “Fag, seriously, it has nothing to do with sexual preference at all. You could just be calling somebody an idiot you know?” (Pascoe, 2005, p.336).

However, the respondents suggested that the term “fag” would never be directed at a gay boy (Pascoe, 2005). The respondents explained that:

“I actually say it [fag] quite a lot, except for when I’m in the company of an actual homosexual person. Then I try not to say it at all. But when I’m just hanging out with my friends I’ll be like, ‘shut up, I don’t want to hear you any more, you stupid fag’.” (Pascoe, 2005, p.337)

“There’s people who are the retarded people who nobody wants to associate with. I’ll be so nice to those guys and I hate it when people make fun of them. Its like, ‘bro do you realise that they can’t help that?’ And then there’s gay people. They were born that way.” (Pascoe, 2005, p.337)

As Pascoe (2005, p. 337) notes, it seems that the gay identity is accepted, even if it is a somewhat “marginalised social identity”. This implies that it is possible for a boy to be both masculine and gay, but to be a “fag” precludes the possibility of being masculine (Pascoe, 2005).

Messerschmidt (2000) draws attention to the idea that it is suited to the ideal of the hegemonic male to respond with violence to a perceived threat. Messerschmidt (2000) argues that:

“There remains a strong cultural connection between admired masculinity and violent response to threat. Indeed, man/boy aggression and capacity for violence is a distinct characteristic of U.S. hegemonic masculinity, reflecting that aggression conveys not simply material rewards but admiration, esteem and social power as well.” (Messerschmidt, 2000, p.298).

A possible cultural heuristic that Messerschmidt (2000) brings to light is that of the ideal of entitlement. Messerschmidt (2000, p.297) found that one of his case study respondents explained, in reference to forced sexual activity, “I felt entitled, ‘cause I’m a guy.” If this heuristic is found among South African adolescent boys, it may also serve as an explanation as to the high rates of rape and sexual abuse in the country.

Martino (1999) also found the practice of feminising boys who did not match the perceived criteria for the hegemonic masculinity quite prevalent in his study. There is a common behaviour among these boys which is to abuse someone verbally if they are engaging in a practice which is perceived to be not masculine, such as reading (Martino, 1999). Martino (1999) found that adolescent boys are unlikely to share their “innermost feelings” as they are likely to be perceived by others as “wusses” or “poofs”, which are derogatory terms used to indicate boys whose actions deviate from the accepted hegemonic or heterosexual masculinity (p.244). Communication and expressiveness is seen to be a practice more related to femininity, while activities such as sport are seen to be more masculine practices (Martino, 1999). Martino (1999) also mentions that the boys in his study seem to perceive misbehaviour in class as the norm, along with being disruptive, even though many of these boys actually performed well at school and got good marks. This may suggest a heuristic around academic performance, that boys should achieve this academic success “apparently without effort and without any visible signs of excessive mental labour or studiousness” (Martino, 1999, p.247).

Martino (1999) also draws attention to the fact that there seems to be a huge correlation between whether a boy is considered to be masculine and whether he performs well at sports. In Martino’s (1999) study, the boys who were considered to be popular and also

masculine were the boys who either played football or who surfed. As Martino (1999) points out:

“it is such a form of masculinity which appears to be at the basis of boy’s rejection and denigration of other practices and behaviours which are considered to be feminine and which involve demonstrating capacities for being sensitive and expressing emotion” (p249).

Therefore, through participating in sport, boys are able to normalise themselves with their peers, through a physical or “bodily” expression of the hegemonic masculinity (Martino, 1999, p.249). This may give rise to another representative heuristic that boys who are more involved in sporting activities are more likely to be masculine as opposed to boys who are not involved in sporting activities. These are some of the recent research findings with regard to masculinity studies conducted on adolescent boys.

2.5 The Sugar Daddy Phenomenon

Sugar daddies are a phenomenon which is widely reported (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown), but little research seems to have been conducted on this phenomenon. Sugar daddies are older men who have younger girlfriends, whom they often provide with gifts and money, or other material gains (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown; Feldman-Jacobs & Worley, 2008). Luke (2005) defined the “stereotypical sugar daddy” as “an adult male who exchanges large amounts of money or gifts for sexual favours from a much younger woman” (p.6). Hope (2007) defines the phenomenon as cross generational sex, in which younger women are involved with older men, although she also notes that this can include older women who are involved with younger men. The Population Reference Bureau (Feldman-Jacobs & Worley, 2008) also describes the phenomenon as cross generational sex and uses the following definition, taken from the UNAIDS general population survey, and the Demographic and Health Survey AIDS module:

Young women, ages 15 to 19, who “have had non-marital sex in the last 12 months with a man who is 10 years or more older than themselves”.

Both Feldman-Jacobs and Worley (2008) and Hope (2007) have noted that this definition is quite problematic and have refined it to include an age gap of 5 years, because

there is evidence that the risk of HIV/AIDS has been associated with sexual relations between young women and partners of five years or older. Hope (2007) states that:

“In sub-Saharan Africa, a young woman’s risk of becoming infected with HIV increases with the age difference between her and her partner. A difference of only five years significantly increases her risk” (p.1).

Cross generational sex can be problematic due to the asymmetry in age and in economic status (Luke, 2005). Although the asymmetry in age and economic status is not in itself problematic, it is the factors associated with the asymmetry that may give rise to power differentials, and the power differential between the partners can become problematic. Lindegger and Maxwell (date unknown) describe the situation well in the following statement:

“Women’s expectations of possible material gain they can expect from men play an important role in making them vulnerable to some risk behaviours from men”. (p. 12)

Hope (2007) has noted that differences relating to age and economic status may reduce a young woman’s ability to negotiate safer sex practices. Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001) noted that in their Tanzanian sample, condoms were hardly ever used. Hope (2007) has also pointed out that gender itself is an important factor which may reduce young woman’s ability to negotiate safer sex practices. Interestingly, despite the fact that the focus is predominantly on sub-Saharan Africa, even in the U.S.A., if adolescents have sexual partners who are more than six years their senior, they are almost four time more likely to fall pregnant than other adolescents who have partners who are within two years of their own age (Hope, 2007). In addition, the bulk of teenagers in the U.S.A who have been infected with HIV are likely to have been infected by adult men (Hope, 2007).

According to Luke & Kurz (2002), cross generational sex takes place in the larger context in which the participants live. They suggest that the young women are more at risk for becoming involved in unsafe sexual practices, because of the fact that sex can be exchanged for money or other resources, which becomes a viable proposition when one is living in poverty. However, the transactional nature of cross generational sex cannot be considered the same as prostitution (Silberschmidt & Rasch, 2001). Secondly, older adult

men tend to prefer younger partners as they believe that this will decrease their chances of HIV infection (Luke & Kurz, 2002). Finally, due to the decline of the traditional structures of society, there is less familial control over young women's behaviour, and has also left a gap in young women's knowledge about sexual matters (Luke & Kurz, 2002).

Even if a young woman is not necessarily living in poverty, she can still become involved in the transactional nature of cross generational sex as it may provide benefits and luxuries, such as cell phones, gifts etc. For example, Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001) reported that their participants were able to gain access to small luxuries and textbooks, as well as some status amongst their peers. One of their participants reported the following: "I love him and enjoy sex with him, because when I buy coconuts from him, I do not pay, and I can use the money as pocket money" (p.1822). A participant in Lindegger and Maxwell's (date unknown) South African study noted that:

Girls like men with money because they want to satisfy their needs like buying expensive clothes. When a woman has an appointment with a man that she loves she will dress to kill with clothes that tighten her body for the sake of impressing the man that she loves (p.12).

Another suggestion by Lindegger and Maxwell's (date unknown) participants was that young women become involved with sugar daddies as a form of status. One participant remarked: "Women want the status of being seen to be in love with rich businessmen driving expensive cars and living in beautiful houses" (p.12). These relationships provide an opportunity for the women involved to have someone to drive them around, have nice clothes, cell phones and other gifts, and these women are reported to view these relationships as a sort of status symbol, and derive satisfaction and a sense of personal value from them (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown). This seems to be supported by Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001), who noted that their participants "were proud of having a *mshikaja wa muda* or a *buzi* [a partner who provides financial rewards] as their financial resource" (p.1821, brackets added).

According to Lindegger and Maxwell (date unknown), South African boys and younger men are displeased with the practice of sugar daddies as they are at a disadvantage when it comes to obtaining favours from women, because they cannot compete with what the sugar daddies can provide. Lindegger and Maxwell (date unknown) noted some ambivalence amongst their participants with regard to the practice

of sugar daddies. On one hand, the participants were eager to compete with the sugar daddies for female favour, but on the other hand they also indicated that they were against the practice. These authors reported that some of their participants were prepared to form an alliance with a girl who had taken a sugar daddy in order to abuse his funding, while others argued that they could “dump” or leave a girl who had taken a sugar daddy in order to save themselves “heartache” (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown, p.13). It was also noted that these girls were seen as carriers of disease (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown).

In South Africa at the current time, there seems to some acceptance of the phenomenon of the sugar daddy (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown). Interestingly, it was noted in this research that their participants were not opposed to the practice of sugar daddies as a institution, but rather were displeased with the economic situation which placed them at a disadvantage to compete with these older men; which is an interesting example of how gender relations are still unequal in many South African communities (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown).

2.6 Traditional Sexual Scripts

When referring to sexual scripts, it refers to a set of sexual behaviours prescribed by and adhered to by most members of a given population. Greene and Faulkner (2005) refer to a sexual script as “abstractions about sexuality that most individuals in a particular culture would recognise” (p.240). These authors make mention of the traditional sexual script (relating to Western culture) which is heterosexual in nature and refers to the different expectations of behaviour that men and women are to adhere to when engaging in sexual relations (Greene & Faulkner, 2005). These scripts are obviously related to the hegemonic ideal of masculinity.

These scripts function on three different levels, namely the cultural, the interpersonal and the intrapsychic levels. The cultural level refers to guidance on sexual conduct from various organisations such as religious organisations, sex education, schools, and the media (Greene & Faulkner, 2005). These various organisations help to shape the societal norms of what is considered to be good sexual conduct. At the interpersonal level, each individual will attain and retain certain sexual behaviours through sexual interactions,

which become “structured patterns of interaction (Greene & Faulkner, 2005, p.240). At the third level, the intrapsychic level, the individual will have fantasies and desires, which would be utilised in thoughts about past behaviour and will guide future sexual behaviour (Greene & Faulkner, 2005).

In South Africa, there are interesting scripts for gendered behaviour. Predominantly, the behaviour that is expected from men and women tend to be defined in relation to the construction of masculinity (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown). The previously cited study noted that black South African men in KwaZulu-Natal seemed to stay within the confines of the traditional gendered social roles. For example, these men were unlikely to assist in the performance of daily household chores, which are widely regarded to be women’s activities. Men are generally regarded as being the financial and material providers for the family, while women are regarded as homemakers, with the bulk of household tasks and child rearing duties being allocated to them (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Men are expected to take on positions of authority and leadership in the community as well as providing wisdom, guidance and making decisions both within the family setting and in the community (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Men are also expected to be trustworthy and respected, as well as providing and caring for their families. Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) noted, however, that although these traits seem quite admirable and positive, they tended to be expressed in a condescending manner. For example, men would provide for their families by supplying material possessions, but this would in essence keep them in a position of authority and power over their partners and children (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Even in the “caring” behaviour exhibited by the men such as giving advice and guidance, was a thinly veiled condescendence, as it assumes that the women are incapable of making informed decisions and require the help and guidance of the male partner in order to make the correct decision (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). This was also evidenced in relationships between older and younger males, for example, fathers and sons, who were also recipients of “hierarchical giving of advice and material possessions” (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). There seems to be a preference for men who are capable of providing financially, as “the ability to bestow gifts contributes to the notion of a ‘real man’ as one having this capacity” (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown, p.12).

Interestingly, many men hold women responsible for childcare activities, but also hold women accountable should one of the daughters fall pregnant (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). Women are also held responsible for the spread of HIV and men do not seem to regard it as their responsibility to protect themselves or their children from HIV (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown). In fact, women are “seen as vectors of disease” and the predominant belief amongst their participants was that women were to be avoided in order to preserve one’s self (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown, p.11). Some of the rational behind this cognition are beliefs that women choose to be commercial sex workers and tempt men; that they dress seductively and tempt men; that they are promiscuous and that HIV positive women will knowingly go out of their way to tempt men (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown). In South Africa at the current time, women are forced to carry much of the burden which has come with the HIV pandemic, which includes caring for those who are ill, caring for the orphans left behind and also a greater likelihood of being infected than men are (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown; Pettifor *et al*, 2001). Women are also responsible for convincing their partners of the necessity for using condoms as protection which becomes difficult as many men believe that it is necessary to maintain relationships with multiple partners; with the result that even fidelity to one man is not guaranteed to keep a woman from contracting HIV (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown).

2.7 The Sexual Double Standard

In relation to heterosexual sexual scripts, there is also a phenomenon known as the sexual double standard. The sexual double standard is the phenomenon whereby women are more likely to be condemned for sexual behaviour, while men are more likely to be rewarded for sexual behaviour (Marks & Fraley, 2005). Predominantly, women are expected to keep sexual relations within “serious” or “committed” relationships, while men are allowed to engage in sexual relations in all heterosexual relationships, whether committed or casual (Greene & Faulkner, 2005, p.240).

Crane and Crane-Seeber (2003) have described the sexual double standard in terms of dichotomies. They refer to “Four boxes of gender and sexuality” (p. 2), namely the Good Girl/Bad Girl dichotomy for women, and the Tough Guy/Sweet Guy dichotomy for

men. These authors remark that neither box is particularly helpful, nor does it encapsulate the full range of any individual's sexuality.

The Good Girl-Bad Girl dichotomy is also sometimes discussed in literature as the Madonna-whore complex (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). There are stereotypes about both the Good Girl and the Bad Girl. The Good Girl is usually characterized as being a wife and a mother, as being middle or upper class, heterosexual, and as producing the required heirs to inherit her husband's name and money (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). This stereotypical woman is expected to be monogamous during marriage, reasonably non-sexual or having a low sexual interest and has little or no career aspirations (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). Such a woman is not expected to be highly educated or assertive, but is expected to be stereotypically feminine without being considered sexy (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003).

This stereotype is problematic for a woman to fulfil. As Crane and Crane-Seeber (2003) argue, such a woman is expected to be a life partner, who is a mother, socially capable, good looking and capable of helping her husband advance his career. However, this woman cannot be too sexy or enjoy sex too much, or her husband would worry about her becoming a Bad Girl. She must be capable of being interesting in social situations, but cannot be too smart lest she intimidate her husband or his work colleagues (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). This woman would also have to walk the tightrope between looking attractive, and thus boosting her husband's image, but not being too sexy in the event that she attracts the attention of other men (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003).

In comparison, the Bad Girl is considered to be the antithesis of the Good Girl – if a Good Girl were to step out of her role; she would be accused of being a Bad Girl (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). A woman who would fit this stereotype would be considered to be sexually promiscuous, enjoys sex, and may even desire to have sex with another woman (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). These women are politically seen to be of a lower class, although interestingly and somewhat paradoxically, could also be considered to be highly educated (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). These women are non-monogamous and are free in expressing their sexuality (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003).

Men also experience dichotomies. Crane and Crane-Seeber (2003) make the distinction between the traditional Tough Guy, which is the closest to the hegemonic

masculinity, and the Sweet Guy, who is considered to be less masculine. Tough Guys are stereotypes to be dominant, financial and material providers, heterosexual, competitive, controlling and interested in success. Traditionally, these men pursue sex with their wives, lovers or casual sexual partners (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). They require a wife who is attractive, as she is seen as a “status symbol” (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003, p.20). This stereotype is considered to be a real man whom, according to Crane and Crane-Seeber (2003), has the job of making money, amassing resources and then passing it down to his legitimate heirs, borne of his attractive, Good Girl wife. Tough guys are expected to be capable of protecting their wives and children, but the same time they are expected to dominate as a function of this protection (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). They also are expected to only express anger as an emotion and although they may have difficulty with other emotion as they are generally expected not to know what they are really feeling (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). Morrell (2003) reports that for men who aspire to the ultimate in the hegemonic masculinity, it is important that control of emotions is maintained and that a refusal to face certain emotions such as pain, grief and loss is essential. It is believed that this lack of ability to express emotions causes a silence in the hegemonic masculinity and may in turn allow men to “displace their emotions” (Morrell, 2003, p.49). It is suggested that men cope with these unwelcome emotions by acting out and punishing their bodies, and cases of suicide, murder and assault may be viewed as results of this silence (Morrell, 2003).

The alternative of the Tough Guy is the Sweet Guy or the Nice Guy (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). This category is generally considered to be synonymous with a “sissy”, a “fag” or a “girl” (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003, p. 22). These men often have difficulty in competing with the tougher, more dominant guys and they fear that they are incapable of having a girl as anything other than a friend (Crane & Crane-Seeber, 2003). These guys are often seen as bisexual or gay, regardless of whether they are or not; and are more egalitarian when it comes to gender roles. These gender role stereotypes give a very good indication of the sexual double standard.

Research does seem to indicate that the sexual double standard has become less prevalent over time, or at least more subtle (Greene & Faulkner, 2005).

Marks and Fraley (2005) conducted a study which was determined to prove whether or not the sexual double standard does in fact exist, as is believed by many people. The researchers hypothesised that if a strong sexual double standard did exist, male targets who were reported to have had a larger number of sexual partners would be rated more positively, while female targets who were reported to have had a higher number of partners were more likely to be rated more negatively. In the event of a weak sexual double standard existing, it was hypothesised that there would be negative slopes for men and women, while if there was no sexual double standard at all; there would be equivalent slopes for both sexes. These authors argued that they did not find that a sexual double standard characterised the manner in which the targets were evaluated. However, they did note that one of the limitations of their study was that the results were not generalisable to cultures outside of Western Culture. In a study of college women, Milhausen and Herold (1999) found that their sample believed that a societal sexual double standard still exists, but that they do not subscribe to it themselves. It was also found that there was evidence for a reverse sexual double standard, as the participants were more likely to rate sexually experienced men negatively. The participants were more likely to rate sexually experienced men more positively if they themselves were more sexually experienced (Milhausen & Herold, 1999).

In South Africa, there still seems to be a sexual double standard. Lindegger and Maxwell (date unknown) found that amongst their sample of South African boys, many believed that men had the right to control sexual relations and the belief that a man was successful if he displayed “sexual prowess and performance” and was capable of maintaining multiple heterosexual relationships and ensuring that all his partners were satisfied (p.11). In comparison, women are thought to have much less negotiating capacity and decision making ability in sexual situations (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown). This included decisions relating to how and when sex would take place, which indicates that there is still a gender differential with regards to sexual scripts and decision making in South African societies (Lindegger & Maxwell, date unknown). According to Morrell (2003), at least half of the South African participants who participated in a national survey believed that a woman was responsible for her rape. He attributes this misconception to a

mixture of a belief in male “entitlement to female bodies” and a culture of misogyny (p. 46).

2.8 Othering

HIV/AIDS is one of the most difficult social problems facing South Africa at the current time. There is much stigmatization and denial about the disease (Petros *et al.*, 2006). This denial and stigmatization leads to a phenomenon known as “othering”, which refers to the process in which people ascribe illness, social ills and other malfunctions onto others, thereby allowing themselves to perceive themselves as less at risk than “the others” (Petros *et al.*, 2006). According to Morrell (2003), participants in his study felt that AIDS was a problem, but it was somebody else’s problem, not their own. The participants did not feel that it was even a problem for their school community. Morrell (2003) noted that both learners and teachers were guarded about issues of gender and sexuality and were not willing, or not capable, of personal reflection when it comes to these issues. Although this process is generally thought of as negative in the context of the HIV pandemic that is spreading across sub-Saharan Africa because individuals perceive themselves as not at risk, and therefore engaging in risky behaviour; Caneles (2000) argues that in different circumstances and contexts, the process of othering has the potential to be either positive or negative.

Petros *et al.* (2006) found that South Africans of different racial backgrounds were more likely to blame other race groups for the spread of the HI Virus. They found that Whites were more likely to blame Blacks for introducing the virus, while Blacks were more likely to blame Whites for having brought the virus to South Africa. According to Petros *et al.* (2006), this is a protective function as people feel less at risk if they believe that their own racial or ethnic group are less at risk for contracting the virus.

Othering also takes place with regard to gender. As has been mentioned previously, women in South Africa are more likely to bear the brunt of the HIV pandemic as they are more vulnerable to the disease and they are also considered to be vectors of the disease. There is a high infection rate amongst South African women, and it has been found that they are more likely to be infected at younger ages (Petros *et al.*, 2006). Due to this, women are seen as promiscuous, as prostitutes and as immoral beings (Petros *et*

al., 2006). This leads to othering based on gender (Petros *et al.*, 2006). Women are generally blamed for spreading HIV and are often blamed for the deaths of their partners which were due to HIV related illnesses.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Underpinnings

As this research is predominantly about the thoughts or cognitions that adolescent boys have about heterosexual relationships, it was thought that the most useful theoretical model would be that of social cognition. Therefore, the theoretical exponents of social cognition will initially be explained and the importance of heuristics within this theory, and thereafter, a detailed explanation of heuristics and their functions will be presented.

3.1 Social Cognition

Social Cognition Theory has been described as the “process by which people think about and make sense of other people, themselves, and social situations” (Fiske, 2004, p. 122). The theory focuses on how individuals think about others and how they think about and make sense of social situations (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995). Individuals spend extremely large quantities of time and cognitive effort attempting to make sense of others and various situations involving other people (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995).

One of the focuses of this theory is how individuals form impressions of others’ emotions, roles, personalities and identities; cognitive functions which occur everyday but which we are rarely aware of performing (Fiske, 2004). From a more operational viewpoint, social cognition focuses on “cognitive structure and process” which includes aspects such as attention, memory, concept formation and inference (Fiske, 2004, p.122).

This theory came about after the advent of behaviourism, which was proposed by theorists such as Skinner (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995). The theory came about as a reaction to the behaviourist approach which had encountered the limits of explanations regarding verbal behaviour, as well as due to the information processing model which had recently been proposed (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995). Social psychology has always had its focus on cognitions and focuses specifically on the “actual, implied or imagined presence of others” (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995).

One of the core assumptions of this theory is that all people are cognitive misers (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995). The term “cognitive miser” refers to the fact that people tend to not to go to very much effort with regard to thoughts and cognition, if it is not absolutely necessary (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995). As a result, people tend to use what is known as mental shortcuts

or heuristics, which may or may not yield incorrect answers or probabilities (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995).

A second principle used in social cognition theory is that of “unabashed mentalism” (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995, p.154). This is an assumption that, even though mental processes cannot be seen in the same manner in which behaviour can be observed; there are certain “overt manifestations” which give theorists clues as to what the cognitions involve (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995).

Social cognition theory works from a process orientation and suggests that the human mind works in a similar manner to a computer; from which information is stored, retrieved, encoded and inferred, and which can be used at a later time (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995).

Social cognition theory maintains that people are causal agents and are driven by internal motivations towards their actions (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995). Human beings also engage in mutual perception and are often concerned with self presentation (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995).

People are considered to be motivated tacticians as they choose their thought strategies with their goals and motives in mind (Fiske, in Tesser, 1995). Errors in cognition do creep in from time to time (Baron and Byrne, 2004). People do generally tend to do a “good enough” job of social cognition but occasionally people do get it wrong, and sometimes rather disastrously wrong (Fiske, 2004, p.142).

3.2 Historical Overview of Research on Human Judgement

For a long period of time, research on the phenomenon of everyday judgements was influenced by the classical model of rational choice (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). This model stemmed from the premise that an individual, considered to be a “rational actor”; would choose a course of action to follow based on the assessment of the probable outcome of each option and the discernment of the value of each. The individual would thus make the choice based on the combination of the aforementioned processes (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). Therefore, the option chosen would be the option which would present the most favourable blend of probability and utility (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002).

Although these judgements of probability can be quite daunting to make, this theory suggests that not only do individuals make these difficult judgements on a day to day basis, but they are also made well and with successful outcomes (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). These authors argue that mistakes will occur during this process, but it is generally accepted that these mistakes will be of such a nature that they would be unsystematic.

This model came under criticism because research has been conducted which indicates that people's assessment of risk and probability does not conform to the laws of probability (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). For example, research indicates that in a comparison between human judgement and corresponding actuarial formulas, the actuarial formulas are more accurate than judgements made (e.g. Meehl, 1954), which would suggest faulty reasoning processes involved in the judgements (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002).

About a decade after Meehl's research had impacted on the field, a further development occurred, namely the introduction of Bayesian reasoning to psychology, made by Ward Edwards (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). These authors argue that this was important because it became very clear that intuitive judgements did not correspond with the proposed ideal of probability judgements.

One of the most significant contributions to the field of human judgement was by Herbert Simon, who argued that the notion of full rationality was not useful and was not realistic as a standard for human judgement (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). Simon proposed a new concept, "bounded rationality", which acknowledged the limited processing capabilities of the human mind (Gigerenzer & Selten, 2001). This concept then led to the study of how the limits of the human processing capacity could be improved by various strategies, which in turn led to the study and identification of heuristics (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). According to Gigerenzer and Selten (2001), Simon made use of the metaphor of a pair of scissors when he explained the concept he named "bounded rationality". This metaphor was that one blade of the pair of scissors was the "cognitive limitations" of people, and the second blade was the "structure of the environment" (p.4). Therefore, a human mind

without the luxury of time can still make a good decision by making use of environmental structures (Gigerenzer & Selten, 2001).

The aforementioned contributions lead to Kahneman and Tversky developing their own theory of bounded rationality, which was slightly different in that they believed that human judgements were not only limited, but were also categorically different to the processing expounded by the rational models of judgement (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002).

This model of bounded rationality suggested that there were three forms of heuristics which were generally used and that these heuristics underlie many of the basic computations used to make judgements (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). These heuristics are known as the availability heuristic, the representativeness heuristic and the Adjustment heuristic (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). These heuristics are in fact based on rather sensible procedures of estimation which are certainly not considered irrational, and although they are designed to give quick solutions, they are related to underlying memory retrieval processes and feature matching processes which are considered to be very complicated (Gilovich and Griffin, in Gilovich Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). These heuristics are not used in exceptional situations; on the contrary, they tend to be used even in very simple situations.

3.3 Heuristics

Heuristics are described by Baron and Byrne (2004) as being “simple rules for making complex decisions or drawing inferences in a rapid and seemingly effortless manner” (p.84). Heuristics were first proposed by Tversky and Kahneman during the 1960’s and 1970’s (Gilovich and Griffin, 2002), and assume that humans have limited cognitive capacities and that heuristics are used when humans make judgements under conditions where there is some uncertainty (Fiske, 1995). This definition is somewhat simplistic, but captures the essence that an individual is more likely to make use of simplifying heuristics rather than “extensive algorithmic processes” (Gilovich and Griffin, 2002, p.1).

Some of the following are commonly used heuristics which have been researched. The representative heuristic is a mental shortcut which is often used with reference to situations where probabilities are calculated (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). When using the representative heuristic, probabilities are considered by the extent to which A resembles B (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). Tversky and Kahneman (1982) give an example of a situation in which the representative heuristic often occurs: “Steve is very shy and withdrawn, invariably helpful, but with little interest in people or in the world of reality. A meek and tidy soul, he has a need for order and a passion for detail” (p.4). When people assess the probability of whether Steve’s occupation is that of a farmer or that of a librarian, most are likely to say that Steve is a librarian because they assess the extent to which Steve is representative of a stereotypical librarian (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). Neglecting to consider base rates is a manner of making an error when using the representative heuristic (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). Base rates would indicate that there is far more chance that Steve would be a farmer because there are likely to be more farmers in the population than there are likely to be librarians, therefore the probability is that Steve is more likely to be a farmer (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). An insensitivity to sample size is another common error in using representative heuristics (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). In this case, people assume that a characteristic of a group will be similar to the characteristics shown in the general population, as opposed to considering the characteristic within the actual group which is relevant to the discussion (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). Misconceptions of chance are also part of the representativeness heuristic, a phenomenon which is more commonly known as the gambler’s fallacy, in which a gambler would continue to place bets on the incorrect assumption that his/her luck would change because the odds would even out eventually (Fiske, 1995; Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). This is a fallacy because each time a person spins a roulette wheel there is a 50% chance that the wheel will come up either as red or black, and the same 50% chance will prevail every time the wheel is spun (Fiske, 1995; Tversky & Kahneman, 1982).

Another heuristic is the availability heuristic. This heuristic is used in situations where people need to assess how frequent a class is or the chance of an event occurring (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). The heuristic is that people tend to do this by noting the ease of which such instances can be brought to mind (Tversky & Kahneman, 1982). For

example, if a woman was trying to decide whether or not a man who was smiling at her is trustworthy, she may recall instances of other times when men had smiled at her, and whether or not they had been trustworthy (Over, in Koehler & Harvey, 2004).

Cultural Heuristics are heuristics based on what Bailey and Hutter (2006) refer to as cultural rationality which they suggest is derived from the “broader cultural meaning systems in the society” and is governed by the relevant group (p.467). These heuristics have been used in the assessment of HIV/AIDS risk and sexual risk in general (Bailey & Hutter, 2006). These heuristics can be related to issues of masculinity, especially within the hegemonic state which is still so prevalent in South Africa today, as well as to the state of the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Morrell, 2001). Bailey and Hutter (2006) explain that HIV/AIDS and other risk behaviours are influenced by schemas which concern risky partners, and these heuristics have been found to be present in many countries in various parts of the world. By using the method of triangulation and grounded theory, Bailey and Hutter (2006) found various heuristics such as the visual heuristic, and gender role heuristics. The visual heuristic referred to visual signs as to whether a sex worker was healthy or not, and was influenced by a schema as to what a sick person would look like (Bailey & Hutter, 2006). This heuristic may not just be used for sex workers but for any partner with which one is considering as sexual encounter, and may possibly be used by South African adolescent boys with regards to selecting sexual partners. The heuristic of gender roles referred to wives, lovers and sex workers in the study by Bailey and Hutter (2006), but may also refer to the concepts embedded in hegemonic masculinity as it occurs in South Africa.

3.4 Schemata

According to Bailey and Hutter (2006), cultural schemas of a community of individuals comprise of the shared cultural meaning systems. Schemas have been defined by D’Andrade (in D’Andrade & Strauss, 1992) as “a conceptual structure which makes the identification of events and objects possible” (p.28). A simpler definition has been made by Fiske and Taylor (1991), who define schemas as “a cognitive structure that represents knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among those attributes” (p.98). Schemas exist for a variety of situations and events and

usually come about through the process of socialization and experience (Baron & Byrne, 2004; Fiske in Tesser, 1995). A good example of a schema is the often quoted experience of eating at a restaurant. The schema categorizes our experiences as well as our memories of previous occasions of eating at a restaurant, for instance, being seated at a table, deciding on a meal based on options from a menu, ordering a meal, eating the meal, paying the bill and leaving the restaurant (Strauss, in D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992). This schema will also affect future experiences of eating at a restaurant because a person would be compelled to follow the "script" (Strauss, in D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992, p.198). Scripts are often influenced by culture, as is illustrated by Strauss' (in D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992) example of the Samoan custom of caring for an older person encountered on the road. In this schema, should a person see an older person walking down the road carrying a heavy burden, possibly looking ill or tired, the appropriate response is to take over the burden and provide the older person with shelter and a cool drink (Strauss, in D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992). This example indicates that schemas are usually culturally influenced.

3.5 Bias and Optimism

One common error is that of the optimistic bias (Baron & Byrne, 2004). This refers to peoples' general predisposition "to expect things to turn out well overall" (Baron & Byrne, 2004). When individuals attempt to predict what will happen, they often predict what they want to happen, and for this reason, individuals are often overly optimistic when predicting how long a task will take, an error known as the planning fallacy (Baron & Byrne, 2004).

Many theories of health behaviour have made use of the concept of "perceived susceptibility", which refers to the belief about one's health and health related behaviours are unduly optimistic (Weinstein & Klein, in Gilovich, Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). This is shown in much research in which the results were that the average person believes that they are far less likely than their peers to suffer from any form of illness or to be prone to some kind of accident (Weinstein & Klein, in Gilovich, Griffin & Kahneman, 2002). Conversely, such optimism may in fact be beneficial as they could sustain attempts to change problematic behaviour, and this undue optimism can also protect people from anxiety in situations in which there is little that they can do in order to decrease their

susceptibility or alter the eventual outcome of the situation (Weinstein & Klein, in Gilovich, Griffin & Kahneman, 2002).

Obviously, when there is a true health risk which could be avoided if certain behaviours were changed, this optimistic bias may prevent people from taking appropriate action and interfere with protective behaviours (Weinstein & Klein, in Gilovich, Griffin & Kahneman, 2002).

There has been some South African research conducted into South African tertiary education students' attitudes, perceptions and knowledge of HIV/AIDS (Raijmakers, 2006). A study was conducted at the Vaal University of Technology by Raijmakers (2006), who included 1162 students in the sample, the majority of which fell into the age range of 17 to 25. This study cannot be generalised to all South African tertiary education students, because, firstly, the sample is too small to be representative and secondly, 80% of this particular sample described their religious affiliation as Christian, which is a serious sample bias (Raijmakers, 2006). The respondents answered a structured questionnaire measuring the respondent's attitudes, perceptions and knowledge of HIV/AIDS (Raijmakers, 2006, p.116). The results of the study showed that the respondents were knowledgeable about HIV/AIDS and used the HIV/AIDS information services which were available to them on campus such as health information and condom provision (Raijmakers, 2006).

However, despite being knowledgeable about HIV/AIDS, these respondents reported low use of Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) for HIV, and low use of services available to treat other Sexually Transmitted Infections (Raijmakers, 2006). The results also showed that the amount of sexual activity amongst the respondents was high and the majority of respondents (69.5%) were sexually active (Raijmakers, 2006). A matter of far more concern, however, is that despite the increased knowledge, condom use amongst the respondents was inconsistent and many respondents had multiple partners (Raijmakers, 2006). Of even more concern was the fact that, despite these behaviours, at least one third of the respondents did not consider themselves to be at risk, nor acknowledged that they were engaging in high risk behaviour which could put them at risk for HIV infection (Raijmakers, 2006). Raijmakers (2006) argues that a thorough assessment of literature on risk and rates of HIV/AIDS infection reveals that the behaviour; in which the respondents

are reportedly engaged; would put them at risk for HIV infection. The motivations for not utilising condoms during sexual interactions included suspicion, anxiety and discomfort (Raijmakers, 2006). Another area for concern was that the majority of respondents in the study had never been tested for HIV, and the respondents argued that this refusal to use VCT was due to fear (Raijmakers, 2006). These inconsistent behaviour patterns are a very good argument for the possibility that the tertiary education students could be engaging in social cognition errors when assessing their risk for contracting HIV.

Other studies on optimistic bias have not focused on HIV as a health risk but have focused on other health risks such as smoking (Waltenbaugh & Zagummy, 2004). It has been found that smokers are in fact inclined to be optimistically biased (Waltenbaugh & Zagummy, 2004). Smokers are more likely to rate themselves as less likely to be in danger of health risks than others would be (Waltenbaugh & Zagummy, 2004). Research has shown that even though smokers are aware of the risks associated with smoking, they tend to underestimate their vulnerability to various diseases (Waltenbaugh & Zagummy, 2004). Smokers also “tend to underestimate the benefits” of giving up smoking in comparison to former smokers and non-smokers (Waltenbaugh & Zagummy, 2004, p.21).

This effect also occurs in a situation when a smoker contemplates whether they can stop smoking or not (Waltenbaugh & Zagummy, 2004). Arnett (2000, p.625-626), notes that smokers were “twice as likely as non-smokers to believe they would not die from smoking related causes if they had smoked for 30 or 40 years”. In addition, these same smokers report a belief that they could stop smoking in a few years (Arnett, 2000). Thus research concludes that not only do smokers exhibit optimistic bias with regard to smoking related illness, but they also exhibit this tendency with regard to their ability give up smoking (Arnett, 2000).

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Research Questions

Whether South African school going boys living in Pretoria make use of a variety of heuristics related to gender roles when thinking about their experience in heterosexual relationships. If so,

- 4.1.1 What types of heuristics related to gender roles do adolescent boys use when thinking about their experiences in heterosexual relationships?
- 4.1.2 How and when do these heuristics lead to the production of certain masculine roles in heterosexual encounters?
- 4.1.3 Do these heuristics lead to role conflict, and if so, when and why?

4.2 Data Collection

In order to collect the data in this study, focus group discussions were used because the researcher was able to guide the participants to various topics, but at the same time the participants had enough opportunity to give their own opinions and ideas on the subject matter, and to introduce new points of view (De Vos, 2002). It is also thought that focus groups allowed for discussion amongst the participants and was less threatening than individual interviews. Focus group discussions also allowed the researcher to follow up on any areas of interest (De Vos, 2002). Vignettes were used in order to stimulate the discussion. In this particular research project, the following vignette was used:

Sam and Rose are at a house party. After becoming acquainted, they decide to dance. They dance and look deep into each other's eyes. Then they go upstairs.

House parties are a common phenomenon amongst adolescents. Some of the participants gave the following information about house parties which allows an insight as to what occurs at these parties:

No one likes it if you take anyone who comes who likes you.

That's when at House parties there aren't couples coming in. That doesn't normally happen, but house parties will just tend to tell people and just meet them there. That's how we normally have them.

There could also be alcohol, drinking. Maybe there can also be smoking.

And the atmosphere of the house party, it's kind of rave.

These discussion sessions were taped in order to analyse the data at a later date and to ensure that the interviewer did not miss out on any vital information. The interviews took about an hour each at maximum, which ensured that fatigue and boredom on the part of the participants was avoided. The questions for the interview were based on the vignette and also on issues found in previous literature such as how adolescent boys decide whether a girl is “safe” in terms of sexually transmitted diseases, what is considered to make a boy masculine, what makes a boy a “wuss” or a “moffie” etc.

Some of the questions asked during the focus groups are given below:

1. How do Sam and Rose become acquainted?
 - Probes:
 - What would attract Sam to Rose?
 - What would make Sam think that Rose is available?
 - What signal does Sam look for from Rose?
 - Who decides that they go upstairs?
2. What happens when they decide to go upstairs?
 - Probe:
 - Who decides what sexual behaviour they are going to engage in?
3. How do they decide if they are going to use any protection?
4. How do Sam and Rose think about their chances of HIV infection?
5. What people are most likely to be infected with HIV?
 - Probe:
 - How would one be able to identify these people?

4.3 Sample

A sample of 13 boys was used in order to collect data, from 4 focus group discussions. This research was conducted in a high school in Pretoria. This high school is an ex-Model C high school and the learners that make up the student body of this high school are estimated to be approximately 95 % black South African. The learners reside in many areas in Pretoria, with some residing in the nearby suburbs, while others reside in the more outlying township areas. The high school itself is located in an area on the western side of Pretoria, which was previously a white area, and is well resourced with computer labs, sports fields, school hall, gym and a restaurant used by the school's hotel and catering department.

The learner characteristics are quite diverse. Although the vast majority of the learners are black South African, they come from different areas in the city. Many come from the north western black township areas, some from the CBD of Pretoria, and some from the northern suburbs of Pretoria in which the researcher herself grew up.

With regards to the ethnic groups of the learners, there are diverse ethnic groups in the school. Many are Setswana speaking, and are probably in the majority, closely followed by Northern Sotho, Sesotho, isiVenda and Sepedi. Other groups also occur such as Xhosa and Ndebele. The school's language of tuition is English and all the group discussions were conducted in English.

Volunteer sampling combined with snowball sampling was used in this study. The learners were asked to volunteer to take part in the study and those who did so were asked to recruit their friends so that focus groups could be conducted. Although this study relied on voluntary participation, it was hoped that the diverse range of cultures in the school would be sampled so that a broader range of perspectives could be gathered during the interviews. The participants were all black South Africans. The majority of participants were Tswana in ethnicity (6 participants); while one was Sepedi; one was Xhosa; two were Ndebele; one was Northern Sotho and one was Southern Sotho. Eight participants were mother tongue Setswana speakers, one was a mother tongue isiXhosa speaker; one was a mother tongue Sepedi speaker, one was a mother tongue Ndebele speaker, one was a mother tongue Sesotho speaker and one was a mother tongue Northern Sotho speaker. All the participants were adolescents and their ages ranged between 16 and 18 years of age, with the majority being 17 years old.

4.4 Data analysis

The data collected was analysed by means of Thematic Analysis. Thematic Analysis has been chosen as the means of data analysis because the different heuristics can be encoded and placed into different themes such as a representative heuristic, a visual heuristic or a gender role heuristic. A theme in thematic analysis is considered to be “a pattern found in the information that, at minimum, describes and organises the possible observations and, at maximum, interprets aspects of the phenomenon” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 4). A theme constitutes information that is important to the overall research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis can be used “to provide a more detailed and nuanced account of one particular theme or group of themes, within the data” (p.83). It is possible that by using this method of analysis that the researcher may encounter different themes or heuristics which may be pertinent to the research questions.

The researcher went about analysing the data in the following manner, as recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006). Firstly, the researcher repeatedly read the transcripts of the data until she was familiarised with the content of all of the discussion groups (Braun & Clarke, 2006). She also did part of the transcribing which assisted in familiarising her with the data.

Secondly, the researcher created initial codes, which were mainly data driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The coding was done through Nvivo 2 Software. The researcher worked through all the data sets and coded all the interesting aspects of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The data was then sorted into what the researcher thought to be significant groups (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thirdly, the researcher searched for themes, and created sub-themes under certain themes found (Braun & Clarke, 2006). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), this phase is important for re-analysing the data in terms of themes as opposed to the codes which were used in the previous phase. The codes were assessed in order to ascertain how they could be combined into themes, and tree diagrams were used in order to organise the broader themes and the sub-themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Fourthly, the themes were reviewed and re-read (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) note that this phase should be completed in two levels. The first level requires that the “coded data extracts” should be reviewed and a decision must be made as to whether or not these extracts form an articulate description of the theme (p. 91). The second level is similar but relates to the whole set of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006) The idea is that the themes need to fit in with the whole data set, and secondly, it is important to make sure that any relevant data that was missed in previous phases is coded (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Fifthly, the themes were defined and the scope of each theme was consolidated (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A detailed description of each theme was written, and the researcher attempted to write up an analysis and identifying what about the particular themes are important (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Some of the themes were renamed in order to give a better idea of what the theme encompassed and also to make it more reader friendly.

Finally, the dissertation was written up with appropriate quotes for each of the themes, and the researcher attempted to formulate an argument based on the themes she presented (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.5 Reflexivity of the researcher

The researcher is a white South African female, who also grew up in Pretoria in the same area as some of the participants. She also attended the rival high school to the school in the study. The researcher did have some concern about being female and conducting group discussions with a group of adolescent males, in that she felt that they would not be comfortable in discussing issues of masculinity with her. The researcher went to much trouble in order to appear open and relaxed and to create an atmosphere that was conducive to discussion. Another problematic issue was that the participants were aware that the researcher is related to one of their teachers, so the researcher had to go to great lengths to assure them of confidentiality and that nothing that they discussed would be relayed to the teachers of the school. They also had to be assured that they could leave the discussion at any time with no adverse consequences.

The researcher was also concerned that being white would cause the participants to feel that she would not understand what they were saying or the experiences that they had gone

through. However, the participants were very willing to explain anything that the researcher did not understand and the fact that her background and the background of some of the participants were so similar did help the situation. The researcher did not anticipate a language barrier as the participants were all fluent in English as it is their language of schooling.

The researcher feels that she influenced the data predominantly through her decision of themes that she chose to elaborate on in the results. The researcher chose the themes according to the topics that seemed important in the lives of the boys and also according to the social implications of the topics that they raised, but these may have also be influenced by her interests.

4.6 Trustworthiness of the data

With regard to the possibility of biases in the data, the themes that were found in the data were taken for supervision in order to ascertain their importance. This would prevent researcher bias from influencing the data. The group discussions were transcribed onto audio tape and random samples of the transcriptions were checked in order to ensure that the transcripts adequately reflected what the participants had said. As has been previously mentioned, the participants were asked to describe what an imaginary person would do in a certain situation; therefore the participants were unlikely to suffer from evaluation apprehension (Whitely, 2002).

4.7 Limitations of the study

With regards to the internal validity of the study, one of the negative factors with regards to using Thematic Data Analysis is the fact that the researcher can project his/her own ideas onto the data obtained (Boyatzis, 1998). This tendency may endanger the validity of the data, despite the fact that the researcher will guard against this and do everything possible to stay objective with regards to analysing the data. The data will be taken from a very small sample, therefore this data cannot possibly be generalised to all adolescent boys in South Africa. There is no reason why maturation effects would influence the study, although effects such history may play a role in the case of a prominent issue (e.g. the Zuma trial) on attitudes around sexuality and gender roles (Whitely, 2002).

Because of the qualitative nature of this study, testing, control groups, statistical regression and instrument change will have no effect on the study (Whitley, 2002). However, there was a threat of selection bias, as pre-existing groups may have exist within the sample group e.g. attending the same school (Whitley, 2002). There was no reason to re-interview any subjects and mortality of participants was not an issue (Whitley, 2002). None of the participants seemed to have an apathetic attitude towards the research and therefore provide little or no relevant information (Whitley, 2002). By asking for voluntary participation it was hoped that none of the participants would feel coerced into participation in the study. Another possibility was that there may have been participants who wished to give socially acceptable answers and avoid negative evaluative judgement because of the sensitive nature of some of the subjects which were discussed during the interviews. It was hoped that the promise of confidentiality put the participants at ease and that they will be prepared to discuss matters of a sensitive nature with the researcher. The participants were also asked during the interview to describe what they thought an average boy would do in a given situation, not what they would do themselves.

With regards to external validity, the structural validity of this study will not be high because it will not be particularly generalisable to other groups in similar settings, tested at a different time (Whitley, 2002). The only benefit that this study presents in this regard is that it will explore the phenomenon with a small group of participants and if the participants do exhibit the heuristics which are discussed above, further research can be undertaken to determine if the phenomenon exists across a larger population group. In terms of conceptual validity, this study should be high in its conceptual validity because it explores thought processes that are used by adolescent boys in their everyday functioning and interactions. The functional validity of the study was low as the study cannot replicate everyday situations in which the participants actually perform the cognition in question, and this study relies heavily on self report style data which may or may not be accurate.

4.8 Ethics

Due to the fact that this study dealt with adolescents who are under the age of 18, consent were obtained from both the adolescents themselves as well as their legal guardians (Whitley, 2002). This was achieved through consent forms in which the research

was described, along with all the relevant ethical issues which were important to the participants. The school in question granted permission for this research to be conducted. Confidentiality was guaranteed to all participants, and they were informed that although their responses may be used, their names would not be used in order to protect their identity during the research process (Whitley, 2002). Anonymity could not be guaranteed by virtue of the nature of this study, because interviews were the mode of data collection (Whitley, 2002). Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that the participants would suffer no adverse consequences if they did not wish to participate in the study (Whitley, 2002). Participants were informed as part of the informed consent process that they were able to withdraw from the study at any time during the research. Due to the fact that the participants were minors, and may have had difficulty in communicating their unwillingness to participate or continue with an interview, any participants showing any behavioural signs of unwillingness or unease were asked whether they wished to terminate the focus group interview or whether they wished to continue (Whitley, 2002). Participants were informed prior to the commencement of the interviews that some sensitive issues would be discussed, and that they did not have to respond to any questions that they were not comfortable answering. In order to minimise participant discomfort, the researcher attempted to pose questions which were hypothetical in nature, and avoided asking questions of such a nature that could lead the participants to disclose information about themselves or their own behaviour which may have made them feel uncomfortable. In the event that a participant was distressed by the interview, the researcher was prepared to refer the participant to a professional psychologist who had trained in counselling. No deception was used at all in this study (Whitley, 2002). The participants were also given a contact number in the event that they had any questions after the interviews had been completed (Whitley, 2002).

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion

Connell (1995) argues that the gender order is in crisis as power relations are no longer characterised by the patriarchal system as it has been in the past due to feminist efforts and calls for the empowerment of women. Connell (1995) also notes that another site of crisis is that of the workforce, where women have entered the workforce which has resulted in unemployment for men in some cases. There has also been a change with regard to the acceptability of a gay or lesbian lifestyle as an alternative to heterosexual practices (Connell, 1995). This also affects heterosexual relationships because the gay and lesbian movement has brought with it a new awareness of women's control over their own bodies and their right to sexual pleasure (Connell, 1995). This is also true of South Africa, in which gender orders have not only been disturbed by the rapid changes in the country's legislation and lifestyles since 1994, but many of the previous norms of racial order have been reordered, which has also contributed to the crisis and pressure that South African men are experiencing.

In South Africa, Morrell (2001) has noted that men have responded to the crisis in the gender order in different ways, namely in a defensive, accommodating or progressive reaction. A Defensive Reaction refers to a masculine reaction to attempt to reassert power and neutralise the changes (Morrell, 2001). An Accommodating Reaction refers to masculine movements towards non-violent masculinities (Morrell, 2001). Progressive Reaction refers to emancipatory masculinities, which attempt to create a new exemplar of what it means to be a man (Morrell, 2001). The findings of this study seem to indicate that South African adolescent boys still seem to view heterosexual relationships in this defensive manner, with the male sex drive being seen to be rampant with women being positioned as its object. However, the boys also seem to experience masculine role confusion when it comes to these reactions. For example, many are expressing overtly sexist opinions about girls when discussing the girls that they met at house parties (thereby indicating a defensive tendency), but are more likely to react in a more accommodating fashion when personalising their primary heterosexual relationships. There was very little evidence in the interviews for a progressive masculine reaction.

It is hypothesised that the defensive masculine reaction postulated by Morrell (2001) is the most prevalent reaction among this sample as it provides in the boys with a feeling of being in a privileged position (Walker, 2005). In the society in which they live, behaviours such as having many girlfriends and proficiency in obtaining women and also violence seem to be “valorised and bring substantial material rewards” (Walker, 2005, p. 230). It is thought that the defensive reaction may be a learnt behaviour from older role models who have grown up in a patriarchal society. However, the role confusion may come in when boys are pressured to respond in a more accommodating manner in a society that is becoming increasingly pro women’s rights.

In the following section, I present extracts from transcripts of my group discussions with adolescent boys. The boys in these peer groups predominantly used traditional masculine and feminine terms when talking about heterosexual relationships. They resorted to gender role splitting and policing gender boundaries in order to deal with the anxiety associated with living in an increasingly gender sensitive society and an era marked by the scourge of HIV/AIDS.

Furthermore, in response to the anxiety associated with living in an increasingly gender sensitive society and in an era of HIV/AIDS, boys resorted to gender role splitting, othering, HIV risk and gender boundary heuristics. I will discuss some of the responses below.

5.1 The Male Sexual Achiever

5.1.1 Objectifying the girl

The hegemonic masculinity paradigm asserts that women can be regarded as sexual objects for men to make use of, while other men could never be viewed as sexual objects (Donaldson, 1993). This paradigm asserts that it is women (and only women), who provide men with sexual validation, and men are expected to compete with other men for this sexual validation (Donaldson, 1993). The boys in the focus groups indicated that there were a variety of factors that could contribute to the attraction towards a girl, most of which were related to her bodily appearance. When asked what would make a boy think that a girl is attractive, the participants put forward the following factors:

Participant 1: Her body... definitely her body then...

Participant 2: Maybe her face...

Participant 3: Could be both.

Participant 1: Hmm... the clothes she wears... hmm ja... the clothes she wears can bring a certain type of sexiness in her.

Participant 2: And the clothes usually get the attention.

Participant 1: The way she dances.

Participant 2: And the way she looks.

Participant 3: Clothes that are a little bit revealing.

Participant 4: Sexy

The boys were adamant that it was how a girl looked that would initially attract them to her. This suggests that young males have a visual heuristic of how a girl should look. A visual heuristic is a rule of thumb which is based on visual cues and physical signs which have significant meaning to the perceiver (Bailey & Hutter, 2006). When asked to elaborate on this, one participant remarked that she should have the “body of a coke bottle”, referring to the hourglass shape of a 500ml bottle of Coca Cola. Therefore, it seems that a girl with an hour glass figure is considered to be attractive among the boys in this study. The boys also reported that a boy would be attracted to a girl because of the way she was dressed. Clothes that were revealing were seen to be quite attractive. The common threads in the boys’ responses seem to indicate a general heuristic as to what an attractive girl would look like, according to body shape, and also how she would look in terms of her dress.

5.1.2 Waiting for the signal

Because the hegemonic masculine ideal of a real man indicates that he would be dominant, boys in the focus group discussions were adamant that a boy would take the initiative when approaching a girl. When asked what signal would indicate that a girl was available (in the context of the house party in the vignette), the participants ventured some signs of availability.

Participant 1: Maybe she’s standing alone.

Participant 2: Or sitting alone... maybe um...

Participant 3: One thing I know is that when you go to a party you don’t expect anyone to come with their boyfriends and girlfriends.

Participant 4: Where's the guy, you know. Where's the guy?

Participant 5: Ok personally, I'm talking for the three of us here, if a chick is standing on her own after you see her state, you won't directly go up to her. You look and analyze if any other guys are around.

Participant 6: Observe

Participant 5: 'Cause you don't want trouble, that's the thing.

Participant 6: 'Cause that's the one thing you don't want.

Participant 4: First analyze and then see there's no guy in sight, then go for the kill.

The participants also seemed to make use of a visual cue regarding the girl's behaviour. If she was standing alone, she was thought to be more likely to be available; however, one would have to be careful to ensure that no other guys had already laid claim to her. Another visual cue was the manner in which she was dressed, as this seems to indicate the extent to which a girl will be available.

Participant 1: Aw ma'am. The way she looked and the way she was dressed also.

Participant 2: By the way she's dressed you can see whether it's going to be hard for him to get her. Or whether it's going to be simple.

Alternatively, the girl could behave in certain ways which would make the boys think that she was available. Some of these behaviours were cited by participants:

Participant 1: And they dance. It depends what type of dancing.

Interviewer: Alright and you were saying about the dancing?

Participant 1: It can be very sexual, like seducing.

Participant 2: Body language.

Participant 3: Her eyes...she could also, like, make contact

Participant 4: Eye contact, eye contact or been studying and talking about Sam behind his back to her friends.

Participant 5: And she could try and start a conversation with you.

Participant 6: Send one of her friends over to come talk to you.

Participant 7: She'd get out the group and stand back.

Participant 8: Trying to get his attention.

Participant 9: Screaming and shouting and dancing abnormally.

Participant 10: Playing with her hair

Participant 11: I would say playing with her hair.

These reports suggest that girls were actively seducing boys. Some of the methods employed were more overt in nature, for example, sending a friend to speak to the boy for her or attempting to start a conversation with him. Other methods were more covert, such as playing with her hair or dancing seductively. Although most of these signals were behavioural, participants gave no indication as to whether or not these signals were easily misread or not.

5.13 Making the first approach

With regards to introductions to girls, the boys indicated that there were two predominant ways in which introductions could take place, either by the boy going up to the girl in question and introducing himself, or introductions could take place through friends. The participants made the following comments in this regard:

Participant 1: They need someone to introduce each other or they just, say, Sam, went up to Rose and said hi I'm Sam and they start talking.

Participant 2: That's easy ma'am. One of them sends friends to introduce Rose to his friends and sets things up

Participant 3: The guy always talks.

Participant 4: Yes the guy always talks, always makes the first move.

Research by Strelbel and Lindegger (1998) has noted that boys are more likely to be in control in their sexual relationships. By either approaching a girl or arranging with a friend to introduce them, the adolescent boy would be taking control of the situation and manipulating it towards a desired end, as is the hegemonic ideal. The participants also remarked that friends were likely to pressure a boy (in the case of the vignette, Sam) into going over to a girl and introducing himself. They remarked:

Participant 1: From getting his friends...he would go say something to her.

Participant 2: They would tell him he has to do it or he hasn't been speaking to much girls lately and this is his chance.

Participant 3: Peer pressure.

This peer pressure to engage in the traditional heterosexual script is a key motive of being a real man. A real man is one who is capable of maintaining and satisfying multiple partners, and therefore occupies elevated focus among men.

5.1.4 Suggesting Sex

The consensus among the boys was that it would be the boy who would initiate or suggest any sexual activities, but the girl would always have the option to say no, or cease the behaviour. The participants noted that:

Participant 1: The thing is guys are likely to be the ones who are, the ones that say ok let's do this and stuff like that it's mostly how the girl acts on it. If the girl says or does a reaction like that.

Interviewer: Body language alright...ok so now who would decide to go upstairs?

Participant 2: Uh, Sam.

Participant 3: Uh-uh, I think its Rose.

Participant 4: As a guy you wouldn't force a girl to go upstairs.

Participant 2: Yeah yeah, Sam would ask and Rose will decide.

Participant 5: The girl has the final decision.

Participant 6: She's the one who decides.

Interviewer: So the guy puts it out there and she's the one who decides?

Participant 7: Yes either she takes it or leaves it

Participant 8: He would say, hey it's loud in here or something, let's go outside or something and if she says no, hey no. But if she says yes then she's the one who is taking things to a new level and stuff.

This scenario seems to indicate little direct communication as to what the participants mean by going outside, the purposes for which they are going outside, etc. There seem to be euphemisms at work here, in which a girl was put in a position of power in which she could decline the offer and move on or she could accept the offer, with the implication that the acceptance would probably lead to some form of sexual activity. There was no evidence given as to whether or not the girls understood the implications of such answers or whether these commonly known and used euphemisms, were known and understood by the girls.

Interviewer: And then who would decide what sexual behaviour they are going to engage in? So who would say alright you know...

Participant 1: Sam would 'cause he's the guy.

Participant 2: They will have sex, that's what I know. They will have sex 'cause, eye contact, House party...

This seems to give an indication that the boys subscribe to Morrell's (2001) defensive masculine reaction in a changing society as they feel the need to be assertive and dominant in gendered relationships. The above discussion is interesting because it gives an indication that the gendered role heuristic of the male controlling the sexual encounter is still intact, yet it also seems to suggest much more agency on the part of the female partner and implies feminine responsibility for taking the sexual encounter to a new level. Although literature seems to suggest that women lack negotiating power in sexual encounters, especially when there are large age and socioeconomic differentials, (Luke, 2005, Strelbel & Lindegger, 1998), these participants seem to suggest that women did in fact have some decision making power allowed to them, at least in casual sexual encounters. However, agency on the part of the woman means that she was also perceived as being responsible for what was to follow, as will be elaborated on in a following section.

Boys in the discussion indicated that the girl would give signals or signs in order to let them know whether their behaviour was acceptable and welcomed. Some of these signs included the following:

Participant 1: Like if she won't go there, when you touch her in certain places, you'd feel uncomfortable too. She'd show it also. If it's okay when you do that to her she'd do nothing. You'd also feel comfortable and you'd know that it's comfortable to go there.

Interviewer: Rose is going to give him a sign that ok, it's alright?

Participant 2: He is going to come up with a stupid excuse, it's crowded up here.

Participant 3: Yeah

Participant 4: Or it's too busy.

Thereafter, it was assumed that if the girl (Rose in the vignette) went along with the suggestion, she was consenting to the sexual play. The boys noted that there was very little direct verbal communication about what behaviour was acceptable or what behaviour would be engaged in and they seemed to rely heavily on physical signals in order to ascertain what their partner would allow and what behaviour was unacceptable.

Participants reported that condom use was inconsistent in these situations, depending on the type of girl. With regard to protection, one participant remarked:

Participant 1: Yes so you don't think about condoms and all that... if you're a virgin you're on the safe side.

Participant 2: But nowadays you can't see a virgin that's the problem.

Participant 3: But some guys do, some of my friends do.

The participants were in some disagreement as to whether or not it was possible to distinguish a virgin by sight or not. Some argued that it was possible and that they could easily identify a virgin, probably by using a visual heuristic similar to those reported by Bailey and Hutter (2006), in which their participants believed that they were capable of knowing of a wife's infidelity simply by observing her behaviour. In this situation, the participants who subscribed to this viewpoint would probably have had a representative heuristic as to what behaviours would be expected in a virgin. They would therefore take note of these behaviours and would make the judgement that a girl is a virgin based on their mental checklist of virginal behaviours. This will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section.

The general consensus was that the boy would provide the protection, which was agreed to be condoms, but that it would be up to the girl as to whether or not the protection would be used.

Interviewer: Is he going to worry about protection? Is she going to bring it? What's the...

Participant 1: Sam is going to bring it. Sam is clever.

Participant 2: You see 'cause in these situations, normally the girl is more drunk than the guy.

Participant 6: But I think when you go to a house party you should take a condom with just in case you get lucky.

Participant 7: Sometimes, if the girl doesn't mind, then they do have sex without protection. But if the girl says no I can't, then the boy can't.

Participant 5: So it's always the girl that has the choice.

The boys also reported that using protection was dependent on whether the girl insisted on it being used.

Participant 6: You first negotiate not wearing protection and then if she says I want to wear protection then you wear protection.

Participant 7: It's a win-win situation to a guy.

Participant 8: The guy brings protection. Always.

Participant 9: Yes, but it does depend on if they have any protection.

Participant 10: It does depend, if it gets heated up and stuff and you don't have any protection you'd be like it's now or never.

Participant 11: I wouldn't but most guys do.

Participant 9: Skin to skin, no that's...not fair at all...

Participant 10: So I would say protection is the first case, if you don't have protection, you going to go out and take a big risk about yourself. Someone might get pregnant and a one night stand could lead to a lifetime situation.

Participant 11: Unless the guy moves up and leaves the room and asks his friend for a condom.

Once again, there seemed to be quite a large amount of decision making power in the hands of the female partner. It seemed as though the option of protection was left open to the girl and it was her decision as to whether it was used or not. The participants highlighted some of the ramifications if she decided not to use protection, both social and physical.

Participant 1: 'Cause if anything happens...she's going to get a baby, she's going to have all sorts of symptoms of baby stuff and the guy won't even care, they just do it and leave. So ja that's why the girl asks for protection

Participant 2: Ja, 'cause mostly 'cause at the end of it she's the one who is going to be looked at immoral and stuff.

Participant 1: With a baby and ja.

It is interesting to note that the sexual double standard became apparent in this scenario as the girl was seen to be immoral because she was pregnant out of wedlock and had obviously been engaging in extra marital sex, but that no judgement was passed on the other (male) party who assisted in the conception of the child. The boy, on the other hand, was viewed to simply "do it and leave", a gender role heuristic which removes the male's responsibility of childrearing and relates very much to the traditional double standard of men avoiding childcare and child raising responsibilities. Therefore, it seemed that although the boy was expected to provide the protection as a token of responsibility, the bulk of the responsibility was placed on the girl, who was expected to protect herself. This is similar to what Strelbel and Lindegger (1998) found in their research of women's discourses of HIV. This sample of women reported that men did not usually take responsibility for safe sex. Although it was never explicitly stated by the boys in the discussion, one suspects that a girl who provided the condom would be viewed with the same suspicion as a girl who made the suggestion to "go upstairs". Stepping out of the traditional feminine role had negative consequences for girls in a gender order where men

were expected to be the dominant partners and to initiate the sexual activity. The old quote comes to mind that “men are the hunters and women are the hunted”.

Some participants believed that protection did not necessarily have to be physical protection, as the following quote indicates:

Participant 1: Some would, some won't. If it's close by some would if it's not close by they will just go. It depends if you have the guy.... or from school. Maybe you know the guy from school, then that's protection for you 'cause I know this guy. Some would have a problem like I don't know you, protection would be used.

Some participants seemed to believe that knowing a person was protection enough. This seemed to relate to another heuristic that if you know a person, you will probably know their HIV status. This heuristic probably relates more to the optimistic bias which suggests that an individual believes that he/she is less likely than others to fall prey to accident, injury or illness (Baron & Byrne, 2003). In a similar fashion, these participants may have felt that their acquaintances, friends and family are less likely to become infected with HIV than others are. Similarly, Morrell (2003) found that participants in his study did not believe that their school had a problem of HIV/AIDS, despite the rate of high rate of HIV/AIDS among young people, especially those of school going age (Pettifor *et al*, 2004).

Male power was obvious throughout the comments made by the participants in the focus group discussion and tended to reflect the traditional hegemonic masculine ideal, in which men were viewed to be aggressive, competitive and in control. Women were seen as the only sexual objects to be attained by men. Men were also implicitly viewed as being entitled to sex.

What was interesting in this analysis was the attribution of female agency on the part of boys in the sexual encounter. Although there was a general benevolent attitude towards women, which was slightly paternalistic, women seemed to have more say in what occurred in a sexual interaction than was generally assumed. However, they also seemed to take on much of the responsibility of the repercussions of the sexual act.

5.2 Splitting Gender Roles and Dislocating Risk

Throughout this research, the boys tended to think in dualistic terms. For example, similar to the Madonna-whore phenomenon, the boys tended to categorise girls into the categories of “Good Girls” and “Bad Girls”, based on the girl’s behaviour and whether or not the behaviour was consistent with accepted feminine gender role behaviours. In a similar fashion the boys differentiated themselves from the “sugar daddies”, with the idea that they were different as they did not have to buy sexual partners, and that the sugar daddies were making up for what they had not been able to obtain in high school. The boys also dissociated themselves from risk by employing methods viewing their behaviour as comparatively safe and by minimising the risk in their behaviour. These strategies assisted the boys in dealing with role conflicts. For example, by dichotomising girls as either good or bad, they were able to maintain the masculine stereotype of seeking sex from more than one source by seeking casual sex from “Bad Girls”, but they could still enjoy the benefits of a primary dating relationship with a “Good Girl”. By differentiating themselves from the sugar daddies, they are able to still maintain a sense of control and a sense of their own masculinity in the face of being dominated by older men with more resources, by making the sugar daddies out to be immature for dating girls that are so much younger than them. At the same time, they were able to maintain a sense of superiority by looking down on the girls who date the sugar daddies as “easy”, typical “Bad Girls”, and vectors of disease because it allowed the boys to feel that they were in fact still in control and were better off by “choosing” to be without these girls. This was also evidence for the defensive reaction, in which women were more likely to be held responsible for bad situations and sexism is commonplace. This was also evident in the dislocation of risk, where the girls tended to be viewed as the vectors of disease, while the boys tended to see men as innocent victims of women’s deception. This sexist view point fits in well with the defensive masculine reaction.

5.2.1. The Sugar Daddy Phenomenon

As noted in the literature review, the sugar daddy phenomenon is a widely reported development. Luke (2005) has defined the “stereotypical sugar daddy” as “an adult male

who exchanges large amounts of money or gifts for sexual favours from a much younger woman” (p.6). In the area in which this research took place, the adolescent boys seemed to view girls who engaged in relationships with older men as doing so in order to obtain a form of status. The impression seemed to be that the girls are provided with money or other gifts by these older men, of whom the boys state “Those guys, we call them sugar daddies”. This explanation was given by some of the boys interviewed:

Participant 1: In this school there's a lot of girls dating older guys and not at school, outside. As long as they have a car.

Participant 2: Its like bound to happen, if you are dating somebody with a car and he's older than you. And no-one like who's taking his opinions from a clever girl, wants a stimulating relationship, he wants sex. And these girls don't want to see because they are getting everything they want. Get clothes, they have cell phones and that's all the view they get, they don't get the bigger picture of ... like they don't see themselves in a big house with this guy, they just look at things like, oh he buys me a cellphone, when I want money...

This correlates with research by Sliberschmidt and Rasch (2001), who noted that their participants were able to gain luxuries through their involvement with sugar daddies. The boys seemed to hold the view that a sugar daddy would be involved with more than one school aged girl at any given time. One boy stated

Participant 1: Ja. He takes you, drops you off, then moves on to the next school, takes another one, drops her off and then moves on to the next school, just like that. Because they also a bit vain because on top of that I'm a school girl. Yes he's got other girls out there and if you tell them that, so what – they don't care.

This may have become an issue to the school boys because they were already disadvantaged by the economic power that the sugar daddies possessed. Therefore, it added salt to the wound that sugar daddies not only had access to younger girls, but in fact had access to multiple younger girls.

There seemed to be a perception on the part of the participants that these situations were predominantly responsible for the teenage pregnancies which had occurred in their areas. Some of the participants explained the situation as follows:

Participant 1: Yes, I think they need a security of some sort, of their future. 'Cause from what I can tell, the girls who get pregnant from our school, a girl impregnated by an older guy like those guys who have cars and stuff and you see them coming up and fetching them and stuff.

This perception is not implausible as previous research has indicated that even in the U.S.A, young school aged girls are more likely to fall pregnant when they have a partner who is six years or older than they are (Hope, 2007). This phenomenon also relates to the high power differentials between younger women and older men. Women may be less likely to be able to negotiate protection as they have less power in a relationship, especially in these types of relationships where they are dependent on the sugar daddy financially.

The perception was that these men are mostly older, with cars, families and often married. The boys indicated that the marital status would not be hidden from the girls with whom the men were involved:

Participant 1: That's one thing about the older guys; they tell you the truth straight from the beginning.

Participant 2: They don't lie, they tell I have a child, I'm married, I'm twenty something

Then he tell her, if you call me and I can't make it then well too bad because I have a family and this and this but when he calls her she should always be there for him. Like that. Some girls tell us that we don't have transport. That's why they go for older guys.

Participant 3: They say we don't have enough cash to supply them.

These comments indicated a similar ambivalence described by Lindegger and Maxwell (date unknown) with regard to their group of South African male participants. There was not so much a concern about sugar daddy involvement as a practice, nor a feeling of concern about the social ramifications for the girls concerned, but more a resentment of being unable to compete due to lack of finances, or being too young (still at school) and not earning a salary, factors which the participants felt would make them more attractive to women.

The participants indicated that there were certain inviolable boundaries associated with a girl who had a sugar daddy. One participant describes the situation, "Yeah. But you've got your boundaries. The sugar daddy comes first". According to the participants, some of the boundaries include the following:

Participant 1: First you don't sleep with that girl.

Participant 2: One of the boundaries that I know is that when you, when you see them walking together, you just like pass by.

Participant 3: You don't stop that chick while she's walking with that sugar daddy. You don't. Its like you don't know her, you just ignore her. You just walk by. You just walk by.

Participant 4: And when you meet, don't bring her, don't bring it up and don't say "I saw you with that guy".

Participant 2: And when the sugar daddy sees you with that girl, you pretend that it's your cousin or your sister or something.

Participant 3: Because he is going to be suspicious. Because if she says friends, the guy I going to start asking the girl "what kind of friend is he? What do you do with them?" And so on. But if you say cousin, he understands that you're family, so you're bound to be seen together. And so on.

Participant 7: Ja. Because those guys will go far hey. Just for the girl, they do stuff to you if you do anything with their chick. Because most of the time sugar daddies are like same cars, same everything and when the date a chick its okay when they see you with a chick, they're gonna call his guys and they are gonna get you.

This sugar daddy phenomenon gives a very insightful look into the worldview of the hegemonic male. Young boys viewed the sugar daddy as being dominating, controlling and protective over their women, but also asserting this authority over younger men or boys.

There is also the heuristic of the competitive hegemonic masculine role, where men were competing with each other for resources and sexual partners. The boys in the group discussions used certain strategies in order to "compete" with the sugar daddies even though they seemed to realize that they are on an unequal footing due to their age and lack of resources. This was evidence of denigrating hegemonic male power. For example, some of the participants stated the following:

Participant 1: What I've noticed about those sugar daddies, I'm sorry to say, those guys are those guys who never really got a chance in high school to experience, like, get girls and so on, because if you really experience like having girlfriends and so on, when you grow up you really don't have time for little children. You want to be with someone who is like older.

By passing comments like these, the boys were able to see themselves as developmentally superior to the sugar daddies, because even at their age they were capable of obtaining girlfriends and lovers, while the sugar daddy was perceived to have never been able to do this, and therefore has had to "buy" a younger girl as a sexual partner as a way to

curb his insecurities. This perception seemed to afford the boys a measure of power in a situation where they were struggling to compete as male equals.

5.2.2 Good Girls vs. Bad Girls

In relation to heterosexual sexual scripts, there is also a phenomenon known as the sexual double standard. The sexual double standard is the phenomenon whereby women are more likely to be condemned for sexual behaviour, while men are more likely to be rewarded for sexual behaviour (Marks & Fraley, 2005).

With regards to the participants, many expressed distain for girls who were seen to be “easy” or promiscuous and there were certain behaviours that were judged very harshly by the participants, for example, blatantly inviting sexual interaction. The participants raised some of these behaviours during the interviews.

Participant 1: I don't understand why chicks approach guys.

Participant 3: No, no it's the, it's just the way they act. You see them at every party they wear funny clothing...

Participant 4: She's a bitch in other words.

Participant 5: She's got with older guys like fourteen or fifteen.

Participant 6: An easy target

Participant 7: The easiest of them all.

Participant 8: Yeah

Participant 6: She won't even ask me any questions.

Participant 9: She could take you upstairs.

Participant 10: Promiscuity...we always taught where there's smoke, there's fire.

This seemed to suggest that a girl who engages in sexual behaviour was judged more harshly and was also seen to be a risky partner when it comes to sexual intercourse. The participants seemed to feel that by watching a girl's social behaviour they were capable of discerning how “at risk” the potential partner is. Bailey and Hutter (2006) found that their sample of men believed that because they were aware of their wives social behaviour, they could also be sure that there was very little risk of contracting HIV from them. Similarly, the participants in this study seemed to believe that they could tell that a girl was a risky sexual partner by virtue of having observed her social behaviour.

Girls who had fallen pregnant were also judged quite harshly. The participants seemed to believe that this was a proof of a girl's "bad girl" status. Another aspect of the double standard was that the girls bore the responsibility for falling pregnant and the subsequent consequences such as possibly having to leave school and provide financially for the child. The girl was thereby restricted in terms of reaching her life goals and ambitions due to this responsibility. This gender role heuristic of contraceptive responsibility was closely related to the notion that women were solely responsible for child rearing practices.

The participants suggested that it was considered to be highly unusual for a girl to approach a boy. According to the participants, a girl was supposed to send signals or messages, which the boy was then to act upon, as was fitting with the heuristic of a male being dominant and in control of sexual interactions. The participants reported:

Participant 1: Girls approaching guys is a big no-no, because you ask yourself ok, what does she want from you, ok... maybe she wants money, and all these thoughts come in, she wants this she wants that and it's not really love.

Participant 2: 'Cause she seems very desperate.

Participant 3: If a girl likes a guy, she's supposed to give him all these right signals, but you don't ask a guy out...

Participant 5: Ja in some abnormal cases where girls pick you up. Then something is wrong. I think I wouldn't want...then something is wrong. If a girl has to take you upstairs then something is wrong.

Such a girl seemed to attain a "bad girl" status because she did not conform to the accepted gender norms of women having to take the subordinate position in heterosexual relationships. It also seemed to indicate that the sexual double standard was still in place as women were expected to "fight for their dignity", as one boy put it, and to withhold sex (or at least to be more discriminating about with whom they engaged in sex) while men were expected to pursue the women and have insatiable urges for sex. It was also interesting that women who initiated the sexual contact were considered to be mercenary, and most likely to be expecting something from the targeted male.

The participants indicated that there was usually an unequal amount of alcohol consumed in situations such as these. The participants indicated that the girls were more likely to consume more alcohol than their male counterparts.

Participant 1: Normally in this situation the girl will be more drunk than the guy...

The guy will be sensible in that case.

Participant 3: You see what happens the guy would be alert.

Participant 2: The guy buys lots of beer.

Participant 3: He drinks little, they drink much.

The participants also made use of typical gender roles in their thoughts about women drinking alcohol. The general consensus was that girls could not be trusted to monitor their own intake of alcohol and they had to be protected from themselves in this regard. This was a paternalistic view of girl's capabilities, which indicated the hegemonic role of men having to protect and care for their women. This thought trend was evidenced in Lindegger and Maxwell's (date unknown) research where participants suggested that masculinity was evidenced in caring for women and children in a patronizing manner. However, while the girls were deemed to be incapable of limiting their own intake of alcohol, they also became easy targets for the boys around them. As one participant remarked, "It's a soft spot for boys to see girls drunk 'cause that's an easy target".

One of the visual heuristics that some boys seemed to make use of is that of being able to tell if a girl was a virgin or not. The participants remarked that:

Participant 2: But nowadays you can't see a virgin, that's the problem.

Participant 3: But some guys do, some of my friends do.

Participant 1: How?

Participant 4: I see a virgin.

Participant 3: I don't know how they do but they do... some do.

Participant 1: I see it 'cause look at the way she acts and stuff but sometimes you can't see it, she hides it sometimes. We don't know how girls think... And they all say we're all virgins that's the problem.

In a study conducted in Goa, India, Bailey and Hutter (2006) found that the male participants in their study made use of a visual heuristic when they decided on whether or not a sex worker was HIV positive. In this study, they found that their participants used the sex worker's appearance as a heuristic and, if the sex worker in question had hollow cheeks, and less body fat, the participants would not engage in sexual intercourse with her. The heuristic amongst their participants was that a woman who had plump cheeks and

more body fat were less likely to be unhealthy and infected with HIV (Bailey & Hutter, 2006). These authors hypothesized that the participants would access images of how an AIDS sufferer would look in the final stages of their illness and would apply this image to the sex workers with whom they were potentially going to engage in sexual intercourse. In this sample, it seemed as though the participants were judging whether or not a girl is a virgin based on their visually available behaviours and how they appeared. There did seem to be some disagreement as to how effective this process was, as some participants reported that it was quite unreliable, while others argued that they were capable of making the distinction.

The danger with this particular heuristic was that the participants who ascribed to the belief that they could tell if a girl was a virgin or not believed that they were “safe” in terms of sexual relationships. Another problematic assumption was that they are safe even if a girl is a virgin. Although the probability is much higher that they are safe, HIV is not only spread through sexual intercourse, but by exposure to infected blood and also by mother to child transmission. Therefore, although the chances of contracting HIV from a virgin are less likely, there is still the possibility that it can happen. It seemed that the participants had considered that HIV is predominantly spread through unsafe sexual intercourse and therefore, the majority of individuals who are infected would be sexually active individuals, which is an example of the availability heuristic.

Most of the participants reported that people were likely to make use of a visual heuristic when considering whether or not a person was HIV positive. Girls were seen as the main carriers of HIV, having slept with older guys. The participants reported that they would suspect a person may have contracted HIV if they are very thin or if they display the following characteristics:

Participant 1: No, no it's the, it's just the way they act. You see them at every party they wear funny clothing...

Participant 2: She's a bitch in other words.

Participant 3: Everyone just assumes that they have AIDS or STD infections.

This comment related to a general heuristic in which a sexual double standard applied. Women who engaged in sexual activity at younger ages were usually judged more

harshly than those who engaged in sexual behaviour at slightly older ages (Milhausen & Herold, 1999). Other participants note the following:

Participant 1: Some people who say, if a person is losing a lot of weight they could be infected with the virus. I personally believe you need to be tested to know for sure.

Participant 2: Hey no way.

Participant 3: Hey I wouldn't go for testing.

Participant 4: Well I think it's because when people see them its kind of new to them, there's a term they say "magwanti" you know if a girl looks skimpy, if this chick...

Another method of judging the safety of sexual partners was the following:

Participant 1: She doesn't dress decent and you know that she dated these couple other guys and these type of things you know everything like that.

Participant 2: And none of them have tested...

Participant 4: All over guys.

Participant 5: Yes and they're gone

Participant 6: Gone.

Participant 4: Easy. In that you don't have to say two words and she's gone. And then she's like all over you.

Participant 10: She won't even ask me any questions.

Participant 8: She will go with anything you suggest.

Participant 9: She might even come up with the idea of going upstairs.

Participant 11: Like for me if a girl's dressed in a miniskirt and acting all wild and stuff, I'd pick them out of that 100 and stuff, 'cause of the way they're dressed and stuff.

But then it might not be them but just like the mindset that we have like it represents promiscuity and plus it's mostly the ones that talk, yeah chommie, I was at this party and stuff.

It seemed as though the participants did take a potential partner's sexual history into account when they decided on the suitability of a sexual partner. They seemed to make use of availability heuristic in this regard as they seemed to make a rough estimate as to how many partners they knew that the potential partner had had and judged how risky she would be. They also seemed to make judgements based on a visual heuristic related to how a potential partner was dressed and also in terms of how she behaved. A girl dressed in revealing clothes was more likely to arouse suspicion, and a girl who seemed too easy was also viewed with suspicion. As one participant described the situation, a girl who was

wearing a miniskirt was more likely to be viewed as promiscuous, and a girl who talked about what she had been doing at a party was viewed as a risky partner as well. It seemed as though a representative heuristic was being used when thinking about girls who wore mini-skirts, as it seemed representative of a girl who was promiscuous and fitted in with the gender role stereotype of a woman who was a temptress and sexually permissive. A girl who did not fit in with the gender role stereotype of the “good girl” was more likely to be viewed as an unsafe sexual partner.

5.2.3 “Othering” and Risk

With regard to HIV/AIDS and other STI’s, some of the participants tried to distance themselves from the problem, and would do so by indicating how their behaviour is very different from the behaviour of others. Joffe (1998) argues that people try think of themselves as less at risk and consider themselves to be part of an in-group while thinking of those who are HIV positive as being an out-group, or the “other”. According to Joffe (1998), “the deviant ‘other’” is necessary in order to “define the upright, righteous ‘self’” (p.29). This process is known as “othering”, and it allows the individual to feel less at risk than is actually the case. Some of the following quotes express this quite well:

Participant 1: Well us guys, but me, I prefer protection more then anything else... but most guys would do it and not even think about it. So the girl would.

Participant 2: It depends, it does with me but other guys I don't know, they don't care, they like well I've got protection so I'm safe. They think condoms are 100%.

Participant 3: But they can burst and that's the problem, you never know.

Another participant made an interesting comment:

Participant 4: You never know and the problem is some guys nowadays if you haven't seen anybody with a STD some people who have like crabs and stuff like that. It's likely that they won't give a damn. If they know that ok this is the type of stuff...

Like STDs...So they will think about it before they do it.

So they will think twice, thrice.

Or someone close to them.

This comment is in fact supported by literature on the availability heuristic. Sherman, Cialdini, Schwartzman and Reynolds (in Gilovich, Griffin & Kahneman, 2002)

found that if an individual is able to easily imagine an outcome, they are more likely to rate themselves as likely to experience the outcome, than those who are not able to imagine an outcome as easily. Therefore, if individuals have difficulty in imagining what a disease like HIV/AIDS looks like and what the symptoms are, they are less likely to believe that they are in danger of contracting the disease.

There also seemed to be an othering of responsibility with regard to sexual activities. The participants seemed to feel that the chance of serious consideration of protection and likelihood of STI contraction in a sexual encounter was unlikely, unless the girl insisted on protection being used. Some of the participants remarked:

Participant 1: They won't consider.

Participant 2: It's the last thing on their mind at the moment.

Participant 3: 'Cause they think their protection is 100%

Participant 6: No. They start worrying about that when it's happened.

Participant 5: That's when they are coming down to ...to their senses.

Participant 8: Not really, it's more heat of the moment thing 'cause you're thinking about today, not tomorrow 'cause most teenagers nowadays they just think of today not tomorrow... they just feel it.

Participant 11: They're there, they want to enjoy themselves, they've gone that far, they can't stop.

Participant 12: That's true.

Participant 13: Right now people will think more about the pregnancies than the STDs or all this stuff.

Participant 11: If you want to stop, like if you see a girl there and you think ok should I like, should I like go for it, the first thing you going to think about is the pregnancy not the AIDS and stuff, that only comes later.

Participant 12: Even though the risk is high, you just think about the pregnancy.

Participant 13: Ja, that's the first thing you going to think about is the pregnancy, not AIDS or like that.

Once again, there seemed to be a heuristic that it was a woman's responsibility to prevent conception. Interestingly enough, pregnancy seemed to be more of a concern to most adolescents than the threat of HIV or other sexually transmitted infections. This could be because pregnancy was more of a reality to the sample of adolescent boys interviewed as they reported that they had seen many teenage pregnancies amongst their school mates. It may have also been because pregnancy seemed to be more of an imminent threat than a sexually transmitted infection, and the stigma was more visible. Pregnancy

was also reported to bring more of a financial responsibility than a sexually transmitted infection, as the participants reported concerns about having to support the child on their already limited finances. Therefore, one way of reducing the risk of HIV could be to make visible the risk of pregnancy, as it seems to be more of an imminent threat.

5.2.4 Steady vs. Casual Relationships

The boys differentiated between casual and steady dating relationships. The sexual encounters which were spoken about with reference to house parties took place in the context of casual sexual relationships. As one boy noted:

Participant 6: Usually a guy goes to a party and this kind of situation happens, it's going to be I think, a one night stand, so it's a chicken run.

Interviewer: Explain that term to me, I haven't heard it before?

Participant 6: Chicken run, uh chicken run is when you have sex and you never meet up with that person ever again.

As has been noted elsewhere, there was a general perception amongst the boys that couples did not attend these parties. This suggested a splitting between the types of relationships that they engaged in. On the one hand, they engaged in casual relationships, traditionally 'one night stands'; as well as more stable dating relationships which included spending time with each other, tokens of affections and also some policing of the girlfriend's behaviour.

Predominantly, the participants had the perception that partners would expect them to buy tokens of affection. These tokens ranged from cell phone airtime to teddy bears. Some participants felt that they were not prepared to buy their girlfriends expensive gifts. As one participant expressed it:

Participant 1: Nope. 'Cause like when I go out with girls and she says maybe... ok and she agrees to go out with me, I tell her that I won't buy you anything, expensive stuff.

Others disagree and are more prepared to indulge their girlfriends. One participant argued:

'Cause when you are young you tend to be, its like you actually want to buy her stuff, it's not because she is asking or she wants to but... You just want to as a guy.

There was also much disagreement as to how much freedom a girl should be allowed in a relationship. One participant spoke of his relationship with his girlfriend and remarked that:

Ok, like this holiday I told her that she can enjoy herself as long as she promises not to drink or get into trouble. You can do anything but drink and get into trouble. You can talk to guys, you can go out with guys, you can call guys. Do whatever you want, but at the end of the day I know she is still with me and stuff like that.

Another participant argued: *“Well personally, I don’t think I can live with my girlfriend going with other guys. You never know what’s on her mind, you never know”*.

There did seem to be a perception amongst the participants that boys were to assume the dominant, paternal role in the relationship. The hegemonic gender role of caring for women seems prevalent, but at the same time it was done in a condescending manner. The participants seemed to feel that they could exert a measure of control in their relationship by “allowing” their girlfriends to engage in certain activities. By allowing their girlfriends to engage in these activities, they were able to maintain a sense of control in the relationship and still assume the dominant role ascribed by hegemonic gender role heuristics. Regardless of the manner in which they interacted with their girlfriends, all the participants seemed to ascribe to the gender role heuristic of being the dominant person in the relationship, although a few were more accepting of more egalitarian relationships.

There was a definite distinction between casual relationships and steady dating relationships. Steady dating relationships seemed to imply more responsibility on the part of the boys as they seemed to feel the need to be protective over their girlfriends, often to the point of being paternalistic by prescribing what behaviour they were allowed to engage in. Casual encounters, in comparison, seemed to be devoid of responsibility on the part of the boys, as could be seen by the boy’s perception that the girl has to insist on protection being used before the boy would provide it; and the “do it and leave” comments voiced by some of the boys in the sample.

5.3 Policing Girls’ and Boys’ Behaviours

Peer pressure is a form of policing the behaviour of the boys. The policing of behaviour was important as it enforced the hegemonic behaviour of the boys and ensured that they conformed to the standard of masculine behaviour expected by society in general.

There was some debate as to how much influence peer pressure had on an adolescent boy's behaviour. The participants passed some of the following comments:

Participant 1: They would tell him he has to do it or he hasn't been speaking to much girls lately and this is his chance.

Participant 2: Peer pressure.

Participant 6: Peer pressure... amongst us friends there's no peer pressure.

Participant 7: Uh, actually there is...

Participant 5: A lot!

Participant 6: But it's not about girls.

Participant 5: But it is about girls! It's always about girls.

Participant 7: It's a case of how many girls you have, it's all about pimping.

Participant 9: I'd like to explain a scenario that happened right? We were...we shouldn't tell anyone about this... we were waiting in an alley and if a guy passed by we hit their head, if a girl past by we smack their butt.

Participant 10: And two of them walk by and decided they going to hit the head and some of us we decide we going to hit the butt.

Participant 9: And if you don't hit the butt...

Participant 10: You're a wuss.

Participant 11: Like we don't want to talk to you anymore.

The participants made it very clear in the above quotes that the peer group played a huge role in policing their masculine behaviour. Martino (1999) reported that the practice of feminising boys who did not match the perceived criteria for the hegemonic masculinity was prevalent in his study. The common behaviour found among these boys, was to abuse someone verbally if they engaged in a practice which was perceived not to be masculine. This policing was governed by the gender role heuristics that these boys made use of, which was predominantly of the hegemonic masculinity viewpoint. For example, Martino (1999) found that adolescent boys were unlikely to share their "innermost feelings" as they were likely to be perceived by others as "wusses" or "poofs", which were derogatory terms used to indicate boys whose actions deviated from the accepted hegemonic or heterosexual masculinity (p.244). In the above quotes the participants noted that if a boy had not been speaking to girls for a while, he would be pressured into going up to a girl, because it is important that a masculine boy is seen to be successful with girls. In this manner they enforced the hegemonic masculine stereotype and policed the performance of these behaviours.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The results of this research seem to indicate that adolescent boys in this sample do make use of a variety of heuristics when considering heterosexual relationships and that these heuristics do seem to lead to role confusion. According to Morrell (2001), South African men have reacted to the changing society since 1994 in one of three ways, namely, by becoming defensive towards women, by accommodating the changes and by responding to the changing climate by actively supporting women's rights. Judging from the results of the heuristics used by the boys in this sample, they seem to be reacting the change in a defensive manner. Although it is uncertain as to why they have reacted in a defensive manner, it may be because their role models had grown up in the Apartheid era and they had learnt these attitudes from older role models or it could be a response to the displacement of male power in modern South African society. These boys also seem to experience role conflict. In this study, this occurred in experiences of heterosexual relationships where female agency was visible. This seems to occur in situations where the boys make use of defensive attitudes, while a more accommodating approach would be more appropriate for the situation. For example, this seems to occur in their primary dating relationships, boys juggled between patriarchal and paternalistic attitudes towards their girlfriends, evidenced by the fact that they tried to police the activities of their girlfriends. The complexity of male power is evident here.

When considering heterosexual relationships, the participants seem to adhere to the hegemonic viewpoint of masculinity. They seem to objectify girls, which is in line with the hegemonic assumption that women are the only sexual objects available to men. When thinking about experiences of heterosexual relationships, adolescent boys were likely to make use of visual heuristics relating to whether or not a girl is attractive. Girls were most likely to be viewed as attractive if they have an hour glass figure and if they were dressed in revealing clothing. The participants also used visual heuristics when deciding whether or not girls were available. The participants suggested that girls who were standing alone, or who move away from the group were giving the signal that they were available. They also remarked that girls who are attempting to attract attention to themselves by dancing seductively or by making eye contact were also likely to be signaling that they are

available. There were also less subtle methods of attracting attention, such as a girl sending her friend over to introduce them or by starting a conversation herself. These signals are visual cues and seem to indicate that a visual heuristic is being employed.

Another visual heuristic which seemed prevalent in the sample was that of being able to tell whether or not a girl was a virgin. The participants seemed to have their own personal script relating to the behaviours that they expected to see in a virgin, and those behaviours that they were not expecting to see in a virgin.

Gender role heuristics were employed when thinking about introductions to female adolescents as it was considered to be the boys' responsibility to approach a girl and initiate contact. Gender role heuristics were also used when the participants considered sexual interactions, and the participants were in agreement that it was the boy's responsibility to initiate sexual interactions, while it was up to the girl as to whether or not the interaction would continue. This is an interesting factor as it seemed that girls did have some amount of agency when it came to sexual interaction. This was especially interesting because the participants predominantly believed in the hegemonic ideal that men should dominant and control sexual interactions.

Another interesting gender role heuristic was that the participants believed that the boys should provide protection during sexual interactions but that it was the girl's choice as to whether or not this contraception was used.

Gender role heuristics were also very prevalent with regard to accepted gender norms and the sexual double standard. For example, it was viewed as very suspicious and unnatural behaviour if a girl was to make sexual overtures towards a boy, as it violated the gender norms of men being in control and dominant in sexual situations.

There was a definite distinction between what the participants seemed to think of as "good girls" and "bad girls", with "good girls" predominantly adhering to accepted feminine roles, while "bad girls" were more likely to violate gender roles. Some of the activities which could earn a girl "bad girl" status was falling pregnant, dating sugar daddies and initiating a sexual encounter. Girls who dated sugar daddies were more likely to be viewed as "bad girls" because they were viewed as possible vectors of HIV and other sexually transmitted infections.

The situation of adolescent girls dating sugar daddies seemed to be very troubling for the participants as the sugar daddies were seen to have more resources than they did, as well as assets such as a car and cash, which was readily available. This made them more attractive to adolescent girls and in turn forced the participants and other adolescent boys into unequal competition with the sugar daddies for sexual partners. According to the participants, it is not possible to engage in sexual activity with a girl who is dating a sugar daddy, as it puts the boys at risk for retribution from the sugar daddies.

Another gender role heuristic is related to alcohol use amongst girls, as the participants felt that the girls were more likely to become intoxicated than their male counterparts. This was evidenced in a paternalistic attitude, in which the participants seemed to believe that girls were incapable of controlling their alcohol intake, therefore it was the males' responsibility to take care of their girlfriends.

The participants seemed to make use of the availability heuristic when deciding on whether or not a potential partner was a risky sexual partner. They did so by considering the rough estimate of how many partners they knew that a girl had had in order to assess her risk for HIV. Another instance of the use of an availability heuristic is when the participants tended to rate themselves as less likely than others to contract an illness such as HIV. This may be because research has found that if it is difficult to call a situation to mind, such as a person having HIV; it is less likely that a person will consider him/herself at risk for that event happening to him/her (Sherman *et al.*, in Gilovich and Griffin, 2002).

The participants also seemed to make use of a representative heuristic relating to the risk of a potential sexual partner. For example, they considered that a girl in a mini-skirt was more likely to be promiscuous based on the fact that they considered short skirts to be representative of promiscuity and the general stereotype of a woman who is a temptress and who is sexually permissive.

These heuristics do seem to lead to the production of certain masculine roles during the sexual encounters. For example, the gender role heuristics tend to force the adolescent boys to assume certain responsibilities and to perform certain behaviours such as making the first approach when engaging with a girl, and in initiating sexual interactions. In a similar fashion, the girls were forced by the gender role heuristics of feminine behaviour to dress seductively or in revealing clothing if they wanted to be considered attractive. They

also had to engage in the previously mentioned behaviours in order to let the boys know that they were available.

There was also much policing of gender behaviours that occurred among adolescents. Boys policed the behaviour of their girlfriends by allowing them certain privileges and luxuries, which still allowed them to maintain a measure of control over their girlfriends. The adolescent boys also policed the behaviour of each other, insisting on behaviour which was consistent with the hegemonic masculine ideal.

These findings in this study seem to suggest that intervention may be required amongst adolescent boys with regard to their defensive attitude which thinly veils sexism and, in extreme cases, may lead towards violent behaviour on the part of the boys, as has been discussed in the literature review. In order to prevent such occurrences, it may be useful to promote gender awareness in order to promote a more progressive approach towards heterosexual relationships. For example, girls are seen as sexual objects by the boys and intervention could focus on changing this construction of girls as sexual objects, with little or no sexual desires of their own (Pattman, 2005). Pattman (2005) also emphasizes that if girls are seen as sexually passive, sexual negotiation is highly unlikely, thus having an implication for condom use. Intervention will therefore need to focus firstly on normalizing female sexual assertiveness, and secondly on sexual negotiation. Pattman (2005) also recommends that girls and boys should be required to work together during these interventions in order for them to investigate how they think about themselves as well as each other, and it is thought that this could be a useful tool in intervening with this sample of adolescent boys.

In conclusion, the gender role heuristics used by these boys could also be used as an intervention, where the heuristics can be highlighted, thought about objectively and tested in order to illustrate certain thought patterns which could be problematic in heterosexual relationships. This would be an intervention that challenges the boys' use of heuristics perpetuating male power in heterosexual relationships.

7. Reference List

- Arnett, J. J. (2000). Optimistic bias in adolescent and adult smokers and nonsmokers. *Addictive Behaviors, 25* (4), 625-632
- Bailey, A. & Hutter, I. (2006). Cultural heuristics in Risk Assessment of HIV/AIDS. *Culture, Health and Sexuality 8* (5), 465-477
- Baron, R. A. & Byrne, D. (2004). *Social Psychology (pp.78-115)*. Boston: Pearson Education
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using the Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology 3*, 77-101
- Boyatzis, R.E. (1998). *Thematic Analysis and Code Development: Transforming Qualitative Information*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications
- Campbell, C. (1992). Learning to kill? Masculinity, the Family and violence in Natal. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 18* (3), 614-628
- Canales, M. (2000). Othering: Towards an understanding of difference. *Advances in Nursing Science 22* (4), 16-31
- Clowes, L. (2003). Historical Representations of "Race", Masculinity and Homosexuality. In Ratele, K. & Duncan, N. *Social Psychology: Identities and Relationships*. Lansdowne: UCT Press.
- Connell, R.W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Polity press.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Crane, B. & Crane-Seeber, J. (2003). The Four Boxes of Gendered Sexuality: Good Girl/Bad Girl & Tough Guy/Sweet Guy. In Heasley, R. & Crane, B. (Eds.). *Sexual lives: A reader on the theories and realities of human sexualities*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Donaldson, M. (1993). What is Hegemonic Masculinity? *Theory and Society 22* (5) 643-657
- Dorrington, R., Bourne, D., Bradshaw, D., Laubscher, R. and Timaeus M. (2001). *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on adult mortality in South Africa* (Technical Report of the

- Medical Research Council Burden of Disease Research Unit). Cape Town: Medical Research Council.
- Feldman-Jacobs, C. & Worley, H. (2008). *Cross Generational Sex: Risks and Opportunities*. Population Reference Bureau
- Fiske, S. T. (1995). Social Cognition. In Tesser, A. *Advanced Social Psychology*. Boston: McGraw-Hill
- Fiske, S. T. (2004). *Social Beings* (pp.121-167). Wiley: New Jersey.
- Gigerenzer, G. & Selten, R. (2001). *Bounded Rationality: The Adaptive Toolbox*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Gilovich, T. & Griffin, D. (2002). Heuristics and Biases: Then and Now. In Gilovich, T., Griffin, D. & Kahneman, D. *Heuristics and Biases: the psychology of intuitive judgement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greef, M. (2002). Information Collecting: Interviewing. In De Vos, A.S. (ed.) (2002). *Research at Grass Roots Level: For the Social Sciences and Human Service Professions*. Pretoria: Van Schaiks Publishing
- Greene, K. & Faulkner, S. L. (2005). Gender, Belief in the Sexual Double Standard, and Sexual Talk in Heterosexual Dating Relationships. *Sex Roles* 53 (3/4), 239-251
- Hope, R. (2007). Gender Equality and “Sugar Daddies”: Cross Generational Sex in the time of HIV. Gender Equality Series. MIDEGO, Inc.
- Imms, W. D. (2000). Multiple Masculinities and the Schooling of Boys. *Canadian Journal of Education* 25 (2), 152-165
- Joffe, H. (1998). Social representations and the AIDS field. *Psychology in Society*, 24, 21-49.
- Kahneman, D., Slovic, P. & Tversky, A. (Eds.). (1982). *Judgement Under Uncertainty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lindegger, G. & Maxwell, J. (date unknown). *A Gender Analysis of Targeted AIDS Interventions (TAI)*. Publisher unknown.
- Lindegger, G. & Maxwell, J. (2007). *Teenage Masculinity: the double find of*

- conformity to hegemonic standards. In Shefer, T., Ratele, K., Shabalala, N., & Buikema, R. From Boys to Men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society. Landsdowne: UCT Press.
- Luke, N. (2005). Confronting the Sugar Daddy Stereotype: Age and Economic Asymmetries and Risky Sexual Behaviour in Urban Kenya. *International Family Planning Perspectives* 31 (1), 6-14
- Luke, N. & Kurz, K. (2002). Cross-generational and Transactional Sexual Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa: Prevalence of Behaviour and Implications for Negotiating Safer Sexual Practices. ICRW/PSI, Washington DC.
- Martino, W. (1999). "Cool Boys", "Party Animals", "Squids" and "Poofers": Interrogating the Dynamics and Politics of Adolescent Masculinities in School. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20 (2), 239-263
- Marks, M.J. & Fraley, R. C. (2005). The Sexual Double Standard: Fact or Fiction? *Sex Roles* 52 (3/4), 175-186
- Messerschmidt, J. W. (2000). Becoming "Real Men": Adolescent Masculinity Challenges And Sexual Violence. *Men and Masculinities* 2 (3), 286-307
- Milhausen, R. R. & Herold, E. S. (1999). Does the Sexual Double Standard Still Exist? Perceptions of University Women. *Journal of Sex Research* 36 (4), 361-368
- Morrell, R. (1998). The New Man? *Agenda* 37, 7-12
- Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing Men in Southern Africa (pp.1-33)*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press
- Morrell, R. (2003). Silence, Sexuality and HIV/AIDS in South African Schools. *The Australian Educational Researcher* 30 (1), 41-62
- Over, D. (2004). Rationality and the Normative/Descriptive Distinction. In Koehler, D.J. & Harvey, N. Blackwell Handbook of Judgement and Decision Making. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Pascoe, C. J. (2005). "Dude, You're a Fag": Adolescent Masculinity and the Fag Discourse. *Sexualities* 8 (3), 329-346
- Pattman, R. (2005). "Boys and Girls should not be too Close": Sexuality, the Identities of African Boys and Girls and HIV/AIDS Education. *Sexualities* 8 (4), 497-516
- Petros, G., Airhihenbuwa, C.O., Simbayi, L., Ramlagan, S. & Brown, B. (2006).

- HIV/AIDS and “othering” in South Africa: The blame goes on. *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 8 (1), 67-77
- Pettifor, A.E., Rees, H.V., Keinschmidt, I., Steffenson, A.E., MacPhail, C., Hlongwa-Madikizela, L., Vermaak, K., & Padian, N.S. (2005). Young people’s sexual health in South Africa: HIV prevalence and sexual behaviours from a nationally representative household survey. *AIDS* 2005, 19, 1525-1534
- Raijmakers, L. R. (2006). A snapshot: South African University students’ attitudes, perceptions and knowledge of HIV/AIDS. *South African Journal of Health Education*, 20 (1), 115-133
- Shefer, T. & Ruiters, K. (1998). The Masculine Construct in Heterosex. *Agenda* 37, 39-45
- Sherman, S.J., Cialdini, R.B., Schwartzman, D.F. & Reynolds, K. D. (2002). Imagining Can Heighten or Lower the Percieved Likelihood of Contracting a Disease: The Mediating Effect of Ease of Imagery. In Gilovich, T., Griffin, D. & Kahneman, D. *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Silberschmidt, M. & Rasch, V. (2001). Adolescent girls, illegal abortions and “sugar daddies” in Dar es Salaam: vulnerable victims and active social agents. *Social Science and Medicine* 52, 1815-1826
- South African Police Services. (2005). Crime in the RSA per Police Area for April to March 2001/2002 to 2004/2005. Crime Information Analysis Centre. http://www.saps.gov.za/statistics/reports/crimestats/2005/_pdf/area/rsa_total.pdf
Date Accessed: 2 April 2007.
- Strebel, A. & Lindegger, G. (1998). Power and responsibility: Shifting discourses of gender and HIV/AIDS. *Psychology in Society*, 24, 4-20.
- Swanepoel, P. (2005). Stemming the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa: are our HIV/AIDS campaigns failing us? *Communicatio*, Vol 31 (1), 61-93
- Van Dyk, A. (2001). *HIV/AIDS Care and Counselling* (pp.38-40). Cape Town: Pearson Education South Africa
- Walker, L. (2005). Men Behaving Differently: South African Men Since 1994. *Culture*,

- Health and Sexuality*, 7 (3), 225-238
- Waltenbaugh, A. W. & Zagummy, M. J. (2004). Optimistic Bias and perceived control among cigarette smokers. *Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education Vol 47 (3)*, 20-33
- Whitley, B. E. (2002). *Principles of Research in Behavioural Science (chap. 3, 6 & 14)*. Boston: McGraw Hill
- Weinstein, N.D. & Klein, W.M. (2002). Resistance of Personal Risk Perceptions to Debiasing Interventions. In Gilovich, T., Griffin, D. & Kahneman, D. *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, K. & Jewkes, R. (2001). "Dangerous Love": Reflections on Violence among Xhosa Township Youth. In Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Xaba, T. (2001). Masculinity and its Malcontents: The Confrontation between 'Struggle Masculinity' and 'Post-Struggle Masculinity' (1990-1997). In Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: Natal University Press.
- Young, J. P. (2001). Displaying practice of masculinity: Critical literacy and social contexts. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy 45 (1)*, 4-14

Appendices A

Information sheets and consent forms

Dear Participants, Parents and Guardians

I am currently a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and am completing my MSocSci: Psychology degree. I am conducting research on masculinity issues and would like to interview high school boys in order to explore how boys think about masculinity. All participation in this study is voluntary, and participation in this study can be discontinued at any time with no adverse effects resulting from the discontinuation. The participant's names and what they say during the interview will be kept confidential. Participants do not have to answer any questions which they are not comfortable answering. Pseudonyms will be used in the final report on this research; therefore no participant will be identifiable. Your participation in this research is appreciated. Should you have any questions, please feel free to ask the researcher.

Researcher:

Candice McCain

084 738 9854

Masters student

Department of Psychology

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Supervisor:

Kaymarlinn Govender

031 260 7616

Lecturer

Department of Psychology

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Consent Form for Participants

I, the undersigned, understand that my participation in this research project is completely voluntary and that I may withdraw from this project at any time. I have been informed that there will be no adverse consequences should I choose to withdraw from the study. I understand that I will not be obliged to answer any questions which I do not feel comfortable in answering. I have been informed that my responses will be kept confidential and that I will not be named in the research report.

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Consent Form for the Parents/Guardians of Participants

I, the undersigned, understand that my child's participation in this research project is completely voluntary and that he may withdraw from this project at any time. I have been informed that there will be no adverse consequences should my child choose to withdraw from the study. I understand that my child will not be obliged to answer any questions which he does not feel comfortable in answering. I have been informed that his responses will be kept confidential and that he will not be named in the research report.

Participant's name:

Parent's/Guardian's name:

Parent's/Guardian's signature:

Date:
