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**AN EVALUATION OF THE REPRESENTATION OF
GENDER AND GENDER VIOLENCE IN A SEXUALITY
AND LIFESKILLS PROGRAMME FOR ADOLESCENTS**

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ABSTRACT

Sexuality education programmes have a crucial role to play in empowering adolescents to understand and engage with issues of gender. This study aimed to evaluate how relations of gender and gender violence are represented in a Lifeskills and Sexuality programme for 15 - 21 year olds. Working within a qualitative research framework, the data was gathered through focus groups and interviews with participants of the programme. The discussions held with participants were transcribed and this material together with the programme manual, was thematically analysed. The findings indicated that the definition of sexuality which guides the programme does not reflect a conceptualisation of sexuality in all its complexity. Gender, the concern of this study, is not explicitly embedded in the programme's understanding of sexuality. While issues of gender and gender violence are not tackled overtly in the programme, they continually and integrally affect how the youth experience the programme. In addition the findings revealed discourses in which gender myths and stereotypes persist and where the constructs of masculinities and femininities are inextricably bound up with the silencing of women and the speaking of men. Despite the findings that the programme contained sexist and heterosexist underpinnings, it was also found that it played an invaluable role for adolescents in the building of a stronger sense of self. This study recommends that issues of gender be manifestly built into the Sexuality and Lifeskills curriculum and that the organisation develops strategies to facilitate the programme in a manner which explicitly promotes gender equity.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Gender violence is an issue which in certain parts of the world, affects up to 52% of women (World Health Organisation, 1997). In South Africa current statistics said to be conservative due to under-reporting, indicate that an estimated one million women are raped a year, with the Western Cape and Gauteng province showing the highest figures (Soal, 1999). A high percentage of these women are young, and in a recent survey in the Western Cape it was found that 30% of the adolescent women interviewed, reported that their first sexual experience was one in which they were forced to have intercourse (Wood, Maforah & Jewkes, 1998). In another survey of attitudes towards sexual violence in the Gauteng region, 30 % of teenage boys said they 'could' be violent towards girls and half indicated that they "*had friends who were sexually violent*" (Soal, 1999, p. 3).

While advances are being made in terms of legislation, advocacy and intervention, these statistics remain alarmingly and unacceptably high and point to an urgent need for ongoing intervention with adolescents. With sexuality education being seen as a valuable site of intervention, this study aimed to examine issues of gender and gender violence within the arena of sexuality education. This was done through an investigation of how gender is represented in a sexuality education programme for 15-21 year olds, which forms part of an adolescent reproductive health project in the Western Cape.

The main sites for the provision of formal sexuality education to adolescents in South Africa include school curricula, independent community-based programmes and reproductive health programmes. While there is still some debate in some arenas (i.e. certain religious sectors) about whether to provide young people with sexuality education at all, internationally there is an increase in the provision of sexuality education, specifically in the school setting (Mitchell, 1998; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). There is a need for multi-pronged interventions to address gender violence in adolescence and recent international research highlights sexuality education programmes as a particularly powerful site in which to address this issue (Curcio, Berlin & First, 1996; Sears, 1992; Thomson & Holland, 1998).

Sexuality education programmes are seen to be effective during adolescence because it is during this period that the individual is in a process of challenging norms, developing values and acquiring an increasing ability to reflect on his/her personal development and identity (Coleman & Roker, 1998; Wolfe et al., 1996). It is a time of intense emotional, psychological, physical and social growth and a period when for many, intimate and sexual relationships are entered into for the first time. However, at the same time young people are under pressure to conform to certain cultural norms upheld through gender stereotypes, with violence often being portrayed as acceptable and even desirable, especially by the media (Caterina, 1992; Robbin, 1992). This period therefore, may be seen as a crucial time to help young people develop an understanding about relations of gender, power and nonviolent forms of sexual communication.

The efficacy of many sexuality education programmes have been evaluated to establish whether they do bring about an increase in sexual knowledge and concomitant change in behaviour, usually risk-taking behaviour. In South Africa Schoeman (1990) for example, found government-run sexuality education programmes to be generally inappropriate and limited as they did not sufficiently take into account the world of the adolescent and they lacked effective strategies to communicate with adolescents. Evaluating programmes in terms of how gender, power and violence are portrayed is not common. However more recently, and as understandings of the notion of sexuality are broadened, it has become imperative to consider these issues (Oskowitz, 1993; Stevens, 1997; Wood et al., 1998). In the international literature on adolescent sexuality where the issue of gender is often tackled more directly, there appears to be strong evidence that programmes often “*fail to challenge sexism, homophobia and male sexual violence in the public and private realms*” (Lenskyj, 1990, p. 217). Research in the area indicated that adolescent women who are aware of alternatives will not necessarily choose to be in relationships which are domineering and abusive. In addition, adolescent men who have been exposed to “*caring, egalitarian relationships with women and/or with men might question their right to dominate*” (Lenskyj, 1990, p. 220).

The programme evaluated in this study operates within the non-governmental sector where there is fierce competition for resources, leading to a greater demand on the part of donors for accountability, i.e. they want to ensure that programmes make financial sense

and are running efficiently. In addition, policy makers, advocacy groups and funders supporting adolescent health initiatives need to see that programmes are effective in promoting young men's and women's health, safety and well-being. In having evaluated an existing programme it was important to gain a contextual understanding of the establishment and subsequent development of the programme. What follows is a brief history of the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA), Western Cape and its Adolescent Reproductive Health Project (ARHP), within which the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme evaluated in this study, is positioned.

1.2. THE PLANNED PARENTHOOD ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA (PPASA), WESTERN CAPE

PPASA is an established, national non-governmental organisation working in the field of reproductive health. Their mission statement encompasses worthy ideals and includes the organisation being "*committed to the principles enshrined in the South African constitution,*" providing "*leadership in sexual and reproductive health and rights, recognising this as the keystone to gender equity and sustainable development,*" providing critique, promoting "*sexual and reproductive health policy both nationally and internationally*" and pioneering "*quality programmes which address sexual and reproductive health priorities*" (PPASA Annual Report, 1998, no page number (n.p.n)).

PPASA has been involved in reproductive health and education since the early 1930's. Over the years it has grown into a large organisation with a national office in Johannesburg and branches in seven provinces. It is funded both nationally and internationally and it pilots programmes in "*disadvantaged communities, intended for replication by and integration into government health services*" (PPASA Annual Report, 1998, p. 2). In the Western Cape the aims of PPASA guide the following projects:

- The Community Based Distribution of Contraceptives (CBD) Project,
- The Sexual and Reproductive Health Lifeskills Project
- The Adolescent Reproductive Health Project (ARHP)
- The Women's Wellness and Advocacy Project
- The Parent Education Project
- The Media Resource Centre, and the newly established
- Men as Partners Project.

The ARHP grew out of an initiative by Dr Mamphela Ramphele (ex Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town) who approached PPASA, Western Cape in 1994 to establish a youth sexuality education and contraceptive service in the newly established New Crossroads Youth Centre. The Centre, located in an economically impoverished and disadvantaged community aimed to provide a range of activities and services to young people. The PPASA Youth Information and Contraceptive service began running in early 1995. From the beginning sexuality and lifeskills workshops were provided for two

different age groups. The workshops for 11-14 year olds focused on the physical changes during puberty, while those for 15-21 year olds focused on safer sex practices and sexually transmitted diseases.

Since 1995 the ARHP has grown and adapted to the needs of the youth it serves and today it comprises the following five programmes:

Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme 11-14 year olds and 15-21 year olds

Peer Training Programme

Parent Enrichment Programme

Programme for Teenage Mothers

Contraceptive Services.

The project now operates in three sites in the Western Cape; Khayelitsha, New Crossroads and Gugulethu. The Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15-21 year olds is run in each site one afternoon a week and includes 8-12 one-and-a-half hour sessions on the following topics:

Introduction to puberty

Physical changes during puberty

Peer relations

Sexual decision-making

Teenage pregnancy

Termination of pregnancy

Safe sex

Contraception

Sexually Transmitted diseases

HIV/AIDS.

In 1998 a total of 160 youth aged between 15 and 20 years graduated from the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme.

1.3. PAST EVALUATIONS OF PPASA'S SEXUALITY AND LIFESKILLS PROGRAMME

Since its inception in 1995 the ARHP has been the focus of ongoing assessment, evaluation and research, confirming an ethos within the organisation to monitor its service in order to provide appropriate interventions. The bulk of the research has been carried out by Brener and Louw from the University of Cape Town (UCT) Psychology Department, who were asked in 1995 to evaluate the then New Crossroads Youth Information and Contraceptive Service of the PPASA, Western Cape. This resulted in a two year evaluation process and the production of six reports. Two other evaluation reports have been conducted, one on the peer counselling programme (Villa-Vicencio, 1997) and the most recent, a general project evaluation (Hall, 1999). See Appendix A for a full list of evaluation and research reports.

These evaluation studies focus on different areas of functioning within the ARHP. For purposes of this discussion I will concern myself largely with comments and findings in the reports on the programme equivalent to the current Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme, however relevant issues raised elsewhere will be mentioned. In the Hall (1999) report, findings and recommendations are clearly demarcated according to the two programmes for the two different age groups, but the other reports generally provide comments on the programme as a whole and I therefore will not restrict my discussion to one age group only.

While none of these reports had specific aims relating to issues of gender and gender violence, there are references to broader gender issues. They appear overtly or covertly in three main areas; investigation into the content of the workshop material, assessment and impressions of knowledge and behaviour changes in the youth and the group dynamics between the adolescent women and men in the workshops.

In terms of content, HIV/AIDS consistently emerged as one of the main issues that youth wanted to learn more about in the programme, however child abuse and rape were also mentioned specifically as areas on which the youth wanted more input (Brener, 1997; Hall, 1999). This was quickly addressed by PPASA in 1996 through the introduction of a session on sexual abuse and a directive that the session remain in the programme. Today these issues are covered in the programme for 11-14 year olds, however requests are still

being made by both age groups for more information on abuse (Hall, 1999).

In addition Brener (1996) pointed out:

Some gender-based discrepancy was noted in the choice of enjoyable workshops.

This was most evident in that choices of communication and listening skills and conflict resolution as the most enjoyable sessions were predominantly male.

Whether this represents some particular gender-based trends needs to be addressed in future studies, and if this is so, the reasons for these patterns must be further investigated" (p. 17).

This clearly points to a need to take cognisance of the impact of gender in designing and choosing course content in sexuality education programmes.

The feedback from youth on their change in knowledge about sexuality and their perceptions about their sexual behaviour, raised some interesting points. What is noteworthy in the Brener (1997) research is that the issue of power in relationships was highlighted. She indicated:

Positive trends were found for some items on the knowledge questionnaire which address the perceptions of women's power in the sexual encounter and issues

around women's sexuality. These findings suggest that women are being viewed more as equal partners in the sexual encounter. However scores on other items illustrated that misconceptions about sex and sexuality are still prevalent among youths (p. 3).

Overall Brener (1997) found that the youth's level of sexual knowledge, according to a knowledge questionnaire administered before and after the workshops, did not increase, yet there were positive comments in interviews with regards to how participants felt their sexual behaviour and understanding had changed. Detailed reading of Brener (1996, 1997) provides insight into this with the men commenting for example, that they understood that if a woman says no she means no, or that they learned that it is possible to have a relationship without forcing their girlfriend to have sex. What is significant is that these responses are not highlighted in the final summaries of findings in terms of changes in attitudes towards gender myths, power or gender violence.

In another example, Brener (1997) noted that youth were unclear about "safer sex". They linked the repercussions of not practising safer sex to issues such as having to pay lobola or falling pregnant and the father of the baby refusing to acknowledge his responsibility. She suggested that the youth were not aware that safer sex practices refer to prevention of HIV and STD's and then commented that there is a need for "*sexuality education especially to teach youths effective preventative measures and to deconstruct the*

misconceptions and misunderstandings which they may have regarding HIV/AIDS”

(Brener, 1997, p. 17). In the youth's comments on safer sex, although there was clearly also a discourse about gender and power, this aspect was not picked up and commented on by the researcher.

The most overt comments and recommendations concerning gender were made around the issue of male dominance and disruption within the group training sessions. These comments were not made directly in connection with the sexuality and lifeskills training but came from the review of a sexuality and leadership skills training camp (Brener, 1996a) and evaluator observations (Hall, 1999). In Brener's (1996a) evaluation there was concern about the young women having been less interactive. She comments:

This is a difficult issue to resolve, and hopefully as the females are exposed to more workshops and group work, they will develop the confidence to communicate within a group. It may be beneficial to carry through with the suggestion of assertiveness training for females to enhance their ability to interact in a group. However, a complex set of entrenched cultural norms and taboos exist in terms of appropriate sexual communication especially amongst the sexes and it is likely that altering this culturally established pattern of male-female sexual interaction will be difficult (p. 6).

Similarly Hall (1999) commented on her own observation that the “*boys in the group* [her focus group] *were very open, assertive, enthusiastic, and concerned. The girls, however, were much quieter and more reticent in voicing their opinions. The boys seemed bonded as a group, but not the girls*” (p. 11). Both researchers suggested in their recommendations that attention be paid to this, the former in the form of assertiveness training for girls and the latter in terms of facilitator awareness of and intervention in group dynamics. Neither authors however made specific comment on the need to understand these dynamics in a more comprehensive and meaningful manner and in terms of relations of gender. In the United Kingdom, Measor, Tiffin and Fry (1996) found a similar dynamic of male disruption and domination in the sexuality education classes they studied and suggested that addressing factors such as the role of adolescent masculine and feminine identities are central to changing the dynamics and learning environment in sexuality education programmes.

The evaluations discussed above do not explicitly aim to assess the role of gender issues in the PPASA Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme. Yet my reading of the findings of these reports revealed an ongoing subtext about gender issues and the potentially crucial position they may hold in analysing the effectiveness of a sexuality education programme and providing recommendations for change.

1.4. AIMS OF THE STUDY

The present study is the first focusing specifically on gender in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15-21 year olds. I have chosen the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme as a focus for evaluation as it is the programme which provides a broad introduction to sexuality for youth who are involved with PPASA. It is important to note that the programmes for the two different age groups stand alone, i.e. youth do not necessarily attend both programmes.

Younger adolescents are reported to be more impressionable and have less sexual knowledge (Olsen, Weed, Nielsen & Jensen, 1992), perhaps making them a more captive audience generally for input on sexuality. Despite this, I have chosen to evaluate the programme for 15-21 year olds as it is from this age group that the PPASA youth peer counselors are chosen and trained to educate and support their peers. With the increase in interest in the power and value of peer education over other forms of sexuality education (Villa-Vicencio, 1997), it is crucial that these youth learn about issues relating to gender, power and gender violence. This does not however suggest that the programme for younger adolescents is sufficient in its tackling of gender issues, nor that gender input should be focused on one programme only.

Through this evaluation research I wish to provide PPASA with input which may aid in the development of educational material and processes which address relations of gender. The evaluation aims to look broadly at how relations of gender are conceptualised and represented in the objectives and curriculum which guide the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme. This entails, more specifically, an investigation of the following questions:

- What messages are being given about gender and power in relationships?
- What gender roles and stereotypes are conveyed in the programme and how is masculinity and femininity conceptualised and represented?
- What attitudes and knowledge relating to gender violence are offered in the programme, if any?
- How can issues relating to gender and gender violence be included in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme in future?

CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

My search to locate this study in relevant and informative literature, took me to broad texts on gender theory and more specific research in the area of sexuality education. In order to provide a context for the discussion of how sexuality education is seen to tackle gender and more specifically gender violence, it is important to examine the theory and understandings which influence sexuality education. Within this, a discussion of gender socialisation, roles and identities is imperative. I begin this chapter by looking at the theoretical arguments as to why the issue of gender needs to be addressed within the context of sexuality education. Thereafter I examine sexuality education evaluations from local and international settings, looking at the input on issues of gender and gender violence.

2.2. SEXUALITY, ADOLESCENCE AND EDUCATION: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM THEORY?

In a review of the development of sexuality education in schools in North America, Kirby (1992) outlines five 'generations' of sexuality education, illustrating how it has shifted from provision of knowledge about pregnancy prevention in the 1970's, to current

programmes which encompass a much broader understanding of sexuality, which are more theoretically rigorous and are more carefully evaluated. Despite these findings, much of the critical comment on sexuality education continues to note that programmes are still often essentialist, heterosexist and sexist in how sexuality is conceptualised.

Particularly the early sexuality programmes were seen to work from the premise that sex is a biological drive and teaching sexuality meant teaching about heterosexual copulation and the prevention of pregnancy (Diorio, 1985). More recently, Haffner (1992) reflected that "*the official curriculum teaches a reproductive heterosexuality removed from discussions of gender politics, violence, economics, and even pleasure*" (p. vii).

With the influence of feminist and social construction theory, a broader understanding of sexuality has developed. In tracing an evolution in thinking and theorising about sexuality, Connell (1995) noted the work of radical theorists such as Reich in the 1920's and Marcuse in the 1960's, where sexuality was seen to be intimately linked to social and political process. He commended the contribution of 'gay politics' and feminism in the 1970's and 1980's, in defining oppression as inherent in sexuality and cautioned against the 1990's 'post- feminist' arguments of sexual freedom and pleasure for women, saying this applies to a select group of women.

However Connell (1995) argued that even the general move away from biological and Freudian models of sexuality to Foucault and social constructionism, where sexuality is

seen “*as a cultural formation produced by power*” (p. 3), does not fully represent sexuality in its diversity and complexity. For example, he added the important dimension which social constructionists have tended to marginalise, that of seeing sexuality as being “embodied”, as bodily practice. Furthermore he maintained that oppression is still very much a part of sexuality and that “*sexual practice is social practice*” (Connell, 1995, p. 9). Inherent in sexual social relations from this viewpoint therefore, is the issue of power and domination of one group over another, of heterosexual over homosexual and of men over women.

Giddens (cited in Measor, Tiffin & Fry, 1996) described sexuality as the central element through which our identity, our body and our social experience is mediated. Noting the inseparability of sexuality and gender, he said, “*I set out to write about sexuality, I found myself writing about gender*” (Measor, Tiffin & Fry 1996, p. 276). In order to better understand this inextricability of gender and sexuality, it is helpful to consider how the notion of gender is conceptualised.

West and Zimmerman (1991) argued that “*gender is not a set of traits, nor a variable, nor a role, but the product of social doings of some sort*” (p. 16). They contended that gender is not so much about being in categories of masculinity or femininity but it is “*something that one does, and does recurrently in interaction with others*” (West & Zimmerman, 1991, p. 27). They noted that our “*sociocultural shaping*” into gender

identities leads to a notion of essentialist female and male natures which are seen as acceptable and legitimate. Extending this is the view that inequality and oppression are acceptable. Thus when men do masculinity, they do dominance and they have control. When women do femininity they do subordination and they lack power and agency (West and Zimmerman, 1991). It follows then that the interaction of the masculine and the feminine is predicated upon unequal status of power and with the abuse of this power we have a violence which is gendered.

A study of sexuality as socially constructed then, needs to look at gender and studying gender necessitates examining sexual identities and roles, masculinities and femininities, which in turn necessitates a discussion of power and abuse of power. Hence the study of gender and gender violence and their representation in sexuality education needs to be located within a broad understanding of sexuality as socially constructed. Critical theorists (Diorio, 1985; Haffner, 1992; Measor et al., 1996) have argued that sexuality education programmes need to work from this premise, but that the majority of programmes fail to acknowledge this important area of scholarship and its impact on how sexuality education should be designed and delivered.

Looking more specifically at what writers say about gender violence and sexuality education, it emerges that there is little research dedicated to this area. Yet there are important links to be found in the literature on the broader issue of gender in sexuality

education. While the term 'gender violence' itself is seldom used in the literature, terms such as rape, sexual harassment, abuse, victimisation and (sexual) aggression and oppression are more frequently referred to. In this study I use the term 'gender violence' broadly to encompass violent abuse of power within a gendered context. This includes the terms mentioned above, i.e. rape, physical abuse, aggression and sexual harassment and the understanding of these terms as forms of gender violence.

Local and international literature does refer to programmes carried out to combat sexual harassment, rape and gender stereotyping (Curcio et al., 1996; Lenskyj, 1990; Shamaï & Coombs, 1992) but few of these appear to be run within the context of sexuality education. Rather they are run as separate interventions. In addition, some sexuality programmes do include discussions of abuse and rape, but these issues are not generally integrated into an overall ethos within the programmes of examining inequality in gender relations.

To date, the incidence of gender violence amongst adolescents has been under-researched, specifically in the school context. However in South Africa recently we have seen an increase in research which aims to document the extent of gender violence in adolescence, why it is happening and what might be effective strategies to combat violence (Orner, 1998; Soal, 1999; Wood et al., 1998). Two themes which consistently emerge in the literature both in South Africa and elsewhere are those of silence and

power.

The issue of women being silenced generally in terms of their sexuality is highlighted in international literature as having important implications for the development of a healthy and empowered sense of self. Authors such as Gilligan (1990) and Tolman (1994) have noted how adolescent women, on reaching adolescence and experiencing physical and sexual changes, silence their new psychological, sexual and bodily experiences and expressions in order to remain girl-like, good and acceptable according to prevailing social and cultural norms. Through being acceptable, they are able to remain connected to others, however they pay the price of losing opportunity for self-development and empowerment.

A further aspect of this process of being silenced is raised in research by Wood et al. (1998). They described responses from adolescent women showing how they found it very difficult to discuss sexual issues with their partners. Of greater concern were reports from the young women of being completely unable to define their own experiences of violence and the encouragement they received from their female peers to remain silent and see beatings as an expression of love. The authors emphasised that such evidence of lack of power and agency amongst adolescent women provides a strong argument for gender violence to be put on adolescent health research agendas.

The advent of HIV/AIDS and the accompanying increase in research into sexual behaviour has meant there is a greater focus on looking at ways to empower adolescent women with means to negotiate condom usage. It is here that the issue of unequal power in relationships has been highlighted. Thomson and Holland (1998) have noted that for many British adolescents the entire sexual act is predicated on male sexual experience i.e. erection and ejaculation, which leaves young women with very little power to negotiate. Writing in South Africa, Oskowitz (1993) has provided guidelines for better quality sexuality education, saying that programmes should be more 'value-based'. She made a clear statement about the importance of tackling gender violence issues when she noted, "*We need to represent the highest aspirations of a potential democratic society. This implies speaking out against rape and exploitation and openly opposing racism and sexism*" (Oskowitz, 1993, p. 60).

She went on to mention that it is important to look at the context of sexuality and not just prescribe condom use and suggested that sexuality education programmes "*need to examine gender relations and how manipulation of one gender by another has led to pain, disease and poverty*" (Oskowitz, 1993, p. 65).

Further recommendations in the literature include the need for gender and sexuality education in schools to be cross-curricular (LaCerva, 1992), for some single-sex education to be included (Measor et al., 1996), for educators to have specific qualities and

skills (Oskowitz, 1993) and for men to be equally represented in terms of intervention, programme planning and as educators (Measor et al., 1996; Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Wood et al., 1998).

An excellent and encompassing outline of strategies aimed at providing sexuality education which incorporates feminist principles, can be found in Klein (1992). For example, she advocated that educators and parents aim to eliminate deterministic notions of male and female, heterosexual bias and the ethic of double standards. She argued that providing students with opportunities to learn about and understand the concept of equality, for example around issues such as abortion, needs to be prioritised. She also felt that it is important to use appropriate language in teaching about gender and sexuality, language which does not further promote stereotypes, but recognises differences while still contributing to gender equality. Klein (1992) called for more research to be conducted which will create strategies aimed at providing sexuality education which is more effective in reducing gender bias. Finally she made a call for educators across all curricula to have input on sexuality and gender equality.

In tackling gender in sexuality education, a further issue which has received severe criticism in the literature is that of a bias towards heterosexuality. Programme curricula have been castigated for not discussing sexual orientation and for promoting homophobia. Where homosexuality has been included, often it has been done with a male

bias, thereby minimising lesbian issues (Curcio et al., 1996; Coyle, 1998; Diorio, 1985; Moore & Rosenthal, 1993; Sears, 1992b). If sexuality education is to tackle issues of gender and represent sexuality in its broadest sense, it needs to provide adolescents with the opportunity to explore their feelings and responses to their own and others' sexual orientation. In addition Klein (1992) noted that tackling issues of sexual violence needs to be done in a way which confronts heterosexism, i.e. that sexual violence is an issue which affects both homosexual and heterosexual youth.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution made by the literature in terms of gender violence is the link made with gender socialisation, roles and identities. In the same way that West and Zimmerman (1991) positioned gender identities as central in understanding gender in action, there is a strong need for the discussion of adolescent sexuality to include the discussion of gender identities and how they define sexual relationships. As Thomson and Holland (1998) noted, "*The processes through which young people learn about sex are those through which they learn about being feminine and masculine ...*" (p. 60). As discussed earlier, often sex roles are used as an excuse to legitimate sexual violence, with young men being perceived as the powerful subject of the sexual interaction and women the object to be exploited. Often it is sexuality education programmes which reinforce these traditional notions of gender identity, both overtly through prescribing particular roles and covertly through a resounding silence with regard to the impact of power differentials in sex roles on the sexual experience.

Finally, several authors have pointed out that sexuality education on the whole tends to focus on the dangers of sex and they have reminded us of the need to teach about the positive aspects of sexuality, including content on desire and pleasure (Haffner, 1992; Mitchell, 1998). Paradoxically, there is a need to be cognisant of the danger for young women in engaging in discourses about pleasure and desire (Gilligan 1990; Tolman 1994). Issues relating to the construction of sexual identities and the use and abuse of power in the sexual encounter are integral in constructing this silence on the part of women. Tolman (1994) noted the loss for women in curbing their desire and in remaining in silent safety as in *“not knowing” desire, girls and women are at risk for not knowing that there is nothing wrong with having sexual feelings and responding to them in ways that bring joy and agency*” (p. 339). Following from this, Thomson and Holland (1998) pointed out that female empowerment in the sexual encounter is intimately linked with women being able to perceive their sexual pleasure as a priority and hence to have a sense of agency and control.

2.3. EVALUATIONS OF SEXUALITY EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

Looking specifically at evaluation studies of sexuality education programmes, it was difficult to locate material focusing specifically on the issues of gender and gender violence within sexuality education. Instead, most of the evaluations focus on assessing the overall effectiveness of programmes and suggesting means to improve them. While

there is research material which examines the role of gender and adolescent sexuality, specific evaluations of gender in **sexuality education** programmes, appear to be scant.

In South Africa, formal sexuality education operates within the school context, adolescent reproductive health services and specific community-based programmes. The literature reviewed here is international and South African and covers all three contexts, but comes largely from the education sector which provides most sex education and hence where much has been written. While some programmes have expanded to embrace a wider notion of sexuality as defined earlier, the majority of the programmes I review here were evaluated within the context in which they were being delivered, i.e. to aid chiefly in the prevention of teenage pregnancy and contraction of HIV/AIDS and STD's. However, Mitchell (1998) pointed out that it is impossible to test if a programme which is designed to change behaviour is effective or not, as behaviour change is dependent on many variables. She advocated that we can evaluate change in knowledge, but not behaviour and warned that an increase in knowledge does not indicate a change in behaviour. For this reason, evaluations aimed at assessing behaviour change need to be regarded with caution.

What do the sexuality education evaluation studies reviewed here aim to evaluate?

Mostly they seek to look at the effectiveness of the programme in terms of abstinence, change in sexual knowledge, behaviour change, change in attitudes and general responses

to sexuality information. While Diorio (1985) argued that sexuality education which promotes abstinence has largely been abandoned, one North American study found that the programmes promoting abstinence, were rated favourably by the adolescents who had attended, particularly by those who were younger and also by the young women more than the young men (Olsen et al., 1992). As with the PPASA evaluations there is little comment in these findings which relates to gender.

On the whole however, the evaluations have looked at the influence of sexuality education on young people's knowledge about and attitudes and values towards sexuality (Bailie, 1991; Kirby, 1985, 1992; Page, 1990; Seydel 1992). Some of these included an evaluation of behaviour change (Kirby, 1985; Page, 1990) where sexual behaviour was largely defined in terms of heterosexual intercourse and safe sex/contraceptive practices. On the whole the findings have been unanimous that sexuality programmes do increase knowledge but do not bring about significant behaviour change.

In addition few evaluations found that there was significant change in the attitudes and values of the adolescents after receiving sexuality education (Kirby, 1992; Page, 1990; Seydel, 1992). It would need a thorough analysis of the data gathering instruments used in these evaluations to ascertain how many of the questions assessing sexuality knowledge, values and attitudes related to issues of gender and gender violence. A perusal of some of the tools suggests that few questions address these issues directly.

What is more striking however, as with the PPASA evaluations, is that scant mention has been made in findings or recommendations of the important role of gender issues in addressing sexuality with adolescents.

Valuable suggestions for improving programmes are contained in formal evaluation studies such as those carried out by Kirby (1985, 1992). There are also broader studies which offer specific techniques or frameworks to aid in making programmes more effective. For example, several writers have discussed the qualities and skills of facilitators and how this may effect youth's responses to a sexuality education programme (Bailie, 1991; Oskowitz, 1993; Schoeman, 1990). Schoeman (1990) has written from the perspective of sexuality education in the previous South African government's adolescent reproductive health services. She suggested the use of a "*Sexuality Education as Communication*" model for nurse educators and pointed to the need for more innovative forms of communication and delivery of sexuality education. Similarly, Shamai and Coombs (1992) have argued that schools alone cannot provide effective education on sexuality and that an innovative and 'multi-pronged' approach is needed with intervention on a community level, on family communication strategies and from government agency campaigns.

2.4. EVALUATING SEXUALITY EDUCATION FOR GENDER AWARENESS

Of the many evaluation studies on sexuality education which I consulted, one important study emerged which evaluated representations of gender specifically. Beyer, Ogletree, Ritzel, Drolet, Gilbert & Brown (1996) closely examined the different ways in which gender was represented in illustrations and text, as well as the presence or absence of gender-related topics in a selection of sexuality education curricula in the United States. The authors noted that gender bias has been examined in many other curricula, however they know of only two other authors who have researched gender bias in sexuality education, i.e. Pollis and Whatley (cited in Beyer et al., 1996). Beyer et al.'s findings indicated that female sexuality was defined in masculine terms and that there was a male emphasis in the description of desire and initiation of sexual activity. In addition, gender role stereotyping occurred through parenting roles being presented largely as feminine and coverage of sexual health topics was biased in favour of female concerns. In terms of gender violence, their study suggested that the topic has been represented in too narrow a manner, i.e. males were represented exclusively as perpetrators of sexual violence and exploitation and females perpetually and only as victims. Moreover, they called for other variables of risk in sexual exploitation to be included such as age and disability.

While research such as that of Beyer et al. (1996) provides us with valuable insight into gender bias, the most valuable literature on gender, gender violence and sexuality

education is not contained in programme evaluations but in broader investigations and theoretical debate such as is covered in the first section of this review. It was conducting a review of the literature in the broader field of gender, adolescence and sexuality education, which enabled me to conceptualise the central debates and reaffirmed my concern regarding the lack of **evaluation** material on gender in sexuality education. In addition it has provided insight into the possibilities for developing and providing programmes which challenge the gender stereotypes held by many young women and men, programmes which empower adolescents to engage in relationships which are based on mutual respect and reflect a sexuality which is non-biased, non-violent, caring and desirable.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

A qualitative evaluation research framework was selected to investigate the representation of gender and gender violence in PPASA's Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15-21 year olds. While psychology has long been associated with quantitative research methods, more recently researchers, particularly in feminist and critical psychology, have turned to qualitative methods (Mason, 1996). Qualitative methodology allows for a rich variety of methods to interpret the complex and multi-layered meanings of our social world (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Mason 1996). The choice of a qualitative methodology in this study stems from a need to capture the depth and texture of the adolescents' discourses on their experiences of the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme. The methodology allowed for techniques which encouraged open-ended questioning and which in turn facilitated responses from the youth which were relatively freely spoken. Qualitative interpretation methods provided me with a myriad of insights into the research question, insights which would not have emerged had I employed quantitative methods.

It is helpful to look at this evaluation from two vantage points. Firstly, locating the evaluation **ideologically**, Greene (1998) argued that the choice of evaluation methods are

influenced by the various contexts of the programme evaluation and the belief system of the evaluator. She recommended that we need to celebrate these influences and view the evaluator as an equal partner in the creation of the data rather than a reporter of findings. My interest in this evaluation stems from many years of work with adolescent women and men in the Western Cape, my experience facilitating sexuality education, a deep engagement with gender issues and my own adolescent experiences. This, combined with PPASA's evolving stance on tackling gender issues, contributed towards the conceptualisation of this study. In addition, during the process of gathering data with the youth, I found that their input involved me reworking my ideas about how the evaluation needed to be conducted and completed.

Referring to Greene's (1998) approaches to programme evaluation, ideologically this evaluation may be seen to promote values of "*emancipation/ empowerment and social change*" (p. 376). In addition, the questions which I have asked in the evaluation focus on the ways in which the "*premises, goals, or activities of the program maintain power and resources inequities in the society*" (p. 376).

A second perspective on the evaluation process is to locate it in terms of its **structure**, as an evaluation for the purposes of fine-tuning the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme. In these terms I have investigated the representation of gender and gender violence in the programme in order to improve its quality and effectiveness. According to Rossi (1993)

an evaluation for fine-tuning needs to cover three areas. Firstly, it seeks to “reappraise objectives and outcomes”. This involves an examination of the objectives of the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme and an appraisal of whether these objectives include special consideration for issues of gender. Fine-tuning of the programme would require PPASA to refine the objectives according to the findings of the evaluation. Refining of objectives in this manner is most often done with a programme which is established and running.

Secondly, Rossi (1993) has described the need to do a “reputability assessment”. This refers to a systematic gathering of data from relevant stakeholders or target groups regarding their experiences and thoughts on the programme to help establish whether the programme is meeting its objectives. The data I collected and analysed provides opinion from a service provider, from users of the service, and from designers of the service. To aid in the interpretation and understanding of the findings, I referred to other research in the field of sexuality education and gender issues.

Finally, it has been advocated that the evaluation includes the replanning and redesign of the programme. Here the task is for the problems to be *‘identified and described, objectives operationalised, a revised impact model developed, the target population redefined, the delivery system redesigned and plans made ... in monitoring impact and efficiency’* (Rossi, p. 157). This evaluation includes the identification and description of problems, however the development of a revised model and service and the monitoring of

changes is beyond the scope of my agreement with the organisation at the time of writing this report.

An understanding of the ideological and structural context of the evaluation provides a framework for the discussion of two further aspects of methodology, i.e. the participants in the research and the manner in which the data was collected and analysed. I used two forms of data. The first was the teaching manual used for the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme, "*A Manual for Youth and Peer Educators*" and the second was transcripts of three focus groups and a one-on-one interview which I conducted. Using these two different sources of information I hoped to be able to link and present various perspectives beyond my own.

3.2. GATHERING THE DATA

The interview I conducted was an unstructured one-on-one interview with the then manager of the Adolescent Reproductive Health Project (ARHP). Making use of an unstructured interview provided me with the opportunity to gain an understanding of the manager's views on the programme without the imposition of pre-selected categories which may have limited her responses and the focus of the research (Fontana & Frey, 1998). The aim of the interview was to gain the perspective of the project manager as the person who both facilitated and co-ordinated the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for

a number of years. My focus was to establish her impressions and views of how (or if) the issues of gender and gender violence were tackled on the programme.

Views from the youth were gathered through the use of three focus groups. In doing research with adolescents, Miller and Glassner (1997) have suggested that the discourse of adolescents is “*much about where and who they are. It is about trying out social locations and identities*” (p. 102). Adolescents are therefore forming and reforming their values and their opinions about various social and personal issues. A focus group gives them a chance to test some of these ideas. With this in mind, I attempted to create an atmosphere of open dialogue when conducting the focus groups with the youth. Before each group I explained the purpose of the research and discussed issues such as confidentiality and how the interview material might be used. I encouraged the participants to ask any questions and offer their suggestions relating to the evaluation. Their concerns focused largely on the motives for the research and how they might benefit from the evaluation. One group noted that it was crucial they receive feedback from the process. We agreed on options for me to do this.

I chose the focus group as a method because it provides the researcher with an abundant source of data, it can be stimulating for the participants and the group energy often leads to responses which go beyond individual thoughts and ideas (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The groups were conducted in the venues where the youth attended the programme. As

the facilitator I played a directive role, using a semi-structured question format.

I introduced the focus by explaining that I was interested in understanding what the youth had learned from the programme and if and how the programme had given them any insight into the issues of gender and gender violence. My questions and comments focused on what they saw as the goals of the programme, how they understood the terms gender and gender violence and if, how and where they spoke about them on the programme. In addition I raised the issue of how they experienced the programme as men and as women. Questions were asked in English and translated into Xhosa by bilingual group members or informal interpreters. Discussion was in both English and Xhosa with interpretation where necessary. The focus groups were audiotaped and later transcribed.

Of the various limitations in the research process, perhaps one of the most important to consider is that of language. I speak a different first language to the participants in the study. It was helpful that many of the participants spoke fairly good English, that I can understand some Xhosa and that we were working with an informal system of interpretation. However, there will have been many misunderstandings and missed nuances. Guidelines do exist which help to make the most of a difficult interview situation where there are different languages and an interpreter (Swartz 1998), but it is also important to consider "*the extent to which the act of the translation implies the construction of a particular reality*" (Swartz 1998, p. 29). Moreover, even when

translation is not used in qualitative interviews, the analysis of interview transcripts inescapably involves representation of the interviewee / participant by the researcher. The text is therefore mediated by the researchers's subjectivity (Riessman, 1993).

3.3. THE PARTICIPANTS AND THEIR SUBJECT POSITIONS

Project manager of the ARHP:

I chose to interview the project manager as she had worked with the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for many years and was involved integrally in its development. In addition, prior to becoming project manager she facilitated the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme in Gugulethu for a number of years. It is important to note that the interview was conducted in the context of her completing her last month's employment with PPASA, Western Cape before moving to Johannesburg to take up another position within the organisation. This may have influenced the nature of her assessment of the programme.

Youth participants in the Lifeskills and Sexuality Programme:

The participants were adolescent women and men¹ volunteers from the larger group of youth who have attended and completed the PPASA Sexuality and Lifeskills programmes in the past. They were aged between 15 and 21 years and represented the three Western

¹ While the participants referred to themselves as boys and girls, I use the terms adolescent women and men or simply women and men and sometimes young men and women. The latter term is not intended to carry any sense of adulthood.

Cape areas in which PPASA runs the programme: Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and New Crossroads. The participant composition of the three focus groups was varied with the knowledge that the composition of a group influences responses from participants (Morgan 1997).

Focus group 1 included a mixed group of men and women from the PPASA programme in Khayelitsha. There were nineteen participants, ten women and men, aged between 15 and 20 years, most of whom completed between the programme in 1998. **Focus group 2** comprised seven men from the PPASA programme in Gugulethu. They were aged between 17 and 20 years. At the time they were all peer counsellors and they completed the programme in 1998. **Focus group 3** comprised eight women from the PPASA programme in Crossroads, aged between 18 and 19 years. They completed the programme at different times between 1996 and 1998.

There are many factors which influence the dynamics in a group: demographics, physical attributes, interpersonal factors, heterogeneity and homogeneity, power differentials and the environment (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Understanding and working with some of these can help not only in the design of more useful focus groups, but also in the analysis and interpretation of the data.

There has been considerable research into the influence of gender composition in groups with findings which illustrate for example, that women are more outspoken in single-sex groups than in mixed groups, that men speak more about themselves in mixed-groups than in all male groups and that in mixed-gender groups there tends to be more conformity and less diversity (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). This suggests that the gender composition of a group influences the way in which the participants interact and therefore the nature of the data. It is for this reason that I chose to conduct one gender-mixed group, one all male and one all female group, thereby helping to “*produce different, but complementary insights*” (Stewart & Shamdasani, p. 43).

Impressions from conducting the focus groups provided me with further valuable contextual insights which helped to confirm the research about focus group composition. In the mixed group the boys tended to dominate with the girls needing constant additional prompting to voice their opinions. The group of men appeared to be suspicious and hesitant initially, taking a long time to respond to my promptings and offer their opinions. The demographic differences between myself and the participants was marked. I am a white, middle class, English-speaking woman in her thirties, while the participants in group 2 were adolescent, working class, Xhosa-speaking men. This would have affected the interaction all the way through, but is also very likely to have contributed to their initial hesitancy.

During the focus group with the women there was also some hesitancy to begin with, however they attempted to locate the evaluation study by asking many questions about why I was conducting the research and how it would be used. I explained that I was interested in evaluating how gender and gender violence issues are covered in sexuality education and committed myself to providing feedback to them, together with PPASA, on the findings of the study. Once having judged my credibility, the women appeared to relax and participated more. Perhaps too, this being my final interview and it being with women, my attempts to interview with “*conscious subjectivity and intersubjectivity ... and to focus on women as subjects*” (Bergen, 1993, p. 209), rather than objects of study, assisted in their willingness to contribute their opinions.

The topic of sexuality and gender violence may also have influenced responses from the participants. Although they have participated in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme, talking openly about sexuality with an adult is for most adolescents uncomfortable (Coleman & Roker, 1998). Furthermore, for the women, talk about issues of rape and violence may have been censored, not only because of its ability to evoke past experiences (Russell, 1990), but also due to a pervasive silence on this topic amongst many South African adolescents (Wood et al., 1998).

3.4. THE TRAINING MATERIAL

'A Manual for Youth and Peer Educators' (the Manual) is the material used by facilitators nationally to conduct the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme. It has been developed over a number of years and is based on a PPASA facilitators' teaching and resource book entitled "*Responsible Teenage Sexuality*" (Greathead, 1992). Within the Manual I chose to focus my analysis on the following three sections which are relevant to the programme for 15 - 21 year olds:

Preamble

The Goal of Adolescent Reproductive Health Services

Section Three - Programme for 15 - 21 year olds.

The Manual represents the voice of course designers appointed by PPASA and may be seen to encompass their philosophy regarding the content and provision of sexuality education for adolescents. It therefore serves as an important complementary source of data to the interview and focus groups.

3.5. ANALYSING THE DATA

The audiotapes of the focus groups and interview were transcribed by external transcribers, both Xhosa- and English-speaking and by myself. In addition I attempted to examine the issue of transcriber bias, using my basic knowledge of the language being

spoken in the focus groups and through revisiting the transcriptions. Thereafter, presented with a considerable amount of data, I carried out the analysis looking for themes in meaning. I used codes which emanated from the content of the data and which encompassed the key concepts being investigated. I began with a thorough reading of all the material, then reading it again noted all the possible codes and any ideas stemming from the reading. Once I had generated a large number of codes I grouped them into major and sub-themes according to a number of variables including context, definition of the topic, perspectives held by subjects, processes, events, strategies, relationships and social structures (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). While the findings have been discussed according to the main themes, it was impossible to categorically delineate one theme from another. Inherent in carrying out a qualitative thematic analysis is the discovery of the rich interdependence of the themes and sub-themes, a discovery which adds to the value and depth of the analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This analysis examines whether the PPASA Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15 - 21 year olds addresses issues of gender and gender violence overtly, as stated in its goals, covertly through the different topics covered and through the manner in which the programme is run. Themes which emerged from analysing the content of the Manual and from feedback and discussion with the youth and project manager, are discussed under the following main headings;

Gendered goals

Conceptualising gender

Gender violence

Sites for working with gender and power.

A thread, binding all these themes, with a bold and visible presence in some areas and a more hidden presence in others, is that of who **talks** and who is **silent** and why. In certain parts of the analysis, there is a paucity of quotes and responses from the young women. Despite facilitative attempts to encourage the young women to contribute, in the mixed focus group the young men provided 63 % of the responses in comparison to 37 % from the women. Also, with each response the men generally spoke for longer. As the various

themes are discussed the issue of male dominance and female silence in the Sexuality and Lifeskills workshops comes up again and again. The participants provided differing explanations for the imbalance, which form part of the very issues of gender which this study seeks to investigate.

4.2. GENDERED GOALS

Looking to the stated goals of the programme, the Manual which contains the workshop plans for the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15-21 year olds, lists the following as the goal of the Adolescent Reproductive Health Services (ARHS) of PPASA:

To reach all young people between the ages of 10 -19 with information and skills which will develop their self-esteem and confidence to be able to cope with problems that young people experience.

To reduce the rate of unwanted pregnancies and STD, HIV AIDS

(A Manual, p. i).

While there are no goals noted specifically for the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme, the Manual does provide definitions and understandings of sexuality and sexuality education which inform the PPASA programmes. (For background to this section, please refer to Appendix B 'Preamble and Goals of the Adolescent Reproductive Health

Services’). Within this, there is direct reference to sexual violence when it states that understanding their sexuality will help young people to be “*better protected from being sexually abused, and from becoming abusers*” (A Manual, p. ii). Other goals mentioned point to skills which could help young people to confront sexual violence, for example to “*communicate their choices to others with confidence and assertiveness*” (A Manual, p. i). These goals are linked to sexuality and relationships in general and do not refer specifically to gender or gender violence.

In the focus groups, in response to questions regarding what they thought the goals of the programme were, the youth stated their main learnings as being in defined topic areas such as HIV/AIDS, STD’S and teenage pregnancy and then in broader areas such as problem solving, decision making, communication and relationships. There were many moving reports about how the programme had changed their lives. One young man spoke emotionally about how before the programme, “*I was lost, but now my life has changed. ... there is communication with people and hope, I love this course and I don’t know what I would be doing if it hadn’t taken place*’ (Male Group). Another participant spoke of the changes not only to herself but to future generations when she noted that the programme, “*laid the foundation for us to be better parents compared to our parents, in terms of educating us about sex and sexuality. Our children will be informed and have a better future than us regarding sexuality and issues about sex*” (Mixed Group).

Within the talk about changes there was a notable difference in the manner in which the women and men expressed the changes they had experienced. The women spoke more about finding ways to avoid suffering, "*They (PPASA) have seen the suffering of teenagers here, like getting pregnant. ... PPA wanted us to come out from that dark light, to the bright light in order to see these things [help, contraception] are here, they exist*" (Female Group). In contrast, the men spoke of PPASA helping them to move away from the destructive elements in their lives, "*to get the youth away from those destructive things. ... Things that don't build. ... they open our minds*" (Male Group). These comments, spoken early in the focus groups, provided a sense of the role gender plays in constructing the youth's experiences. In some way the programme has provided means for men to engage in less destructive behaviour and for the women to suffer less.

Despite these positive changes for the youth, what was clear from the participants in the study and the curriculum material is that neither gender nor gender violence are tackled as topics in their own right in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15 - 21 year olds. The goals of the programme as understood by the participants also do not include the direct addressing of gender or gender violence. Nevertheless there are various areas within the programme which create space for issues relating to gender and gender violence to be spoken and thought about. As one man noted, "*gender was just mentioned, but not enough*" (Male Group). In the programme for younger adolescents sexual abuse and rape are covered as a workshop, yet currently youth do not attend both programmes

and therefore the older adolescents have not had direct input on sexual violence.

4.3. CONCEPTUALISING GENDER

4.3.1. Defining gender

Ja, okay like I think that gender means division, power, undermining and division.

Like gender inequality, I am a male, that's a female, the female can't do this

the men can't do work like a female does. ... But, by promoting like gender

equality, then every person must be seen as equal (Young man, Mixed Group).

The broad discussion about gender in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme revealed a number of subthemes as the participants grappled with defining and understanding the term and how these issues had been tackled in the course. In searching for a definition there was some sense from the youth that the programme helped them to understand that gender is about men and women, not only about physical differences, but about “*being male or female, masculinity and femininity*” (Mixed Group). It was also seen to be about prejudices, stereotypes, roles, power and inequality, as is reflected in the opening quote.

From the project manager an understanding emerged which focused on stereotyping. She noted that there “*have been certain stereotypes which fit or describe a female - what your job should be like, what is your responsibility, you know all have been put into little*

boxes – both males and females. We are not allowed to move out of that box and go and explore what is happening in the other box.” She believed that the course should aim to “break down all those stereotypes so that we see ourselves as equal, not any gender or sex that is superior to the other.”

Despite there being some understanding of the term gender, the project manager felt that having come through the programme, the youth still hold conservative notions of masculinity and femininity:

I think they still feel that men are superior and that they are the head of the house and they have to make the decisions. Because, in the workshops you find that most of the time females become...they don't always talk, especially about sex and sexuality issues in front of males, and males are always dominant. Still when we discuss certain things we find that males still believe that it's okay for me, as a man to have many sexual partners but it's not okay for a woman to have a lot of partners. So, I think they still feel in that faction that a male is superior and that he must make all the decisions, you know most of the things that they do are right and they mustn't be questioned (Project Manager).

The issues encompassed in this quote were indeed confirmed in many of the responses of the youth, particularly those of men dominating the verbal space and women being

subjected to a system of double standards. Nevertheless, in discussing gender what sprung to mind for many of the youth initially, was the issue of roles. In the Manual there is reference to adolescence being a period of preparation for assuming adult roles and responsibilities. But, there is no mention of the impact of gender on the roles that adolescent men and women grow up to assume.

The data revealed that for many of the young people gender is about what men do and what women do in the world and there was indication that for some, the course had helped them to see things differently. One man noted that for, *“some of us it was hard, because we believed that women can’t do things like men, ... but now we know women can do everything”* (Mixed Group). Issues close to the experiences of the youth were mentioned, such as women having the right to ‘propose’ men, men accepting this and women paying their way when they went out on a date with a man.

4.3.2. Challenging stereotypes: out there to in here

For many of the young people interviewed, changes in the way they conceptualised issues of gender occurred through having the opportunity to be able to personalise the issues and bring them into their lives as opposed to seeing them as matters out there. The manner in which the programme breaks down some of the barriers and stereotypes is largely through bringing men and women together to talk about sexuality and develop personal relationships in a particular environment. The project manager felt:

The more time they spend together, the more they understand one another, because they learn to socialize with the opposite sex ... The males always criticise females about their behaviour, about everything and then once they socialise or they mix with them, you know they develop a relationship and they start to understand one another and they respect even the views that come from females ... In the beginning, a female's a female and a male's a male ... But I think once people understand each other and they develop a relationship and then they start to bond, I think they are also being sensitized about gender (Project Manager).

One man confirmed this when he indicated:

We learnt about the attitude boys have towards girls, like the names they give girls. We did an activity that expected us to say how we think of each other, how males think of females and vice versa. We said all the things that we thought, both positive and negative. And regarding the negative ones, we were taught not to think of females as people who are out there, but to think who is a female. Your mother is a female, your sister is a female, your girlfriend is a female. It is not somebody out there and then to say, what I have said now, would I say that to my mother, my sister or my girlfriend. And we were made to think positively of females, irrespective of who they are, because when they talk females, they refer to every female (Mixed Group).

It is clear then that the programme is helping to break down barriers between the young men and women, both in terms of stereotypes and on a personal level. An example of a very concrete way this has been done, was when facilitators said to the youth, “*You know, you must just sit next to a person you're not used to. ... Okay, with males you leave a space in between you and the females must fill in all those spaces*” (Project Manager). Although this example indicated efforts to encourage mixing between the sexes, it was spoken in a discourse of male dominance, as the men claim their places and the women have to ‘fill in’ the gaps which remain. Besides reflecting a societal status quo of gender inequality, it also confirmed a theme which was present throughout the data; that in the workshops the men lead and dominate and the women find space to talk in between.

While this theme displays a powerful and ongoing presence throughout the data, there are glimpses that the programme has helped some of the women to be more verbal. One woman noted that being able to talk more in the workshops is a process and that they “*find at the end of the day the girls are also talking now, those who are confident*” (Female Group).

4.3.3. Heterosexual bias

Although the focus of this investigation is on gender and gender violence, a discussion of these issues in a sexuality programme necessitates discussion about heterosexuality and homosexuality. Within all the data, there exists a deep heterosexual bias. For gay and

lesbian youth attending the programme, there appears to have been very little input which would have encouraged them to be open and feel comfortable about their sexuality. The only point in the Manual where homosexuality is mentioned is in the module on peer relationships. In a task which looks at reasons for establishing relationships, it instructs the facilitator to be “*open to a discussion of heterosexual and homosexual relationships*” (A Manual, p. 77). However the rest of the module involves activities where the youth have to pair up with a member of the opposite sex and where “*this is not possible, people must pretend to be a person of the opposite sex*” (A Manual, p. 78). The notion that people of the same sex may want to be paired is thereby negated.

Furthermore, while there was a workshop on homosexuality in the programme in its early days, it was felt by one participant that there is currently no need to include such a workshop:

We might just talk about sexual orientation, but I don't think it should be given a session on its own. Because I don't want to say there aren't people who are homosexuals, but most of the time, at that stage (adolescence), most people aren't really sure. If you had sex, perhaps you are a male, you had sex with another male, you know it's part of experimentation. So, I think, maybe once you are over your twenties then you show whether you know about your sexual orientation. So, ja you talk about the differences, but I don't think it should be given a session

because I think it might be a problem for someone who has had sex with another male as part of experimentation then he might think, Oh, okay then if I have sex with another male I'm also a homosexual. That's my opinion (Project Manager).

This quote contains both heterosexist and sexist notions and the participant later acknowledged that she did not know much about sexual orientation and it would only be dealt with on the programme if someone asked something. Moreover, her words indicated a sanctioning of experimental homosexual behaviour, but not of homosexual identity.

If youth are to be taught about gender and gender violence, homosexuality needs to be part of the discussion. Lesbian and gay youth, like heterosexual youth need to tackle prevailing constructs of masculinity and femininity and homosexual relationships, like relationships between women and men are vulnerable to violent forms of interaction.

4.3.4. Femininity and Masculinity: contradictions and double standards

Beyond the stereotypes mentioned above, further ways in which men and women are constructed in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme were not explicit in the data. The terms masculinity and femininity are used only once in the Manual, when discussing vasectomy and tubal ligation as a form of contraception. For both, it states that “*since the operation does not affect hormone production, it has no effect on femininity [masculinity] or sexual desire*” (A Manual, p. 93). Even though there is a specific

context to this statement, it does suggest a deterministic notion of masculinity and femininity as being biologically driven. Whether this notion was presented to the youth throughout the programme was not clear, as the constructs of masculinity and femininity are not dealt with overtly in the workshop material. A careful reading of the data however, did give some clues as to the expectations of how a man and a woman were expected or not expected to behave both on the programme and outside of it. These expectations were often conflicting and created a contradictory picture of what it is to be feminine and masculine, a picture of double standards and mixed messages.

4.3.4.1. Femininity: the double bind of being a virgin and a slut

There was a great deal of comment from the women in the single sex focus group about how they had become more assertive since attending the programme. However there was also reference from all the subject positions in the data to the women on the course being shy, quiet and unassertive. This construction of the women appeared to be very bound up with the course itself, more specifically with the issue of talking about sexuality.

The women repeatedly reported feeling that talking about sexuality openly in the groups would lead to them being labeled. One woman noted that, *“if you are a girl and you talk more and openly about sexuality issues then the boys tend to perceive you as somebody who is bitchy ... you tend to be perceived as somebody who is promiscuous ..”* (Mixed Group). Not only were the women worried about being labeled, but there appeared to be

an element of shame in talking about sexuality, even when it came to issues which are intimately female:

She is saying like she will say something now, but to her it will seem as if maybe she says something next week about vagina or something of the sort so they'll say oh she knows a lot ... at the end of the day she will feel small about what she has said, thinking that other people will think she is like ... a slut, commenting on that subject (Female Group).

Yet for the men not only was it easier to talk on the programme, but there was no sense of them experiencing their talk as shameful. As one man noted, *"As regards to us as boys, we don't have a problem being open in mixed groups but girls are not so open about issues in a mixed group, especially when we talk about menstruation. Girls would seem shy and all that"* (Mixed Group). One woman responded that even though it was embarrassing, they did need to talk about these issues with the men but also that *"they [the boys] already know about us, so we also want to know about them"* (Mixed Group). Yet immediately after these comments another woman noted that it was this very kind of discussion which left her feeling embarrassed.

There was some sense that the men in the Sexuality and Lifeskills groups might be different to other men, but despite this, talking openly was still not worth the risk for

many of the women:

I think it is easy for them to say that it's not a problem because they are in this group and they know what is happening but when you try and go outside and you try to explain things to other boys who are not here, then they will think oh this girl is a slut and call her bad names. We are all trying at the moment, but it is not easy because they say bad things about you (Mixed Group).

The manner in which the men understood the women's reticence in the programme confirmed the women's fear of their reputation being sullied. In addition, they appeared to lack an understanding of how dangerous and painful this was for the women. While there were genuine suggestions from the men for extra input such as leadership skills to help the women to participate more, some of the men were rather critical of the women's silence. One man noted:

The problem with girls is that they think more about what people think of them instead of expressing what they think about issues and what they feel about issues and that can cause a problem. Let's say it is three girls and one guy who is selected to do a task and then the girls will keep quiet because she will be thinking what these boys will think of her (Mixed Group).

The young women do self-monitor, in a way which is perhaps not the same as the young men. The project manager commented:

I'm not sure if it works the same with males because males say anything that they want to say, there's no hesitation and when you see the expression on other males, they are not questioning, 'Why are you saying this?' But with females you can see they are questioning what's being said. I'm not sure, but I think with males it's like they're free to talk about anything without stopping and saying, 'Okay, what is that, what are the males all talking about, what are they saying?' But, I know with females it does happen (Project Manager).

There was ample confirmation in the data of the women on the programme being reticent and embarrassed and while mention was made of the efforts to encourage the women to open up more, there appeared to be little work done to tackle very clearly the manner in which the gendered dynamic in the group was perpetuated. The project manager noted that the facilitators try to teach in a way which gets everyone to talk, sometimes commenting to the women, "*Okay, even if it's your own experience you don't have to tell us that it's your own experience. You might say, 'Well a friend of mine that I know has had this happen,' so that people don't see it as you have done it, although it's you*" (Project Manager). While this may encourage the women to talk, it also constructs a notion that it is unacceptable for a woman to own her sexuality and sexual experiences

and to talk about them.

She summed up the issue of the double standard for men and women by saying that she feels it is difficult for the women to talk:

If you are a woman, and we have also been socialized in that way, we cannot just talk about sexuality in front of a big group, you just cannot if you are a female. But with men it's seen as okay because it is even okay for them to have many partners, there is nothing wrong with it, they must affirm their manhood (Project Manager).

One woman confirmed this socialisation of men and how it impacts on the women when she said that, *“boys are taught to be more talkative, they see the girls so quiet and they like to dominate them, like playing God”* (Female Group).

It appears then, that the young women are trapped in terms of empowering themselves. If they talk openly about sexuality, (group discussion being a powerful learning tool on the programme) then they are labeled and often judged. Yet there was evidence from the data that women are criticised for being both quiet and open. The choice that some of the women make is that it is safer to be quiet as it is a feminine trait which is more acceptable and the criticism linked to it is less damaging.

4.3.4.2. Masculinity: men as protectors, aggressors and sheep

Both the men and the women provided a construction of the men as protectors. The women stated that if they were being harassed by someone at school they would call on an older brother *“to come to school and give him a warning. If he does something he will go to his house and beat him up”* (Female Group). Not only are brothers expected to protect the women, but male taxi drivers are seen as a legitimate and sometimes sole source of justice in the case of rape. Other women were not mentioned at all as sources of support.

The men too saw themselves as having to help and nurture their female peers. Again in the case of rape, one man noted that he wanted to learn more about the issue of rape so that *“if a woman came and says to you I have been raped we should know how to help her ... how to deal with such a case”* (Male Group). They also wanted to learn more about contraceptives, *“I think we learned the interesting part about contraceptives, but we were not told what it does to the lady. I think some of them here do not know that. But if our educators can tell us what it does I think we can help our sisters about that”* (Mixed Group). While the Manual provides a comprehensive discussion of the effects, advantages and disadvantages of various forms of contraception, there is no comment about gender and responsibility for contraception.

There appeared to be expectations from the women that men help and protect them and

concern from the men to help their 'sisters', even though there is opportunity depicted in the curriculum for young women to learn to take charge of their sexuality. While it is encouraging that the men want to learn more, there was little sense in the data from the men, of there being a concurrent process of the women building the ability to help themselves and each other. Furthermore, there is an inherent contradiction for the women in being helped by the very men whom they fear will label them as 'loose' or even rape and beat them.

Yet the men are also caught in a construction of masculinity which is contradictory. Commenting on the changes they saw in the men who attended the programme, one woman said amidst much laughter, "*I feel the guys that come here, they are not aggressive at all. They are quiet. They are like sheep*" (Female Group). It appears then that in the interaction of the youth on the programme a somewhat confusing, yet classic picture of masculinity is developed, of men as needing to be protective and understanding, yet also aggressive in order to be acceptable to their male and female peers.

What appeared to hold no contradiction for the men, was the issue of talk. It was clear from the data that the dynamics on the programme continue to encourage an acceptance of the men as open, dominant and confident. Unlike the women who were censored and quiet, the men appeared to be self-assured and displayed a comfortable right to be silent

on certain topics, where anyway, there was no pressure for them to talk:

Well, things like circumcision. People don't talk about that. That's their only secret, you know and they've been taught that you don't talk about circumcision. But, you know with other things they are open. They talk about anything that they want to, even talking about their experiences when they have sex with their girlfriends. They don't become embarrassed. They talk about that ... Like I remember in the group that we've just had now, this guy was talking about ejaculation. That sometimes if he ... doesn't use a condom there's too much semen and if he uses a condom, there's, you know, with his girlfriend, there's very little semen. And you could see that girls were like, 'Hey, how can you talk about this. I mean it's too personal.' So I'm saying that boys are like open – they don't mind talking about anything except you mustn't talk about circumcision' (Project Manager).

Men often explained their silence around circumcision as a 'cultural issue' and their right to this form of privacy is not what is disputed here. Rather, it is the double standard of claiming an unquestionable right for themselves to be silent on certain issues and dominant in others and not accepting or understanding that women have the same right to a space of safety in which they voice what they wish to and hold and have held private and respected, issues which are sacred to them.

4.3.4.3. The role of peer pressure

Brief but important mention was made by the young people interviewed of the influence of peer pressure on the roles and behaviours expected of them. Peer pressure clearly plays a role in the types of labeling mentioned earlier but I believe it deserves separate mention as its impact on the construction of masculine and feminine identities emerged in a number of places in the data and is addressed directly in the curriculum. For the women, talk between themselves plays a role in constructing certain do's and don'ts relating to being a woman. One powerful pressure which emerged was that of needing to have sex by a certain age:

I think they (the girls) pressure us ... to have sex because they usually say if you don't have sex ... before you are 21 year's old then a spell's going to your brain, then you get mad. ... And you should always kiss the boy, if he comes to your house or else he will look out for another girlfriend (Female Group).

Another relates to going out with men who are good-looking and wealthy:

It's also about maybe ... this guy takes you out ... and then what they say is like 'Oh he's cute, he has a car, he has this, he has money. Why don't you pick up on him and build a relationship.' And that particular relationship is not going to be about love, it's going to be about his money, his car. ... So it's like peer pressure

plays a role there (Female Group).

The programme did not provide the youth with a gendered understanding of these pressures, yet it helped the women to challenge them through exercises which encouraged them to consider if they were ready for sexual relationships and through the building of self-esteem, which in turn gave them the ability to counter pressure to conform. In fact, one of the aims of the workshop on peer relationships is to help the youth to “*develop skills to manage peer pressure*” (A Manual, p. 77). And this has had an impact as one woman noted, “*because now you can fight back, like you can speak up ... and you can choose your friends*” (Female Group).

The women felt that the men on the programme were now also able to fight pressure to conform to male expectations to beat women, through the building of self-esteem:

Before they came to the programme it was like they usually beat their girlfriends because of peer pressure. Maybe their friends told them you must hit her if she did this and that. What I mean now is they have changed. Because now each and every one knows, 'I have high self-esteem. No one is going to tell me what to do with my girlfriend.' That's what I mean. (Female Group).

Confronting pressure from male or female peers to conform is certainly a key area in which to empower young people to help protect themselves and others from abuse. The curriculum material on peer relationships ends with a list of general points to consider when dating, with the final point advising, “*Stay in control and take responsibility if the situation becomes unmanageable*” (A Manual, p. 78). This is sound advice, but as is clear in the following section, the dynamics of an ‘unmanageable’ situation such as date rape are complex and gendered and empowering young people to deal with such situations necessitates discussion about gender.

4.4. GENDER VIOLENCE

It [violence against women] should be talked about, because they don't know that the men that are violating, that they are property, like they beat me. Because men like take one as their property cause they married that person, he thinks he owns that person, everything, from the bottom of her feet to the end of her hair. I think it should be part of our programme (Female Group).

It is encouraging to note that like the young woman quoted above, most of the participants indicated that gender violence is an important issue to be included in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme. The three main forms of gender violence referred to in the data were rape, beating and ‘abuse’. Again, in the curriculum material for 15 - 21

year olds these forms of violence are not tackled overtly, yet according to input from the participants gender violence did sometimes come up in discussions, with certain kinds of violence being more easy to talk about than others. The project manager noted:

With rape, it's so difficult for one to come up and say, 'This has happened to me once.' It is not easy for some to talk about. I've never before had anyone who would come up after a workshop and say, 'This has happened to me.' But with physical violence people talk about it. Like we had a debate the other day about why males are beating women and it was shocking to find that still most females believe that if I'm doing something wrong, someone would have to beat me so that I do it right. It came from some of the females, but others immediately attacked and said, 'No, no one has a right to beat you even if you have done something wrong.' So physical violence is something that gets talked about (Project Manager).

While it is not clear if this comment referred to the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15-21 year olds specifically, it does suggest that it is easier for some to talk about physical violence rather than about rape. However in the data more comment was made about rape than any other form of gender violence. In terms of physical violence, the women related one or two stories from when they were young, for example of being beaten by the boys at school and being forced to do the boy's homework.

The men on the other hand had various responses to the issue of physical violence. One reason for beating a woman was captured in a response which met with laughter from the other men, *“He says with girls it depends, if you love this girl, he wouldn’t do anything. But if it is somebody he is not interested in then he would beat her straight away”* (Male Group). For some of the men, the course did challenge their ideas, for others their belief in their right to beat a woman remains and for others the course helped them to change their behaviour, *“Ja, things have changed, like, my girlfriend, I used to beat her, but now we just talk. ... Because like I saw that that thing that I was doing was wrong. They [PPASA] teach us about relationships, how to talk ..”* (Male Group)

For the women abuse and rape were the two violence-related issues which they raised most often in the focus groups. They reported that rape was discussed in the programme in the session on teenage pregnancy, but there were very clear feelings that both rape and abuse against women and children needed to be covered in more depth. In response to my general question as to what else the youth would like to see covered on the course and after a long time of male-dominated talk, the first answer from a young woman stated, *“I would have loved to talk about abuse because sometimes there may be people in the group who have or are abused and they come and talk about it and they still need to go in deeper, talking about abuse. Maybe they could touch on that”* (Mixed Group).

Responding to the same question a young man in the group noted that “*although I heard there are other things that link to rape, we didn’t learn anything about rape. It is very important*” (Mixed Group).

4.4.1. The silence on violence

The manner in which the women expressed their need to talk about abuse or violence suggested that some of the women themselves may have experienced abuse of some kind. This again links to the issue of women feeling unable to discuss these issues safely in the workshops as their own experiences are likely to make them feel too vulnerable to participate in a general discussion with their male peers. In conducting the focus groups and the interview there were tangible moments where the communication appeared to falter and stumble. These were all moments when the issues of rape, child abuse and violence against women were being discussed. In comparison, discussion about other emotionally charged issues such as abortion and HIV, were spoken about fluidly and with enthusiasm. This may indicate that the course has enabled the youth to be less inhibited in some of their talk, yet discourse about gender violence appears to remain more difficult and sensitive and is avoided, sidetracked or joked about.

There were several references to the manner in which women have decided to remain silent in the face of abuse. In the case of rape, one woman noted:

But you know that discourages us because if you have been raped you go to the doctor and you do all the things you have to do. But the guy is picked up, then the following day you'll see him on the streets, same as you. ... So that's why the girls just shut themselves in when they are raped, she only knows about it

(Female Group).

Another woman explained why often it is easier to keep quiet around men when she said, *"We rather keep quiet because when you keep on talking and then he talks back to you and then like they start punching you, because they know they got power more than girls"*

(Mixed Group)

It appears that this same fear has been carried over into the programme and not enough has been done to challenge the gendered experiences with which the women and men come into the programme. In addition there has been little obvious challenging of the gendered context within which the women and men interact on the programme. The experiences of abuse which women have had outside in their lives were sometimes echoed on the programme and confirmed the mistrust and danger which the women felt in raising the issue in the groups. One woman confirmed the difficulty in engaging in discussion around certain issues when she painted a picture of verbal violence, recalling a debate where the men were *"so forceful. You know what, in that day, we nearly fight cause we were shouting and battling, because it was them on the other side and it was*

us, 'cause we were scared of them because they want to beat us, that's what they are so powerful, like in fighting, but in words ..." (Female Group).

In the single-sex men's group the need for input on gender violence was less clear and there was no mention made of the manner in which the issue was silenced. In addition their discussion of the issue was handled with less sensitivity than the other two focus groups. The men provided several rape scenarios when asked to reflect on why rape happens; for passion (linked to women wearing mini skirts), men raping girl children because some men believe that *"sex did not go fast as usual, it goes slower when you rape a child"* (Male Group), a step-father raping his step-daughter and feeling, *"I can do anything to her because she is not my child"* (Male Group) and men raping men, which was met with uncomfortable laughter. There was suggestion in the discussion concerning men who rape children, that there is something wrong with them mentally and the participants indicated that they wanted to understand why such men raped children. However, their explanation of why women do not rape men as often summed up the sense of absolute power which many of the men feel that they have, whether they believe it is right or wrong, *"It is a case that women are weaker than men so it is not easy for a woman to rape a man, because I am too powerful. She knows she can't do that to me, but I can do that to her"* (Male Group).

This was corroborated by one woman when she noted, *"That's how these guys do it, the*

moment you do something – whoops – there’s a clap on your face followed by a fist in your face. You find that there are so many people that are subjected to this and now it’s normal for them, if I do something wrong then I get a hiding” (Project Manager).

Another women summed up the need to include gender violence in the programme by stating simply and clearly that it was important because, *“nobody sees it as a problem, although it is problem” (Female Group)*. It is noteworthy that in the data there was no sense at all of the need to tackle the broader contextual issues around gender violence, for example of attempting to understand the impact of patriarchy and sexism as societal issues, on the lives of adolescent women and men. There were on the other hand, very strong links made to heterosexual relationships, as a site for tackling gender violence.

4.5. SITES FOR WORKING WITH GENDER AND POWER

4.5.1. Relationships: communication, negotiation and assertion

I can say it [gender violence] does link, in sexuality it would be under relationships. There we can deal with violence against women. If we are given those skills under relationships, how to treat your relationship, we can stop abusing women. I can say it does fall under the programme (Male Group).

There was repeated reference in the data to relationships being the key area to deal with gender violence. While there was some surprise expressed that gender violence links so closely to relationships, it repeatedly came up when there was talk about relationships, *“I think it would just appear, like when we're talking about relationships and then especially violence issues would appear and then we'd discuss that issue, but it hasn't been dealt with. We've never run a workshop on it's own, you know on violence or gender, it would just appear but never be given any attention”* (Project Manager).

Non-violent, equitable relationships imply an ability on the part of the partners to communicate. Reference was made to various forms of communication being discussed on the programme, from the capacity to discuss feelings, to negotiation, assertiveness and refusal. Some of these were recommended by the youth as alternatives to using violence and aggression. It is difficult to establish whether this was in fact tackled in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme as there is a module in Peer Education training on communication and the youth were not always sure where the input had come from. In addition the project manager noted that often the *“Lifeskills and Sexuality part raises just a question in their mind, but when they go on to be trained as peer-educators and they go out there into the communities and talk to other people, I'm sure it's where they start to think now and to practise what they preach”* (Project Manager).

What does appear to have come from the programme for 15 -21 year olds, is a sense that sexual relationships are something to be discussed, not forced. Although it has not been tackled overtly, dealing with force and abuse of power are issues the youth have discussed on the programme. One man spoke about a very positive change in his understanding:

I learned about the importance of communication regarding sexual relationships. Before I attended this course, sex was only used as proof of how much you love the person even if the person is not comfortable, but she or he had to do it to prove how much he or she loves the other person. But now there is more understanding and negotiating regarding sexuality issues (Mixed Group)

Another man who used to rape his girlfriend noted, *“Okay, there was a change, before the communication was not good with my girlfriend. ... I would wait for her when she goes to school and I would take her without the girl saying anything and we would go to make love, but after the programme then I changed” (Male Group).*

While the men spoke about how the programme had helped them to consider talking about sex rather than forcing it, the women spoke about how it had helped them to become more assertive, to negotiate and to say no, *“P says that it’s like when you’ve decided on the situation that you don’t want to go with a person, you mustn’t listen to*

him because he's the man ... You must always have your own power and your own self esteem, to say no if you don't want to do a thing" (Female Group). It was also felt that by discussing the issues together on the course, the boys learned that, "no means no ... because like in the old days they used to say if the girl says no she actually means yes. And now I think they do know that if the girl means no she means no" (Female Group).

What is again striking in these comments from the youth, is how the men spoke about the role of communication in helping them to be **less destructive** and the contrast of the women having noted that communication helps to **protect** them from abuse.

4.5.2. HIV/AIDS

HIV /AIDS has played a large role in bringing sexuality out of the private sphere and into the public domain. In turn, sexuality education programmes are being forced to be more explicit when it comes to the discussion of safer sex and condom use. In the PPASA curriculum, gender violence is alluded to when a task is provided which asks the youth to discuss ways to make sex safer in a number of situations, including that of 'exploitation'. The youth did not refer to this task specifically, but it is clear that HIV/AIDS generally, emerged as a very important area of learning for them. The men spoke of using condoms in terms of self-protection against HIV and the women in terms of having learned to negotiate for condom use. The project manager confirmed the latter, *"I think some of them are even challenging within their relationships - for her to be treated equally, like a partner. Sometimes they talk about their experiences and say, 'If I had never joined this*

programme I would not have been able to say to my boyfriend, no, now lets use condoms or confront him about his partners’” (Project Manager). Despite this she felt that there is further input needed on empowering women to negotiate for safer sex.

4.5.3. Teenage pregnancy and abortion

The activity in the curriculum material on teenage pregnancy asks the men and women separately to give their responses to an unexpected pregnancy. This is likely to elicit a discussion in which gender and power are inherent. Indeed, the data reflects that teenage pregnancy and abortion are areas which provide opportunity for heated debate amongst the youth on the programme. In the mixed focus group, the young men expressed forcefully that they should be part of the decision to abort, *“They are saying they feel strongly about abortion and issues regarding that because they feel that as males they are not included in the decision making regarding abortion and yet when they were still making love it was a joint thing. That is what concerns them”* (Mixed Group).

It appears that there is a call for such concerns of men as well as issues such as mutual consent in love making and joint responsibility for child care, to be discussed in the programme. The women noted their disquiet about the lack of rights for men in terms of abortion and an acknowledgment that even if the man does not want her to have an abortion, according to the law *“he doesn’t have an opinion. What I want is what I want, it is for me to decide”* (Female Group). They requested more input in the programme on

men's rights.

4.6. PARTICIPANTS' RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of the participants help to summarise some of the main themes which emerged from the data. On the whole, participants indicated that the issues of gender and gender violence need to be included. In terms of gender, a specific recommendation was made in connection with roles. The women thought it would be helpful in the roleplays to provide opportunity to see women in leadership positions. For example, one women suggested using a scenario where there is a "*female senior with males underneath the female ... to try and get another point of view*" (Female Group). The youth strongly recommended that the groups remain mixed in terms of gender. This was in response to the idea of running some workshops in the programme with single-sex groups in order to facilitate a safer and more participative environment for the women. One woman resisted the idea:

I think it should always be together cause if they are separate, when will you have the self-esteem to speak in front of the boys? Because we are growing, we are going to work at places that men are also working at. If we are scared now, we'll always be scared. I think it should be mixed (Female Group).

There are some exercises in the programme which incorporate small single-sex group discussion before returning to the larger mixed group. The project manager thought it may be helpful to continue doing this, especially when discussing gender violence, in order to get an idea of *“how females think, not in front of males, because sometimes females don't want to talk in front of males, maybe there is something personal that happened in her life and you find most of them contribute more in small groups”* (Project Manager).

In terms of gender violence the discussion thus far has provided many quotes from the youth which call for it to be incorporated into the programme. The project manager endorses this:

Okay, I think from the organisation's point of view gender and violence issues is something that we've been talking about and our programmes never incorporated gender issues and violence against women. We were only looking at sexuality issues, so it is something that we have been talking about. I think it would be useful for any programme to incorporate those two issues because people don't really understand about gender and there is still a lot of violence against women within relationships, especially among young people who thought that for you to correct any mistakes or any wrong doing you have to be violent against someone (Project Manager).

Adding to this, the project manager had several recommendations as to how this could be facilitated. She felt that the staff would need to be trained in ways which would help them to facilitate discussion about gender violence and they would need material on the subject. In addition she recommended that gender violence be built in to all aspects of the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme:

It should be incorporated in each of the topics that we do. Like if you're talking about relationships, you know, violence and gender issues will always come up. Talking about HIV and AIDS and why it's spreading so fast gender and violence issues will come up. I think ... people have to be sensitive about these issues.'

(Project Manager).

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Providing a succinct interpretation of the findings of this study is a challenging task as the data provided many differing vantage points, contradictions and contextual nuances. In this final chapter I point out those findings which resonate with other studies in the area of adolescent sexuality and gender and those which may be specific to the context of this study. I also highlight areas which may assist PPASA in the manner in which they incorporate issues of gender into the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme. Finally I consider the implications of the research process, its limitations and its merits.

5.2. OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

5.2.1. Gendered goals?

Tackling issues of gender and gender violence is not a clearly stated goal or a topic area of the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15 -21 year olds. In addition the youth did not perceive the tackling of gender or gender violence to be one of the overt aims of the programme. However, in its mission statement PPASA notes, "*We provide leadership in sexual and reproductive health and rights, recognising this as the keystone to gender*

equity [emphasis added] *and sustainable development*" (PPASA Annual Report, 1998. n.p.n.). Indeed the young men and women interviewed for this research indicated that since attending the programme they were more knowledgeable in terms of their sexual and reproductive health. The impact of this acquired knowledge on gender equitable practices and experiences for the young women and men was not clear however.

What this study has found is that many of the youth interviewed indicated that they had experienced some change in their understanding of gendered abuse or violence. Ascribing these perceived changes of behaviour to the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme alone would be irresponsible for, as Mitchell (1998) has noted, many differing variables are responsible for behaviour change. Furthermore, several studies have shown that sexuality education is more likely to change knowledge than behaviour (Bailie, 1991; Kirby, 1992; Seydel, 1992). Although this study does not aim to investigate behaviour change, it is noteworthy that the youth themselves expressed having changed their ideas and sometimes their behaviour since participating in the programme.

Many of the changes reportedly experienced by the youth after attending the programme were differentiated by gender, i.e. the women spoke of the programme having helped them to overcome and avoid **suffering** through gaining more knowledge and becoming more assertive. For the men on the other hand, there was a powerful discourse of them having learned less **destructive** ways of behaving. This message from the youth, that on

the whole it is the men who are destructive and the women who suffer, confirms world wide statistics on gender violence.

Beyer et al. (1996) have cautioned against blanket, stereotypical handling of abuse within curricula which only represents males as perpetrators and females as victims. Other variables such as age, disability, race and sexual orientation need to be considered if abuse is to be represented in its broadest sense. Yet this by no means should preclude the importance of highlighting the clear gender discrepancy in abuse situations. Feedback from the youth in this study is encouraging in that the men acknowledged the gains to self and other in moving away from abusive behaviour and the women spoke of the need for gendered input in the programme to examine men's issues and rights in addition to those of women. This suggests a need on the part of some young people to understand gender issues from a multi-dimensional perspective, rather than a simple aggressor-victim construct.

5.2.2. Sexuality is about gender is about sexuality is about gender is about ...

Local and international research has indicated that on the whole sexuality education programmes carry a curriculum, sometimes hidden, sometimes manifest, which is biological, heterosexist and sexist (Diorio, 1985; Haffner, 1992; Lenskyj, 1990; Oskowitz 1993). In certain respects this is true of the PPASA programme. It certainly does not promote a purely biological view of sexuality, one which teaches only about body parts,

hormones and the nuts and bolts of intercourse and contraception. While these areas are a focus of the curriculum, they are located within personal and relational contexts which explore feelings, decision-making, personal rights and value systems.

The participants found that certain areas of the programme offered more space than others to discuss issues of gender. Relationships, HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy and termination of pregnancy were highlighted as sites where the youth challenged each other on the rights and roles of men and women. In the programme, HIV/AIDS in particular has been taken out of the biological domain and thereby opened the way for sexuality to be discussed and conceptualised in more socially constructed ways. The programme includes work on condom negotiation for example, but as Oskowitz (1993) warns this cannot be effectively carried out without a critical discussion about gender and power. The extent of such discussion in the PPASA programme is not clear.

In terms of sexual orientation, there is clear heterosexist bias in the programme. In the curriculum material for example, homosexuality is mentioned only once and on the whole the exercises promote a view of relationships as being necessarily heterosexual. There is little sense of the opportunity for the adolescents to explore the fluidity and the range of sexual responses and identities (Sears, 1992b). Sexual orientation is inextricably entwined with the concept of sexuality and notions of gender. The heterosexual bias in the programme material, the manner in which many topic areas are facilitated and the

approach to issues of gender and gender violence does not represent sexuality in its broadest sense.

The data also revealed that while the adolescents have begun to think more critically about issues relating to gender, the programme concurrently has perpetuated certain gender stereotypes, myths and sexist practices. For example, in the facilitation of the programme men were allowed and often encouraged to be dominant, while women reported feeling silenced and shamed. As we have seen, the programme does not claim to tackle issues of gender and gender violence at the level of its overt goals. Despite this and not surprisingly, the participants' experience of the programme was replete with references to gender.

The participants' indication that talk about gender 'just comes up' in the programme is testimony to its inseparability from sexuality. As discussed in Chapter Two, theories of sexuality have pointed to sexuality as pivotal in connecting the body, our identity and the social world (Giddens, cited in Measor et al., 1996). It is important that the participants called for issues of gender to be taken one step further in the programme and dealt with in an overt manner. This would be facilitated through developing further consciousness on the part of educators and programme designers of the centrality of gender in sexuality and the connectedness between issues of gender and all the topics covered in the programme. If the youth are experiencing gendered changes in their personal lives which stem in part

from a programme which deals with gender covertly, the power of tackling these issues consciously and integrating gender into all aspects of the curriculum, would be considerable.

5.2.3. Defining gender and gender violence

The manner in which gender related issues are discussed in the programme appears not to have provided the youth with a clear definition of what gender refers to. In addition, there has been little input for the youth regarding conscious ways to tackle gender stereotyping or an understanding of the links between gender, sexuality and gender violence.

What the youth did note as very valuable was the bringing together of men and women to talk about sexuality. This helped them to challenge stereotypical viewpoints which they held about each other by being able to shift from a position of generalising into understanding each other as individuals operating in different social contexts. Particularly the men noted that they were more able to see the women as people to be valued and respected as they gained a better understanding of the women's attitudes and feelings relating to their experiences of sexuality.

The positive and powerful effects of running the programme with mixed groups of youth as opposed to having single-sex workshops was made clear in the data, especially in light of the request from the youth that the groups remain mixed. Yet what has emerged

forcefully from this study is that the women struggle to find space to talk and that opportunity for discussion in a single-sex forum has encouraged the women to express their ideas, feelings and needs more. What Measor et al. (1996) have argued for is *some* single-sex education to be included in sexuality education curricula in order to provide women with an experience which is less disrupted, safer and more focused on their needs. Tolman (1994) has also noted:

[A]s we know from the consciousness raising activities that characterised the initial years of second-wave feminism, listening to the words of other girls and women can make it possible for girls to know and voice their experiences , their justified confusion and fears, their curiosities (p. 341).

In the programme then there is opportunity for the needs of the youth to be met by both mixed groups and single-sex groups.

In terms of gender violence, rape and physical violence were referred to more than other forms of violence and most participants, especially the women felt it was crucial for these issues to be covered in more depth in the programme. The data revealed that it is not easy for the women or the men to talk about these topics, but that while the men engaged in a discourse of humour or bravado to deal with their anxiety on the topic, the women became silent.

5.2.4. Talk and silence as co-constructors of femininity and masculinity

The function of talk and silence on the programme is perhaps the most influential factor to have emerged from this study. This is largely because it plays a powerful facilitative and prohibitive role in terms of how gender identities are constructed in the programme and in turn how sexuality, gender and gender violence are represented. The data and research process clearly illustrated that the men dominated the verbal space through various means, including time, aggressive tactics and encouragement from facilitators. The women on the other hand were silenced by these tactics and also silenced themselves through self-monitoring for fear of judgment and labeling.

This dynamic seemingly mirrors what occurs in the sexual lives of many women and men. Wood et al.'s (1998) research in the Western Cape attested to this when it painted a picture of adolescent men's sexual experiences being facilitated by power and force and the women's experiences by submission and reticence. In addition, West and Zimmerman (1991) have noted that the complex manner in which we are socialised leads to acceptable masculine and feminine identities of dominance and submission respectively. Yet the construction of these identities was not clear cut for the youth interviewed and as mentioned earlier, to understand this purely as a male aggressive / female submissive construct is too simplistic. It was clear from the data that for both the men and the women there exists a double bind.

On the one hand the women on the programme have to be 'quiet' and 'shy' in order to feel safe, yet at the same time they are expected to be open about their sexuality. They are caught in a double bind as their silence is criticised by the men as being unfair and withholding. The women fear that if they talk openly about their sexuality, their very identities are under attack as they are perceived and labelled by their peers as 'loose'. The threat of such labeling inevitably leads to fears of feeling rejected and shamed. As several researchers in the area have found (Gilligan, 1990; Tolman 1994), it is safer for adolescent women to silence themselves and thereby remain acceptable and accepted.

Tolman (1994) noted in her study on adolescent women's talk about their sexuality and desire that by "*dousing desire with fear and confusion, or simple "uncomplicated" denial, silence and dissociation, the girls ... make individual psychological moves whereby they distance or disconnect themselves from discomfort and danger*" (p. 339).

Despite this, there were a few women who reported that having been through the programme they now find it easier to talk. They ascribed this to an increase in self-esteem and a tentative safety within the group through becoming familiar with their group peers.

A double standard becomes clear when we realise that on the programme the young men are implicitly encouraged to talk about their sexual prowess and experiences and receive no criticism for choosing to remain silent on issues they feel they have a right to be silent about. An Australian study by Moore and Rosenthal (1992) has yielded important implications of this double standard. Their findings suggested that a woman who is

perceived as a slut would also be perceived by men as deserving an illness such as AIDS and that interventions which encourage adolescent men to think responsibly for their sexual partners, therefore would be useless. They advocated interventions for women which educate them about these 'paradoxical views' and the need to take responsibility for their own protection. Considering the effects of such a double standard on the experiences of self of young women is impetus enough for tackling it, but considering it in terms of a life and death issue such as HIV/AIDS should leave no room for not tackling it.

This study revealed that it is not only the women who need to negotiate a double bind, but that the men interviewed also face conflicting messages. Yet their experience is not framed in the same contradiction of talk and silence. In the programme men have been constructed as the protectors of women, needing to help women if they are raped, take revenge on rapists and have knowledge to give to women about the effects of contraception on their bodies. The expectation to protect women and aggressively avenge rapists came from the women while the expectation to be helpful and nurturing towards women came from the men themselves. Despite the clear evidence that the men dominate the space in the groups, there was a criticism that they are also like 'sheep', suggesting that the young men who attend PPASA are perceived as being more sensitive and less dominant than their peers outside the programme. Both the women and the men need to be given to space to untangle the implications of how these constructs impact on them

and need to find new ways to protect themselves and care for each other.

Previous evaluations done for PPASA (Brener, 1996a; Hall 1999) suggested that women be given extra input through assertiveness training. This suggestion came up again in this study, notably from the young men. Running assertiveness training for women may equip them with valuable skills, however without encouraging women and men to understand and work with the relationship between language, power and gender which manifests so patently in the mixed group workshops, an assertiveness intervention for women may not be very effective. As Lewis and Simon (1986) noted, "*Women's struggles are not just against the silence imposed from within and without: they are also against the silence created by our failure to make explicit men's experience of the practice of domination*" (p. 470). In addition it is paradoxical for the young men to assume or be given the responsibility of emancipating women. Young men need to be opened up to their own process of empowerment and examination of patriarchy (Wood et al., 1998).

5.2.5. Building self

The various themes discussed thus far reveal issues of gender identities, stereotyping, dominance, submission, power, violence and silence. Coursing through these themes is also a discourse about self. Many of the adolescents spoke very powerfully about how the programme had enhanced their self-esteem, enabled them to find more meaning in their lives and empowered them to stand up for themselves. Considering Giddens belief that

“sexuality functions as a malleable feature of self, a prime connection between body, self identity and social norms” (Giddens, cited in Measor et al., 1996, p. 276), we see that the PPASA programme, through providing an opportunity for the youth to grapple with their own sexuality, is contributing deeply and intrinsically to the building of self. What the programme has not provided as clearly is the opportunity for young people to understand the role of socially constructed notions of gender and power and how these shape their inner and outer identities and experiences.

5.3. IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY FOR PPASA, WESTERN CAPE

The findings in this evaluation study confirm that gender and gender violence are areas which are important for adolescents to engage with and learn about in a sexuality education programme. In order for gender to be adequately addressed in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15 - 21 year olds, it would be important for PPASA to revisit the objectives of the programme and incorporate issues of gender and gender violence as objectives in their own right. Moreover, it is important that the presentation of heterosexuality as compulsory, needs to be reconsidered.

Stating an objective does not ensure its implementation. The opportunities to discuss and think about gender and gender violence need to be manifestly built into the curriculum material. As mentioned by the project manager, each and every topic area in the

curriculum provides opportunity to talk about gender. Making this overt will assist facilitators and peer educators to raise important questions and issues relating to gender. In turn, a curriculum does not stand alone and in order for it to be meaningfully used, it is important that opportunity is provided for facilitators and programme designers to examine their own gender bias and develop ways in which they can become more gender conscious.

In addition to the importance of facilitators being conscious of gender in the programme material, it is crucial that they are able to recognise and engage with sexist dynamics and processes in the running of the programme itself. This is especially important in being able to begin dealing with the long-standing imbalance in who talks and who is silent during the workshops. Tackling this issue necessitates a recognition of and working with the double bind which the young women face in talking and not talking. Moreover, the double standards experienced by both the adolescent women and men need to be made explicit and the youth should be assisted in deconstructing these experiences, understanding how they impact on their sexual health and identity and building new ways of seeing and relating to one another.

5.4. REFLECTIONS ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Qualitative research provides opportunity for reflexivity, i.e. to critically reflect and comment on the relationship between the research topic, the researcher, the participants and the methodology (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994). As mentioned in Chapter Two, the area of sexuality education, gender and gender violence holds importance for both myself and the organisation for different reasons. My current work in teaching a lifeskills and sexuality programme in a setting different to that of PPASA has been enriched through this research process and my understanding of my personal experiences as an adolescent has deepened. While my current work and past experiences affected how I approached and interpreted the data, I believe that they also contributed to the research and helped me to understand the very challenging role which a facilitator has in mediating a curriculum in a way which is sensitive to issues of gender, sexual orientation, difference and pleasure.

My level of personal interest and engagement with the topic area has contributed valuably therefore to both the research process and to my personal enrichment. However it has been important for me to continuously and critically examine my role and needs in order to "*gain a balance between engagement with participants' material and [my] own understandings*" (Banister et al., 1994, p. 151).

In terms of the organisation's needs, PPASA noted in the preliminary discussions for conducting this research, that gender is an area which they are needing to examine more closely in their work. This study provides the organisation with feedback from representatives of the users and providers of part of their Adolescent Reproductive Health Service. It is the first evaluation of its kind, i.e. with a focus on gender, and it is hoped that the study will make overt the issues of gender which previous evaluations have mentioned but not elucidated fully (Brener, 1996a, 1996b, 1997; Hall, 1999).

The study may also provide PPASA with the opportunity to fine-tune the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme for 15-21 year olds. Recommendations to build into the programme a gendered perspective, can assist the organisation to improve on the effectiveness and quality of the programme. This in turn may help with accountability to funders and policy makers. Furthermore, the evaluation has focused on questions which examine the manner in which power imbalances and inequality are socially constructed and maintained, questions which an organisation pursuing social upliftment can benefit from asking and attempting to answer.

Another gain in having conducted qualitative research is the opportunity it provided for an in-depth study of the many different meanings present in the work of adolescent sexuality education within PPASA, Western Cape. While the open-ended nature of focus groups may have produced results which were biased in favour of dominant members of

the group and/or my line of questioning, summarising and commenting (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990), it also provided for a rich and varied source of data. Similarly, although the interview with the project manager is likely to have been affected by the fact that she was changing positions in the organisation at the time of the research, her circumstances may also have placed her in a more reflective role, thereby contributing the perspective of a new voice within her.

Issues of language, class, race, age, gender and the topic of sexuality itself, further influenced the research in important ways. The difference between me as researcher (middle-class, English speaking, white woman in my thirties) and the adolescent participants (working class, mostly Xhosa speaking black teenagers) will have affected what we all chose to share and how we expressed ourselves, particularly in that we were discussing issues relating to sexuality. Language as a further point of difference, was a crucial factor to consider in the research process. Besides the material in the Manual, which is written in English, all the data went through between one and three processes of translation; internally by the individuals themselves, by people interpreting in the groups and by one of the transcribers. While it was still possible to gain consistent and important themes from the data, and while different interpretations of meaning may have existed even with the use of one common language, the impact of translation may have led to many subtle nuances being missed (Swartz, 1998).

Not only is difference in demographics important, but the theoretical framework of the researcher clearly impacts on the research. My pursuit of research based on feminist principles influenced how I formulated the aims of the research and how I gathered, analysed and interpreted the data. Harding (1987) has argued that there is no “feminist method” and indeed I have not conducted research which simply employed techniques aimed at promoting an anti-sexist stance. Rather, I have attempted to carry out this research in a manner which challenges the “*scientism which refuses to address the relations between knowledge (and knowledge-generating practices) and power*” (Banister et al., 1994, p. 123) and with a commitment to a “*theoretical and political analysis that critiques dominant conceptions of knowledge, and poses questions about the gendered orientation of, and criteria for, knowledge*” (p. 124).

The findings of this research do not present the essentialist voice and needs of the adolescent woman. Instead, in keeping with “feminist postmodernism” (Harding 1987), the multiple voices and viewpoints of adolescent women (and in this case men) are represented. In addition it is hoped that the research process itself created the opportunity for young women and men to question their own and their peers’ attitudes, feelings and actions in terms of gender and the impact of relations of gender in their lives and those of their peers. For some it may be the beginning of a conscientising process not only within themselves but for the many other youth who (will) have contact with those participants from the study.

Finally, PPASA holds a powerful position nationally and internationally in the field of adolescent reproductive health. They play a *“key role in the development of appropriate policies around reproductive and sexual health, and [their] presence is now requested on top-level decision-making structures in government”* (PPASA Annual Report, 1998, p.

3). Their commitment to working within a framework of gender equality may be aided by the review of recent literature in this study and the findings pointing to the gender inequalities present in the Sexuality and Lifeskills Programme. By defining sexuality education to include gender as integral, this study provides a theoretical basis on which PPASA programmes may be fine-tuned to become more gender conscious and tackle issues of gender and gender violence in a more purposeful manner.

5.5. CONCLUSION

Returning to the opening pages of this study, I am reminded of the statistics on gender violence and the manner in which the subject has been highly publicised in the South African media over the past year. Simultaneously, I think back to the process of running the three focus groups for this study. The manner in which the young women and men related their experience of the programme was at once heart-warming and distressing. Through attending PPASA's Sexuality and Lifeskills workshops many of the youth reported an experience of growth which profoundly changed their lives. Concurrently, they related a gendered story in which myths and stereotyping persist, where young

women are silenced and where sexuality is presented in a somewhat circumscribed manner.

The national and international literature on gender and sexuality education used to inform this research, calls for sexuality to be defined in all its complexity; as individually, spiritually, socially, politically and bodily constructed. In turn it recommends that sexuality education programmes, such as PPASA is facilitating, need to build into the fabric of their curricula and methodology an ethos and a practice which provides adolescents with alternative understandings of sexuality, which are neither oppressive nor abusive. It is a challenge then for PPASA to transform a programme which is already very good into one which is even better, a programme which promotes equality and further helps young people to develop relationships with themselves and with others which are respectful, caring, pleasurable and safe.

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APPENDIX A

PREVIOUS EVALUATION STUDIES AND REPORTS ON THE PPASA, WESTERN CAPE ADOLESCENT REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH PROJECT

The following reports are listed as they appear on the PPASA reference list:

- Overview of the research evaluation design, implementation and analysis (June 95 - Nov 96). Roper / Brener / Louw.
- The Adolescent Sexuality and Research Project of the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa, Western Cape: An Evaluation Report No. 1. March 1996.
- A Report on the Evaluation of the Youth Sexuality and Leadership Skills Training Camp. April 1996. L. Brener.
- The Planned Parenthood Association Youth Sexuality Programme - A Report on the Evaluation of the Peer Training Programme.
- The Planned Parenthood Association Youth Sexuality Programme - Putting Training into Practice: An Evaluation of Youth's Perceptions and Experiences of Workshop Facilitation.
- The New Crossroads Youth Information and Contraceptive Service: An evaluation of the Sexuality and Reproductive Health Workshops for Youth: Report No.2. November 1996, March 1997.
- Evaluating the Information and Contraceptive Service of the Planned Parenthood Association (Western Cape): A Summary. L. Brener and J. Louw.
- Establishing a Contraceptive and Counselling Clinic: Experiences with Monitoring and Evaluation. L. Brener and J. Louw.
- Formative Evaluation of a Peer Education Programme on Sexuality and Reproductive Health. November 1997. Tanya Villa-Vicencio.
- Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa, (Western Cape). Evaluation of the Adolescent Reproductive Health Project, January 1999. Linda Hall.
- Introducing a Sexuality Programme in a Community Setting: Experiences with Evaluation.

APPENDIX B

A MANUAL FOR YOUTH AND PEER EDUCATORS: EXCERPT FROM THE PREAMBLE

Preamble

The adolescent health service empowers adolescents both male and female to make informed decisions about important issues in their own lives regarding sexual behaviour, relationships with others, human reproduction, sexually transmitted diseases, thereby reducing the incidence of unwanted pregnancies and HIV/AIDS which threatens the future of every young person in South Africa.

THE GOAL OF ADOLESCENT REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH SERVICES

- To reach all young people between the ages of 10 -19 with information and skills which will develop their self-esteem and confidence to be able to cope with problems that young people experience.
- To reduce the rate of unwanted pregnancies and STD, HIV AIDS

What is Sexuality Education?

Sexuality is a word psychologists use to describe three things:

- Sexuality describes how we think and feel about ourselves as men or women
- Sexuality describes how these thoughts and feelings about ourselves affect the relationships we choose
- Sexuality describes the way we communicate ourselves to the people around us

What does a young person need to develop healthy sexuality?

To help a young person develop a healthy sexuality a facilitator needs to help them discover:

- their ability to learn through experience
- their ability to talk confidently and openly about their feelings and thoughts,
- and their ability to make educated (carefully thought out, intelligent) choices.

If these abilities are facilitated effectively, young people will have more control of those difficult situations in which choices have to be made about relationship and sex. They will communicate their choices to others with confidence and assertiveness.

Why sexuality education?

Sexuality education helps youth to understand their sexuality so that they are:

- more able to take control of their lives
- likely to be more confident and have loving relationships
- more able to cope with their feelings
- more able to say "no" when they do not agree what their friends say or do
- better protected from being sexually abused, and from becoming abusers